The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania



By Theodore Emanuel Schmauk

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1700—1900

SOME HISTORIANS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.

G. F. KROTEL. JUSTUS FALCKNER. C. W SCHAEFFER.
WILLIAM J. MANN. HENRY MELCHOIR MUHLENBERG. BEALE M. SCHMUCKER.
O. SEIDENSTICKER. ISRAEL ACRELIUS. J. G. MORRIS.
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A HISTORY

OF

The Lutheran Church

IN

Pennsylvania

(1638-1820)

FROM THE ORIGINAL SOURCES.

WITH MANY PLATES, LINE-CUTS AND FACSIMILE TITLES OF RARE PRINTS AND MANUSCRIPT RECORDS.

BY

THEODORE EMANUEL SCHMAUK

Editor *The Lutheran Church Review*—Literary Editor *The Lutheran*—Author *Early Churches in Lebanon Valley*—*History of Old Salem in Lebanon*—Life-Member the *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*—Ex-President the *Pennsylvania-German Society*—President the *General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America.*

Illustrated by JULIUS F. SACHSE, Litt.D.

VOL. I.

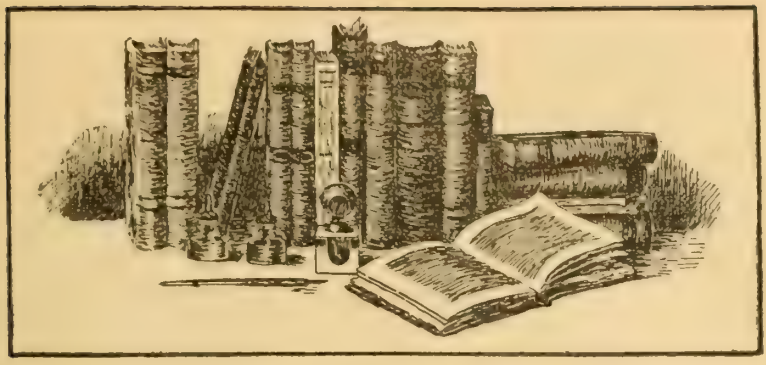
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PREFACE.

The Lutheran Church in America owes a debt of gratitude, not yet fully realized in its English literature, to a line of early pioneer historians in Pennsylvania — Justus Falckner, Israel Acrelius, and especially Henry Melchior Muhlenberg— ; as well as to a much later group of historical scholars and original investigators, now deceased — W. J. Mann, C. W. Schaeffer, B. M. Schmucker, M. L. Stoever, John W. Morris, Charles J. Hay and Oswald Seidensticker, who took up the work after the lapse of a century, and who, except Professors Stoever and Hay, were the teachers, friends and predecessors of the present writer. The number of able historians and investigators, still living and in the field at this time, is not small, and it is hoped that due credit is given in the text or footnotes of of the present work to each of them.

Pioneer Lutheranism in Pennsylvania does not desire to lay claim to precedence, perfection or supremacy among her few mature or her many stalwart younger brethren who have been making history so rapidly in this Western World. But God in his Providence has chosen to place in Pennsylvania a long and wonderful past of two hundred

and sixty-five years, both for instruction and for warning. It is no ordinary fact that this has been the territory on which, through causes set in motion by the Reformation and the instrumentality of Gustavus Adolphus,[1] both the *Scandinavian* and the *German* Church of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession began their development in the New World in the seventeenth century side by side, and left a long line of historical monuments, including the oldest churches still in use in any part of Protestant America. Equally remarkable is it that now, after the lapse of several centuries and on a national scale, the Swedes and the descendants of the Germans in the Church of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, are again laboring side by side on the same foundations, but in a general body which includes the whole of North America in its territory; and that the two largest Synods in this general body are the widespread Augustana and the venerable German Ministerium of Pennsylvania; which itself gave rise to the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States.

It is natural and necessary that this volume which is sent out on the eve of the two hundredth anniversary of the ordination of the first German minister in the first Swedish Church in Pennsylvania, the first Protestant ordination to take place, it is believed, in North America, concern itself chiefly with the history of the German beginnings, although we ought not forget that Swedish blood has entered into our best American life in a very marked manner. Thus John Morton, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and an active member of the Continental Congress, born at Ridley, Pa., in 1724, was a descendant of the Lutheran Swedes. Thus also Robert Anderson,

[1] v. *Pennsylvania a Lutheran Colony*, in Lutheran Church Review, 1901, p. 277.

the brave defender of Fort Sumter, when the first guns of the Civil War were fired in 1860, was also a descendant of these same Swedes; so also Thomas F. Bayard, and Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren are well known to have been descendants of these early Swedish Lutheran colonists. And the Lutheran Church, German no less than Swedish, may truly take pride in the *Instructions* given by the administration of Gustavus Adolphus to Governor Printz in 1642, well-nigh forty years before the arrival of William Penn, as to the religious education of the first colony, the maintenance and upbuilding of the Lutheran Church in the true doctrine, and the establishment of Lutheran worship on the shores of the Delaware. These instructions[1] ran: "*Above all things*, shall the Governor consider and see to it that a true and due worship, becoming honor, laud and praise be paid to the Most High God in all things, and to that end all proper care shall be taken that divine service be zealously performed according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Council of Upsala and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church; and all persons, but especially the young shall be duly instructed in the articles of their Christian faith; and all good Church discipline shall in like manner be duly exercised and received. But so far as relates to the Holland colonists that live and settle under the government of Her Royal Majesty and the Swedish Crown, the Governor shall not disturb them in the indulgence granted them as to the exercise of the Reformed religion according to the aforesaid Royal Charter." Here for the first time on American soil are laid down the three great principles of religious liberty, Christian nationality, and confessional loyalty, two of

[1] *Acrelius*, p. 39.

which are supposed to have been brought hither first of all by William Penn.[1]

The writer of this volume, born and bred in the heart of the old Mother Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and with family traditions running back to the German Philadelphia corporation of Zion's, St. Michael's and St. Paul's, learned from the lip and thought of pious parents to be loyal to the rock from which he was hewn; yet has also striven to form judgments that are just and true, and honorable; and to cultivate the historic sense in weighing materials not after his own heart, believing that primitive men and institutions are to be judged in the light which God Himself has thrown about them.

It is hoped that a large part of the work here presented is done thoroughly. Much labor has been expended on the citation and comparison of the greatest book of sources, the *Hallische Nachrichten*, and we trust that the results can be depended on. The failure of several attempts in various parts of the Church to translate the *Hallische Nachrichten* into English, has led to an incorporation of practically the whole of it bearing on the subjects treated, including the annotations, in this work, in translation, citation and reference; but in such manner that the many scattered threads there given are gathered and combined into a single progressive narrative, in connection with new local material discovered in recent years, and which should serve the reader in better stead, perhaps, than even a complete translation of the *Nachrichten* in its original shape.

In writing the work, the first aim has been to put the reader in a position to ascertain and examine the facts and

[2] Capt. Lars Kock [Cook] (v. note on p. 45), a Swedish Lutheran who was a great friend and favorite of the Indians, acted as *Penn's interpreter* in the latter's interviews with the Indians. (v. *Acrelius*, p. 114.)

sources for himself; and the second, to make these intelligible in their own setting, by constructing and developing from them the historical narrative.

The natural way of getting at the root of things, and of acquiring a reliable basis for a larger outlook, is a study of events in connection with the localities in which they occurred. Much of the human power of the Holy Scriptures is due to the fact that its historical statements are thoroughly local. For this reason the plan of this book has followed the natural course of settlement, the streams, and valleys, and various regions, in which are found the origins of Lutheranism in this land.

Therefore also an attempt has been made to utilize all discoverable stores of local sources, as well as single scattered articles of historians and the writer's own earlier local studies. The courtesies unfailingly extended by those in possession of original documents and of results of investigations in localities of which this history treats, are hereby acknowledged. The writer also desires to record his deep indebtedness to the researches, the encouragement and the personal aid of his friend and fellow-laborer, Dr. Julius F. Sachse, freely placed at his disposal. Dr. Sachse's splendid historical descriptions of the old Zion Church, Philadelphia, in *The Lutheran* many years ago, and his acquaintance formed at that time, were the beginning of the writer's present interest in large parts of his subject. To Dr. Sachse is due the credit for the well-executed reproductions and profuse illustrations of these pages.

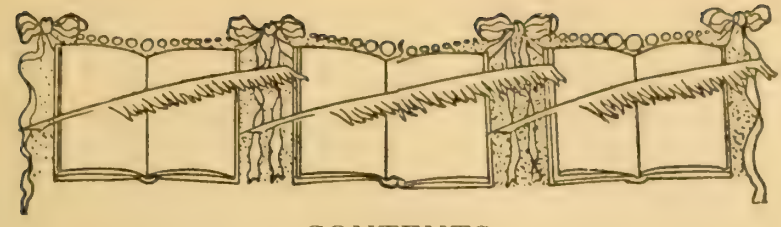
The material of this work was prepared at the instance and request of the Pennsylvania-German Society, and this fact has conditioned its form. It has also rendered the publication possible financially.

It may be well here to insert several points of detail

which have escaped proper emphasis in the body of the work. In April, 1887, Dr. W. J. Mann published a comprehensive and notable article of twenty pages on "Lutherans in America Before Muhlenberg" (*Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. VI., p. 93), which we commend to the reader. In an article in the same journal (Vol. XII., p. 188) Dr. Nicum publishes a letter dated Frankfort-on-the-Main, Feb. 16, 1753, from John Philip Fresenius to Francke in Halle, which throws a clear light on the relationship between John Caspar Stoever and John Caspar Stoever the elder, and which gives a very interesting insight into the youth of the former. Fresenius says:

"I had become acquainted with him [John Casper Stoever, Jr.] (1723) in his father's house at Amweiler, when going to Strassburg. He was then a youth. Shortly after, his father moved to a village three hours distant from Strassburg, as a school-teacher. I was in danger of my life from the Jesuits, because I had rescued several children from their clutches. And as his father, on account of a marriage of distant relations, used to call my sainted father, 'Vetter,' I spent three days of my exile with him. Subsequently the entire family emigrated to America. Old Mr. Stoever came over from Virginia to Germany to secure financial aid. After finishing his collection trip, he came to my house at Darmstadt, said that he keenly felt his want of better information in doctrinal and practical theology, and requested me to keep him during the winter and instruct him in those branches in which he was deficient. I gladly acceded to the request. He was a close student, and learned a good deal. In the spring he left for America, and died on the ocean. Since then the young Mr. Stoever has written to me several times, and he and Mr. Wagner have asked my opinion, if they should connect themselves with the men sent out from Halle. They did not know what to do, as the people called the Halle men Pietists and Moravians, and they had their doubts as to their (*i. e.*, the Halle men's) Agende being orthodox."

The beginnings of our Church in this State prior to the days of Muhlenberg and apart from the city of Philadelphia, have never been dealt with adequately and as a whole. It is to this particular part of the task that the present volume is devoted. Future volumes may deal with that later development in which the great Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America is the leading figure and of which Philadelphia is the central locality.



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NOTE.

The following are ERRATA: p. 18, note 15: "1723" should be "1623." P. 290, note 344: "1727" should be "1729" (see p. 276). Conestoga Township was established in "1718," not in "1729." P. 410, note 482: "Keller" should be "Kelker." Facing p. 417: inscription should be "John H. Fager," and "b. 1768" should be erased. (Rudolph Kelker, Esq., possesses a daguerotype of John Fager). P. 417: Omit "a grandson of Rev. J. A. H. Fager, whom we have already met," from sixth and seventh lines of page. P. 435: "Richard's" should be "Richards'." P. 458: "Zengler" should be "Zenger." P. 447, note 520: "*Church Record*" should be "*Church Messenger*."



LINE OF SWEDISH LUTHERAN PASTORS

ON THE

DELAWARE AND SCHUYLKILL FROM 1638 ON.

COMPILED BY REV. A. AARON.

CHRISTINA (DEL.).

TRINITY.

1. REORUS TORKILLUS...1638–1646
 Congregation worshiped within the Fort until 1667.
2. JOHN CAMPANIUS 1642–.....
3. ISRAEL HOLG.....1644–1646
4. LARS LOCK 1647–1669
 In 1667, wooden church at Cranehook, near Christina, was built.
5. JACOB FABRITIUS.....1671–1677
 Charles Springer, lay reader. In 1693 he petitioned to Sweden for ministers.
6. ERICUS BJÖRK.....1697–1714
 On May 31, 1698, cornerstone of present church was laid. On June 4, 1699, dedication of present church.
7. ANDERS HESSELIUS...1714–1722
8. ABRAHAM LIDENIUS (assistant for about 3 years).
9. SAMUEL HESSELIUS...1722–1731
10. JOHN ENNEBERG 1731–1742
11. PETER TRANBERG.....1742–1748
12. ISRAEL ACRELIUS.....1749–1756
13. ERICK UNANDER..... 1756–1759
14. ANDERS BORELL.....1759–1768
15. LARS GIRELIUS.....1768–1791

NEW GÖTEBORG (TINICUM, PA.).

New Göteborg, an island in the Delaware, near Philadelphia, was the seat of the Governor's residence and the official center of the colony of New Sweden.

1. JOHN CAMPANIUS.....1643–1648
 On September 4, 1646, a handsome wooden church was dedicated, and used till 1700, when the congregation united with Wicacoa.
2. LARS LOCK.....1647–1669
3. JACOB FABRITIUS.....1677–.....
 Anders Bengtson, a lay reader, used Möller's Postils. He arrived in 1656 and was living in 1703. The Banksons are his descendants.

UPLAND (CHESTER, PA.).

Services were maintained here by the pastors of Christina and Tinicum.

Rev. Mathias Nertunius made a stay here about 1654.

WICACOA (PHILADELPHIA).

GLORIA DEI.

1. JACOB FABRITIUS.....1677-1693
 On June 9, 1677, Trinity Sunday, first service was held in the old log church.
2. ANDREAS RUDMAN....1697–1702
 On September 19, 1697, Sven Swensson, one of the three Swedish brothers who owned the ground on which Philadelphia now stands, gave the lot for a new church.
 LARS TOLLSTADIUS assistant for a short time.
 On June 2, 1700, Gloria Dei was dedicated.
3. ANDREAS SANDELL...1702–1714
 On November 28, 1703, Justus Falckner was ordained.
 ARVID HERNBOM supplied a while, when Pastors HESSELIUS and LIDENIUS visited once a month.
4. JONAS LIDMAN.....1719–1730
 SAMUEL HESSELIUS, extra ordinary.
 JOHN ENEBURG supplied for a while.

GABRIEL FALCK.....1733–1733
5. JOHN DYLANDER.....1737–1741
6. GABRIEL NAESMAN...1743–1751
7. OLAUS PARLIN 1751–1757
8. CARL MAGNUS WRANGEL 1759–1768
9. ANDERS GÖRANSON...1768–1779
10. MATHIAS HULTGREN.1780–1786
21. NICHOLAS COLLIN.....1786–1831

RACCOON (SWEDESBORO, N. J.).

TRINITY CHURCH.

1. LARS TOLLSTADIUS.....1703–1706
In 1704, 1st Sunday after Trinity, the church was dedicated.
2. JONAS AUREN.....1706–1713
3. ABRAHAM LINDENIUS.1714–1726
4. PETER TRANBERG 1726–1741
Olof Malander supplied a while.
5. JOHN SANDIN.....1748–1748

Professor P. Kalm supplied.

6. ERIC UNANDER.....1749–1755
7. ABRAHAM LIDENIUS...1755–
8. JOHN WICKSELL.....1762–1774
9. NICHOLAS COLLIN.....1778–1786
10. JOHN WADE 1788–1789

PENNS NECK, N. J.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH.

(With Raccoon.)

Abraham Lidenius made his residence there.

KINGSESSING (DARBY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.).

ST. JAMES' CHURCH.

In 1760 the church was dedicated.
Clergyman, same as Wicacoa.

UPPER MERION (SWEDELAND, PA.).

CHRIST CHURCH.

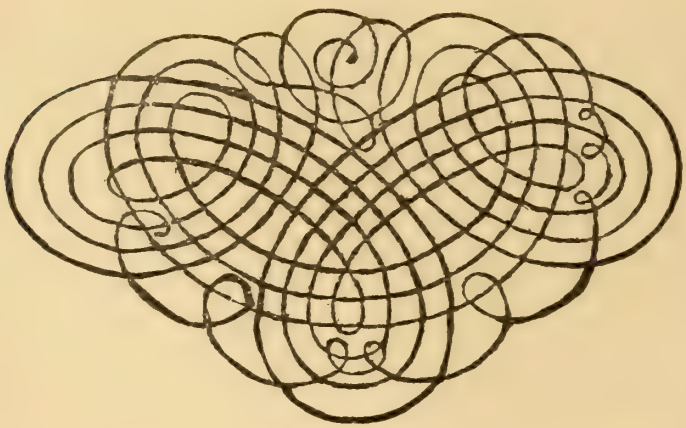
On June 25, 1760, the church was dedicated.
Clergyman, same as Wicacoa.

MANATHANIM (DOUGLASVILLE, PA.).

ST. GABRIEL'S.

Served in early days from Wicacoa. In 1720, became the seat of a resident pastor.

1. SAMUEL HESSELIUS...1720–.....
2. GABRIEL FALCK.....1735–1742
3. JOHN ABRAHAM LIDENIUS, 1752–1755



INTRODUCTION.



THE German race is serious-minded and religious in disposition. Its temperament is susceptible to profound emotion and deep conviction. It is natural, therefore, that the most striking personal characteristic of the early German immigrants to Pennsylvania, next to their strong instincts for property and home, and to their domestic and agricultural propensities, was their simple-minded faith and deep-seated piety.[1] A remarkable proportion of

[1] That the emigrants to Pennsylvania were a pious class of people is proven by many considerations. They came largely out of the ranks of the pietists and Bible-reading Christians in Germany. Their conduct on the ocean voyage was that of a religious people. On board ship they held service daily. They were deeply attentive to the preaching of God's word. They were constantly singing the hymns of the church. (See John Wesley's *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 27; Mittelberger, p. 21; Mann's *Life of Mühlenberg*, p. 45; Handschuh in *Hallesche Nachrichten*, I., pp. 156 ff.) Their life as exiles in London and their trials in New York State, under conditions that would have demoralized the religious and moral character of ordinary companies of emigrants, are in striking confirmation of this fact. Their knowledge of Scripture and of the hymns of the church; their careful inclusion of the then large and expensive German Bible and of books of devotion in their personal effects in these diffi-

the immigrants, prior to their arrival from Germany, had been connected in one way or another with the pietistic movements arising in the German Church;[2] and it was largely the religious fervor and reputed toleration of Wil-

cult journeys to the far-off wilderness; the pious inscriptions they placed on the buildings that they erected, and which can be read to-day, such as, *e. g.*,

Gott gesegne dieses Haus
Und alle was da gehet ein und aus,

testify to the same fact. Again, nearly all the early German prints of the colony are of a religious and theological character. According to Franklin's own testimony there was more demand for German than for English printing in the colony, and the German presses were kept busy printing Bibles, hymn-books and standard books of devotion. One of the first necessities of a newly-married emigrant was a family Bible—which he also used. Muhlenberg tells how the redemptioners saved up their chance earnings that they might be able to purchase the book. That they did not keep to their higher level in a later generation, after a lack of schoolmasters and pastors and in the absence of regular church organization; and that they often were extremely penurious in religious matters (see correspondence between representatives of the Philadelphia Lutheran Congregation and Francke and Ziegenhagen, Jacob's *History of the Lutheran Church*, 125, and also note the habit that still prevails of regarding one divine service in two or four weeks in a congregation as "sufficient," particularly from the financial point of view) must be admitted.

[2] The completeness of the dependence of the direct German emigration to Pennsylvania on the pietistical movements then agitating and boiling in the heart of the Fatherland, has not been sufficiently emphasized; nor has the rationale of the shadowy peace-bond that drew the exponents of radically opposite teachings, the rationalistic Quaker; the pietistic Lutheran and Reformed; the theosophic mystic; the fanatic and the suffering sectarian, into temporary sympathy, been delineated.

It must not be overlooked that Penn's missionary journey to Germany in 1677 was just seven years after Philip Jacob Spener had inaugurated the "*collegia pietatis*" in the Lutheran Church, and two years after he had written his "*Pia desideria*" which was creating a pietistic ferment throughout the established churches of Protestantism. Penn, in addition to visiting German Quakers and Mennonites, met the ecstatic and theosophic Frankfort pietists, and occasioned the founding of the Frankford Land Company with the emigration under Pastorius and Falckner. Meanwhile in 1694 the University of Halle, with its later institutions, was founded, and was training the more than 6,000 theologians that up to the death of August Herman Francke in 1727 were sent forth as teachers of pietism. Ziegenbalg, the great missionary, Zinzendorf, the reorganizer of the Moravians, and Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, were enrolled among its pupils. And all this was during the generation of German emigration to America.

liam Penn and his agents, as manifested in his writings[3] disseminated through Germany for the purpose of stimulating immigration to his newly acquired American domain, that tempted them to come to the western world. The stream of Dunkers, Seventh Day Baptists, Schwenckfelders, Mystics, and Moravians, that flowed into this far-off wilderness issued in the foundation of separatistic communities based on peculiar cults, religious and social in principle.

Nevertheless, the great rank and file of the migrating Germans were not bent on coming to this land in order to conduct a new and holy experiment in religion. The large majority of the Pennsylvania immigrants did not remove hither for the purpose of carrying out a religious life, according to peculiar tenets or in order to organize themselves into separatistic religious communities; but they readily merged themselves into the common life of the Province, and remained in their old membership in the Lutheran and Reformed churches; the Reformed among them hailing chiefly from Switzerland and the Palatinate, the Lutherans from Würtemberg and other parts of Germany.[4]

[3] For full list and facsimile title-page of this Penn immigration literature see appendix to Part I. of the History of Pennsylvania, "The Fatherland" found on pp. 199–256, Vol. VII., *Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society.*

[4] The primary cause of the migration of the German multitudes to Pennsylvania was the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the various principalities of the Fatherland, consequent upon the Thirty Years' War and upon the attempt of Louis XIV. to force the borders of France eastward at Germany's expense, involving the devastation of the Palatinate and of Würtemberg. (See *Württemberg und die Franzosen im Jahr 1688*, von Theodor Schott, Stuttgart, 1888.) In the Palatinate, in addition, the life and death struggles of the Lutheran and Reformed faiths (for a brief account of the relation of these two faiths in the Palatinate, see Jacob's *History of the Lutheran Church in the United States*, pp. 115–116. For a more extended account of the Palatinate, see Cobb's *Story of the Palatines*, Chap. 2) with each other, and their conjoint struggle against the Catholics, together with the fact that the western frontier of the Rhine was

The religious side of the German colonists' life, simple and strong as it was, not only colored the private and

being constantly desolated and kept in a state of alarm by the French King and his General Turenne; and in all southern Germany the general devastation of the land and the destruction of property by the troops that swept thither and hither, and the addition of famine, pestilence and unpropitious seasons, rendered life intolerable to the tillers of the land. "At the conclusion of hostilities between France and Germany the Protestant church in the Palatinate was practically crushed. * * * Before the end of 1693 hundreds of Reformed and a number of Lutheran churches were in the hands of the Catholic orders, to say nothing of the parsonages and school-houses. * * * While no great oppression was publicly made, yet there was a constant system of nagging—what now would be called a pin-pricking policy. Often they would be beaten for refusing to bend the knee in the presence of the Host, and for refusing to share in Catholic ceremonies. Their pastors were driven away or thrown in prison. By one single decree seventy-five school-masters were rendered penniless. Hundreds of petty persecutions on person and property were made. * * * We must add the corruption, the tyranny, the extravagance, and the heartlessness of the rulers of the Palatinate. All through the eighteenth century their chief efforts seemed to be directed to a base and slavish imitation of the life of the French Court. While the country was exhausted and on the verge of ruin, costly palaces were built, rivalling and even surpassing in luxury those of France. While pastors and teachers were starving, hundreds of court officers lived in luxury and idleness. The burden of feudalism still lay heavily upon the peasants. * * * Such a state of things became intolerable. * * * 'Many hundreds allowed themselves to be lured to Spain (in 1768), where they were promised tolerance. By way of England so many were shipped to America that for a long time the name of Palatines was used as a general term for all immigrants.' (Häusser, *Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz.*) Among all the statements applying equally to Würtemberg Zweibrücken, and others of the petty principalities in the neighborhood of the Palatinate, one or two facts will illustrate the condition of Würtemberg after the Thirty Years' War. Before that event Stuttgart had 8,200 inhabitants, in less than two years 5,370 had died; the whole population of the land in 1634 was 414,536; in 1639 there were not 100,000. The whole of South Germany had suffered from the Thirty Years' War, hence the same conditions which led to immigration—poverty, tyranny, and religious intolerance—existed everywhere, each province having in addition its local causes." (*The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*, by Oscar Kuhns. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1901.) In addition to these primary causes existing universally in the heart of Germany, the efforts of Penn to colonize his new country (for description of the efforts of Penn and his agents, see Sachse's *The Fatherland*, pp. 142 to 250) and of Queen Anne and her Golden Book, and of speculating shipowners who found the transportation of immigrants a great source of profit and who sought to attract them to the New World by clever allurement, must be added.

social activity of the original settlers, but also has rendered church membership in Pennsylvania far more strong and conservative as a hereditary attribute than it has proved to be in most other parts of the United States. This prominent, deep-seated and tenacious character of the religious life of the Germans in Pennsylvania, at once the inner spring and the outer key to many of their activities, and manifested in the sphere of their several denominations, renders it essential to include the latter, as transplanted and developed on our territory, within the scope of the historic investigations that are being undertaken by the Pennsylvania-German Society.

It should be understood that this History of the Lutheran Church is a part of the general History of Pennsylvania prepared by direction of the Pennsylvania-German Society in order to give proper weight to the German influence in the settlement and development of this State. Therefore, the writer has not felt at liberty to deal apologetically with elements of historical weakness in the past of the Church, or to write with the object of establishing its doctrinal superiority and excellence in comparison with the teachings of the sects and denominations round about it.

It is the intention of the work to point out the immense quantities of local historical material of great value in which the Lutheran congregations and the Lutheran Church in this State are extraordinarily rich and to attempt to reach a general historical course and order of growth in the Church by starting strictly from the various congregational rills that spring up in the land and by following them to their issne into the larger rivers of synodical life. Because of the excellence, richness and discriminating importance of the materials found in a somewhat arti-

ficial order in the Halle Reports, there has as yet been no such genetic delineation in detail of the origin and growth of the Pennsylvania Church.

German Protestantism, which in great bulk and variety was transplanted from its native soil to the colony of Penn, is a very obscure thing to the average American writer and student. He has only an ill understanding of the influence of the German Reformation upon the religious and political life of the whole modern world, and just as dimly does he comprehend the historical causes and essential characteristics of German religious life. This is true not merely respecting the smaller sectarian brotherhoods, whose striking peculiarities have brought them under the occasional eye of poet and historian, but it is also particularly true concerning the Reformed and Lutheran Churches.

The Lutheran Church is one of the two great forms of Protestantism on the continent of Europe. In Germany this Church is found in all the states, and prevails in Saxony, Hanover, and other north German regions, and in Würtemberg, to the number of 31,350,000 baptized members. In Finland it has 2,530,000 baptized souls, and in Russia, predominantly along the Baltic, it has 3,010,000 baptized souls. Poland and Austria count each 300,000 baptized Lutherans, and Hungary 1,204,000. Lutheranism is the national religion of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, whose combined membership runs up to nearly 10,000,000 persons. In Great Britain there are 65,000 Lutherans, in France 80,000, and in Holland 86,000. In Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Italy, Turkey, Servia and Roumania there are some thousands of Lutherans. Lutheranism has been widely transplanted throughout the globe from Iceland on the north to Oceanica on the south. In

Asia the number of baptized Lutherans is 162,415; in Africa it runs up to 200,000. In Australia the Lutherans number 110,000, and in New Zealand, New Guinea, Borneo, Sumatra, Nias and Hawaii, 50,000.'

In South America, Brazil contains 160,000 baptized members, and Venezuela, British and Dutch Guiana, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chili and Peru 44,000 more. Greenland has 10,000, the West Indies 4,000 and the United States has a baptized membership of 8,000,000. This Church is as a rule conceded by statisticians to be the largest Protestant communion in the world, and in the United States it is surpassed numerically only by the Methodists and the Baptists.

The peculiarity of the Lutheran Church in America is the diverse nationality and polyglot language of its membership; and the manner in which the many typical ancestral streams, representing separated Lutheran churches of Europe, are growing together into a common ecclesiastical communion. "At the Reformation, Germany, the birthplace and center of Lutheranism, was not a compact government, but a loose organization of numerous and chiefly small principalities and cities, in each of which the great religious movement of the time had its peculiar history. Upon the basis of a common confession of faith, the doctrinal, educational, liturgical, and governmental elements assumed in each province or territory a peculiar form, as each ruler selected his own Church Order. In constitutions, liturgies, catechisms, hymn-books, instructions to pastors and customs, there was the greatest diversity. There was fixity of type with many varieties. To a still greater degree, the same principle was exhibited, as the Lutheran faith penetrated other lands. The results of the German Reformation were adapted to the circumstances,



LUTHER PREACHING IN THE WARTBURG

In the Lutheran view church government is an "accident," and exists only to enable the church to administer the means of grace and to protect and testify to the truth.[7] The church, in the Lutheran view, is found wherever God's Word is rightly taught and the sacraments are rightly administered, no matter under what name or form of government this true faith may be found.[8]

The Lutheran church is in striking contrast with all types of individual and sectarian protestantism. It is also in contrast with all radical protestantism as such. It clings to that which is denoted by the terms catholic and evangelical. It keeps to the principle of historical development in the kingdom of God on earth, builds on the old foundations, and rejects as little as possible in the old church order. The Lutheran type of protestantism is also in contrast with that of the Reformed church. Lutheranism begins not above with the sovereignty of God and the absoluteness of His will, but below with fallen and sinfulman.[9] The

through congregational meetings, and representatively through a church council. The various congregations, like wards and townships in a state, unite in a representative system, in which clergy and laity have equal suffrage, but the clergy wield greater influence. The representative body of congregations in one or several states is a synod. The synod divides itself into conferences, each of which usually embraces several neighboring counties. The representative body of synods in the same bond of faith is a general synod, general council, united synod, joint synod, synodical conference.

[7] The church, in this view, needs and has no power but that of the Word of God. The end of church organization is not the maintenance of the external form and order of the church, but the efficient application to the individual of the Word of God and the sacraments.

[8] Any strictness of Lutheranism has to do with the preservation of what it conceives to be the true faith, and not with the preservation of form or name or organization.

[9] "The Reformed system begins at the top, and goes downward; the Lutheran begins below and ascends."—F. C. Baur. "The Lutheran doctrine comes through the Gospel to God, the Reformed through God to the Gospel."—Schneider. Stahl, approximating the view of Schweizer, finds in the "sole causality," which is the notion of the Godhead, the controlling principle of

Lutheran church tends perhaps to strive too little for public, civil and outer reform; and seeks rather to convey justification, regeneration, salvation and free childhood of God through appointed means of grace.[10]

the Reformed doctrine, and its character he finds in the mode of thinking which is adverse to mysteries. "The whole Reformed Church development is, on the one side, determined by this impulse against mysteries, which impulse concedes no instrumental distribution of grace (an aspect derived from Zwingli); on the other side, it is distinguished by the evangelical theocratical tendency, the glorifying of God in the congregation (an aspect proceeding from Calvin)."

Martensen says: "The Swiss Reformation started primarily from the formal principle, that of the authority of the Scriptures; whereas the Lutheran originated more especially in the material principle, in the depths of the Christian consciousness, in an experience of sin and redemption." * * * "The Lutheran Reformation manifested the greatest caution in regard to tradition, and observed the principle of rejecting nothing that could be reconciled with Scripture; whereas the Swiss Reformation introduced in many respects a direct opposition between the biblical and ecclesiastic, and in several particulars followed the principle that all ecclesiastical institutions should be rejected unless they could be deduced from the letter of the Bible." The difference between Lutheran and Reformed "is not merely an external one, is not one which turns only on particular doctrines," says Luthardt, "but it pervades the system and is a difference in principles."

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[10] It rather magnifies what it has received from God, than it endeavors for Him. "It is Mary rather than Martha," of the Scriptures, says Dr. Philip Schaff.

In the fallen heart of man the Lutheran Church sees no natural ability for self-recovery. It acknowledges the vicarious sufferings of Christ as the price of man's redemption, the suffering of the human nature having gained infinite efficacy by its union with the divine nature in the one divine-human person. Justification is not any change in man's heart. It is an external act of God by which, for the sake of Christ's merits alone, received by faith, God forgives sin and pronounces man righteous. Faith is wrought by the Holy Ghost and through the means of grace. Faith is personal confidence in the merits of Christ. The means of grace, through which alone the Holy Spirit works, are the Word of God and the Sacraments. They are never without efficacy, though man can reject this efficacy. Baptism is a means of regeneration and renewal. All repentance is a return to baptism. Repentance and faith are daily acts of the Christian heart. The presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament and its reception with the bread and wine, are the individualization of the general promise of the Gospel, and its application of accomplished redemption to each single believer. The Holy Scriptures are the only rule of faith and life but the rule is used in a historical and not in a radical way. The spiritual priesthood of all believers is the only priesthood of the New Testament.[11]

Lutheranism above all, therefore, is a type of doctrine. To it the most important issues are not matters of worship, howsoever useful these may be; not matters of government, howsoever pressing these may be; not matters of reform, howsoever urgent these may seem, but matters of teaching.

[11] It is distinct from the office of the ministry which belongs indeed to the whole church, but which in its function is only exercised by those duly called and set apart for this purpose.

And in matters of teaching the preëminent questions are not the speculative problems of origin, predestination, creation, destiny, future probation; but the fact of sin, the matter of the person of Christ, manifested in the flesh for the removal of sin, at once the center and the radius of Scripture, the matter of justification by faith alone, and the matter that faith comes alone through the Word and Sacraments.

Thus the Church clings to salvation by faith alone, each individual being responsible unto God for himself, but each individual also being saved only by the redemption of the cross; to Scripture as the one standard of faith and life, the one determiner of theory and practice, the one test of doctrines and methods; to the Law which commands and condemns man; and to the Gospel which offers grace and pardon; to the Word and Sacraments as the one means which the Holy Spirit uses to convince all sin and work faith; and to a life of daily repentance and faith.

Religion is not the Puritan idea of God's law, but the gospel idea of God's love. Yet God's love is not as loose as are the prevailing views of it. It has an appointed way of making men righteous, which men must believe, and to which they must conform.

The Lutheran Church is against moralism, which makes religion a matter of right living. It is against rationalism, which makes religion a matter of the understanding. It is against ritualism, which makes religion an appeal to the senses. It is against emotionalism, which renders religion a matter of the sensibilities. It makes religion to be a matter of faith solely. We may not understand, we may not see, but we must believe. This faith is not a mere intellectual assent, but a personal confidence of the will and soul, and what it lays hold on is the written Word of God.

This is the Lutheran type of Christian faith and life. It is taught in the Augsburg Confession, Unaltered, the earliest confession of Protestantism, and in creeds consonant with it.[12]

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[12] The Augsburg Confession altered later on by Melancthon was subscribed to by Protestants in general and all Protestant confessions are indebted to it. See the Augsburg Confession and the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church, by John G. Morris, LL.D., *Free Lutheran Diet in America*, Philadelphia, 1878. Dr. Schaff, the well-known Reformed and Presbyterian theologian, in his "Creeds of Christendom" (Vol. I., p. 235), says of the Augsburg Confession: "Its influence extends far beyond the Lutheran Church. It struck the keynote to other evangelical confessions and strengthened the cause of the Reformation everywhere. It is, to a certain extent also, the confession of the Reformed and the so-called union churches in Germany, namely, with the explanations and modifications of the author himself, in the edition of 1540. In this qualified sense, either expressed or understood, the Augsburg Confession was frequently signed by Reformed divines and princes, even by John Calvin while ministering to the church in Strasburg, and as a delegate to the Conference in Ratisbon, 1541; by Favel and Beza, at the Conference in Worms, 1557; by the Calvinists, at Bremen, 1562; by Frederick III. (Reformed), Elector of the Palatinate, at the Convention of Princes in Nuremberg, 1561, and again at the Diet of Augsburg, 1566; by John Sigismund, of Brandenburg, in 1614."

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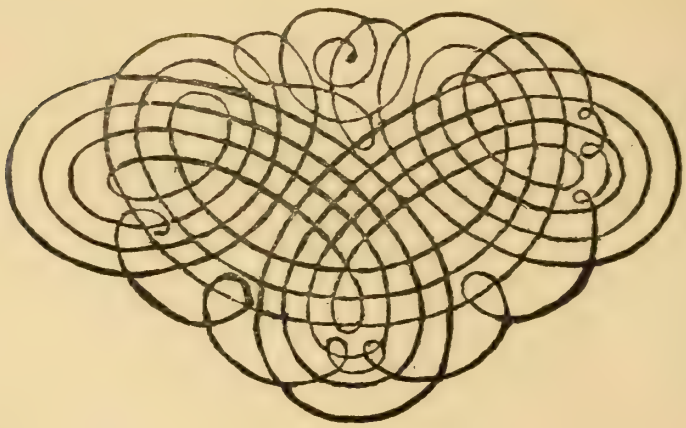
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GRÄBNER, *Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in America.* Vol. I. brings the history down to 1820. St. Louis, 1892.

NICUM, *Confessional History of the Lutheran Church in the United States in Proceedings of American Society of Church History, December, 1891.* New York, 1892.

JACOBS, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States.* The Christian Literature Co., New York, 1893.



CHAPTER I.

Pennsylvania and the Lutheran Church. A Summary View of the Whole Field.



LUTHERANISM had come to the New World long before it reached the shores of the Delaware. German immigration from Augsburg had begun to Venezuela in South America already in 1529, one year before the reading of the great Protestant Augsburg Confession itself. This early date was in the heart of the Reformation period, and was over a century prior to the Swedish colonization in Pennsylvania in 1638.[13]

According to von Klöden,[14] the entire German colony in Venezuela had accepted the Lutheran faith as early as

[13] See *History of German Influence in Pennsylvania*, Vol. I., p. 95. *The Story of Welserland.*

[14] *Die Welser in Augsburg als besitzer von Venezuela*, p. 440.

NAVIGATIO. SEPTENTRIONALIS.

Det er:

RELATION

Eller Beſcriffuelſe/ om Seiglads oc Reyſe/
paa denne Nordveſtiſke Passagie, ſom nu kaldis
NOVA DANIA: Igiennem Fretum Christian
at Opſøge/
Huilcken Reyſe/
Voris Allernaadigſte Herre/ Konning Chriſtian den
Fierde, vdi det Aar 1619. Naadigſt Beſammit/
Oc til des Experientz afferdiget haffuer hans Majeſt: Skibs Captein/
Jens Munck oc hans methaffuendis Folck/ ſom offuer alt vare 64.
Perſoner/ met tuende hans Majeſt: Skibe/
Enhiørningen oc Jagten Lamprenen:
Samme
Seiglads effter metgiffuen Naadigſt Instruction,
vdi Vnderdanigſt gehørſomhed/ ſaa meget mueligt være
kunde/ er Tenteret, Men Capteinen effter hoy Perickel vdſtanden
met Jagten/ er icke vden ſelfftredie Igien til Norge
hiemkommen/
Met Bemelding om alle *Circumstantier*, *Curs*, Kaaſe oc Tilfald,
det Farevand oc den Reyſis Leilighed anrørendis/
Aff forſkreffne/

Jens Munck

Paa Hen oc Hiemfarten met flid Observeret, Oc paa Høybemelte
Kong: Majeſt: Naadigſte Behaug vdi Tryck Publiceret.

Syr: 43.

Navigantes mare, enarrant ejus pericula.
De ſom færdis paa Haffuet/ de ſige aff den Farlighed/ Oc wi
ſom det høre/ forundre oſſ/ etc.

Prentet i Kiøbenhaffn/ hoſſ Henrich Waldkirch/
Anno M. DC. XXIIII.

1532. If this be true, Lutheranism was introduced into the Western World only two years after the promulgation of its great Confession, and by a colony sent out from the same city in which its Confession was made public.

The first clergyman of the Lutheran Church known to have reached America was Pastor Rasmus Jensen, who



A drawing by Munk of the Log House at the Winter Quarters at Hudson's Bay where the first Lutheran Pastor to set foot on North America died on Feb. 20, 1620, eight months before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock.

was the chaplain of a Danish expedition which sailed on May 9, 1619, from Denmark, for the purpose of seeking a passage from North America to India, under the command of Captain Munk, and which discovered the southern coast of Greenland on June 20th, and the American coast on July

8th, and which entered Hudson Bay in August and took possession of the land for the Danish crown under the name of "*Nova Dania.*" The journal of Munk[15] says, "The Holy Christmas day we celebrated jointly in a Christian manner; had preaching and mass, and after the sermon, according to the old usage, we offered to the pastor, each one according to his means * * * some giving white fox furs which the pastor used for lining his gown, though he did not live long to wear it." Pastor Jensen died February 20, 1620, and was buried on American soil.[16]

As early as 1656 a second Danish Lutheran pastor arrived in America in the West Indies, and from that day on, particularly on the Island of St. Thomas, there has been a continuous line of Lutheran pastors down to the present time.[17]

[15] *Jens Munks Navigatio Septentrionalis me Indledning, Nater og Kort.* Printed in Kieheuhaffen, 1723.

[16] See *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. 17, pp. 55–63.

[17] The second Danish pastor in America was pastor Magister *Lauritz Andersen Rhodius.* In the list of ship-chaplains he stood as ordained as pastor for the tobacco-producing Island in America in 1656 (*ad insulam Tobagensen in America, 1656*). Pastor S. V. Viberg in his "Almindelig dansk Prestehistorie," Vol. III., p. 530, calls him *Lars Larsen Rhode*, and says he was ship-chaplain or pastor in Vestindia, son of "Raadmand" in Helsingor L. Christensen Rhode. "The third Danish pastor was Pastor Kjeld Jensen Slagelse, June 8, 1665, pastor for St. Thomas. He died at St. Thomas, June, 1672. After him came Pastor Jorgen Jensen Morsing, who died at St. Thomas, April 26, 1673. Since that day there have been Danish pastors on the Danish West India Islands, St. Thomas, St. Jan and St. Croix."

In St. Thomas, prior to the pastorate of Anders P. Samsing, services had been held in the fort overlooking the harbor. During his pastorate a wooden church was erected, the dimensions of which were 28 by 24 feet. In the year 1713, Rev. Christian Fischer baptized the first negro slaves, twenty-three years before the Moravian Mission began its work here. In 1753 the corner stone of a new Lutheran church was laid at St. Thomas. As the climate was very severe upon Danish pastors, Rev. M. C. Knoll, of New York, was appointed pastor. On February 22, 1757, the King of Denmark resolved to begin a mission in the West Indies for the colored slaves, and ten Lutheran students of theology were sent over to undertake this work. They were to teach and preach in Creole and Danish. They landed at St. Croix, July 10, 1757, completed a church

TURNING from Venezuela on the south and Hudson Bay on the north to the narrower limits of our own national domain, we come to the Island of Manhattan. The earliest Lutherans to have reached any part of the territory of the United States came with the first Dutch colony from Holland to New Amsterdam in 1623.

The story of these first Lutheran immigrants on Manhattan for the first half century is told in brief by H. K. Carroll, editor of the eleventh religious census:

"For some years they had great difficulty in establishing worship of their own, the Dutch authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, having received instructions 'to encourage no other doctrine in the New Netherlands than true Reformed,' and 'to allure the Lutherans to the Dutch churches and matriculate them in the Public Reformed religion.' A Lutheran pastor, the Rev. John Ernest Goetwater was sent to this country in 1657 by the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam, to minister to two Lutheran congregations, one at New York, the other at Albany. He was not allowed, however, to enter upon his ministrations, but was sent back to Holland by representatives of the Reformed faith. When the English took possession of New York the Lutherans were allowed full liberty of worship."[10]

The particulars of the story are as follows:

It was 1626 before the Reformed themselves had "comforters of the sick" who held services in an upper room in a horse mill; and 1628 before their first

in 1766, but it was destroyed by fire in 1772. Rev. Joachim Melchior Magens, a native of St. Thomas, born in 1715, studied at Copenhagen and then became pastor at St. Thomas. Rev. Magens translated the New Testament into the creole tongue (Die Nywe Testament von ons Herr Jesus Christus Ka Set over in die Creole Tael En Ka Gild Na Die Ligt tot Dienst van die Deen Mission in America). The Old Testament was translated but never published. He also translated what is said to have been the earliest pretentious Lutheran book printed and published in America (The Articles of Faith of the Holy Evangelical Church according to the Word of God and the Augsburg Confession, set forth in forty sermons by Magister Petrus S. Nahrkow, præpositor and minister of the Gospel in Jutland, Denmark. Translated from the original into English by Joachim Melchior Magens. Printed and sold by J. Parker and W. Wegman, New York, 8vo, 414 pp.). In 1774 John Christian Leps, a teacher on the island of St. Thomas, came to Philadelphia to be examined and ordained, and became a pastor in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. For a fuller description of Lutheranism on the island of St. Thomas see *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. XVII., p. 647.

[10] *The Religious Forces of the United States.* New York, 1898, p. 175.

pastor arrived. Their first church was not built until 1633. The first distinction between Reformed and non-Reformed was drawn in 1638.[1]

In 1640 and thereafter the law read, "No other Religion shall be publicly admitted in New Netherland except the Reformed, as it is at present preached and practiced by public authority in the United Netherland : and for this purpose the Company shall provide and maintain good and suitable preachers, school-masters and Comforters of the sick."

Under this restricted rule the ecclesiastical affairs of the colony were ostensibly administered, says Cobb, to the end of the Dutch possession, but did not at once show indications of harshness.

It was when Stuyvesant came in 1647 and proposed to execute uncompromisingly the laws made for the colony "by God and the Dutch West India Company, and not by a few ignorant people," that the real troubles for the Lutherans began.

And they were very serious and practical. "The law required the baptism of all children, while restricting the administration of the ordinance to the Reformed minister and in the Reformed Church. Thither were Lutheran parents compelled to take their children for an administration which they resented" (Cobb). The Lutherans had indeed both here and already in Holland brought their children to Reformed pastors for baptism where there were no Lutheran pastors. But now they were compelled to bring them into the Reformed Church ; and Stuyvesant acting on the advice of his advisors, the two Reformed pastors, Megapolensis and Drisius, insisted on the use of the strict formulary which bound the sponsors to the decrees of the Synod of Dort. This was the root of Lutheran objections to the established church, and their united efforts now begin, in a lawful way, to secure a pastor of their own.

In 1649 there was a Lutheran congregation here in New Amsterdam. For on October 8 we read this entry on the Lutheran Church record at Amsterdam : "A petition of the members of our church of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in the New Netherlands is read, in which they pray for a minister ;" and on October 19 : "The petition of the members of the congregation of our church was considered."

In 1653 the Lutherans petitioned the governor and council for liberty of worship and permission to send for a Lutheran minister. (O'Callaghan, New Netherland, II., 320 ; Laws of New Netherland ; Colonial History of New York, XIV., 252.) The petition was opposed by the two Dutch clergymen, who urged upon Stuyvesant that no public services but those of the Reformed Church were allowable by law. The petition was finally referred to the company in Holland, who, in 1654, replied : "We have decided absolutely to deny the request made by some of our inhabitants, adherents of the Augsburg confession, for a preacher and free exercise of their religion, * * * and we recommend to you also * * * to turn them off in the least offensive way, and to employ

[1] In the Dutch Company's "Articles for Colonization," which proposed an established church with a rate assured by the civil law on every inhabitant. (*Colonial History of New York*, I., 110.) These articles were submitted to the states general, and failed of approval, probably because they were too liberal to dissenters.

all possible, but moderate, means to induce them to listen and finally join the Reformed Church."

But the Lutherans would not permit themselves to be thus extinguished and absorbed. That same year, 1654, the little congregation again sent a letter to the Lutherans in Amsterdam to plead for a pastor: On June 20, 1654, "Paulus Schricker appears with a letter from certain members of our Church in New Amsterdam, requesting a pastor." And notwithstanding the rebuff they had received from the Company, they now held religious services in their houses without a minister, by which they excited the governor's wrath, made especially severe by the Lutheran assertion that "Heaven was above law" (Cobb). Stuyvesant's penalty for preaching in a Lutheran service was one hundred pounds; for attending a Lutheran service twenty-five pounds. Some of the Lutherans were imprisoned, and, thereupon, Stuyvesant was rebuked (under date of June 14, 1656) by the Amsterdam directors. The directors had found reason to change their decision and ordered Stuyvesant to permit the Lutherans "their free Worship in their houses."

Stubborn Stuyvesant refused to obey this order, and on October 24, 1656, the congregation was obliged to present the following appeal:

"We, the united members of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, here in the New Netherlands, show, with all due reverence, how that we have been obedient to your Honor's prohibitions and published placards, unwilling to collect together in any place to worship our God with reading and singing, although we solicited our friends in our Fatherland to obtain this privilege, who, as our solicitors, exerted themselves on our behalf, by the noble directors of the West India Company, our patroons. When, after their letters to us, containing their entreaties, they obtained that, they resolved unanimously and concluded that the doctrine of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession might be tolerated in the West Indies and the New Netherland, being under their direction, as is the practice in our Fatherland, under its excellent government. Wherefore, we address ourselves to your Honor, willing to acknowledge your Honor, as dutiful and obedient servants, with prayer that you will not any longer interrupt our religious exercises, which we, under God's blessing, are wishing to make with reading and singing, till, as we hope and expect, under God's aid, next spring, a qualified person shall arrive from our Fatherland to instruct us, and take care of our souls." (O'Callaghan, Vol. II., 320.)

By April 3, 1657, the Lutheran Consistory in Amsterdam had found and called a man to send to the little congregation across the sea. On April 10 he was examined and ordained. On June 6 he arrived, and the little Lutheran flock received its first pastor, Goetwasser, with great joy. But the welcome extended by the Reformed pastors is bitter. They say, on August 5: "It came to pass that a Lutheran preacher, Joannes Ernestus Goetwater, arrived in the ship the 'Mill,' to the great joy of the Lutherans, and especial discontent and disappointment of the congregation of this place; yea, of the whole land, even of the English. * * * We already have the snake in our bosom." (*Doc. Hist. of New York*, Vol. III., 103.)

The Dutch clergymen at once made information against the newly arrived Lutheran minister. He was cited before the authorities and forbidden to exercise his calling. The Reformed ministers demanded his return to Holland

in the same ship, and this would have been done if illness had not prevented his going on board. An entry at Albany reads: "1658, May 20. Lutheran minister and some bad women sent back to Holland." For the trials and persecutions of this first minister and the congregation between this period and 1664, v. B. M. Schmucker in *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. III., 208–210; Jacob's *Lutheran Church in the United States*, pp. 53, 54.

Before 1671, the Lutherans built their first church near what is now Bowling Green, and in 1684 erected Trinity log church on the *Breit Weg* and the *Priester Gasse*, which stood through Justus Falckner's pastorate, until replaced by Daniel Falckner's stone structure, of which we present a picture. Says an old record: "New York has but four clergymen, first a chaplain belonging to the fort, of the Church of England; secondly, a Dutch Calvinist; thirdly, a Dutch Lutheran." It is said that the three others protested to the governor against the Lutheran minister on the ground that he received the lion's share of the ministerial fees, performing more pastoral acts than the others.

Thus began the first church in New York, which was ministered to by Fabritius, Arsenius, Rudman, Falckner (see p. 105 of this volume), Berkenmeyer and Knoll, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, when also the second church of Germans was established and ministered to by Muhlenberg, and just before the Revolutionary War by his son. (See Schmucker, Jacobs, Nicum, and Graebner, referred to elsewhere. See Nicum in *Luth. Cyclopedia*.[1])

The historic document by which Governor Nicolls of New York, granted liberty of worship to the Lutherans of that city (*Colonial Records*, I.) reads as follows:

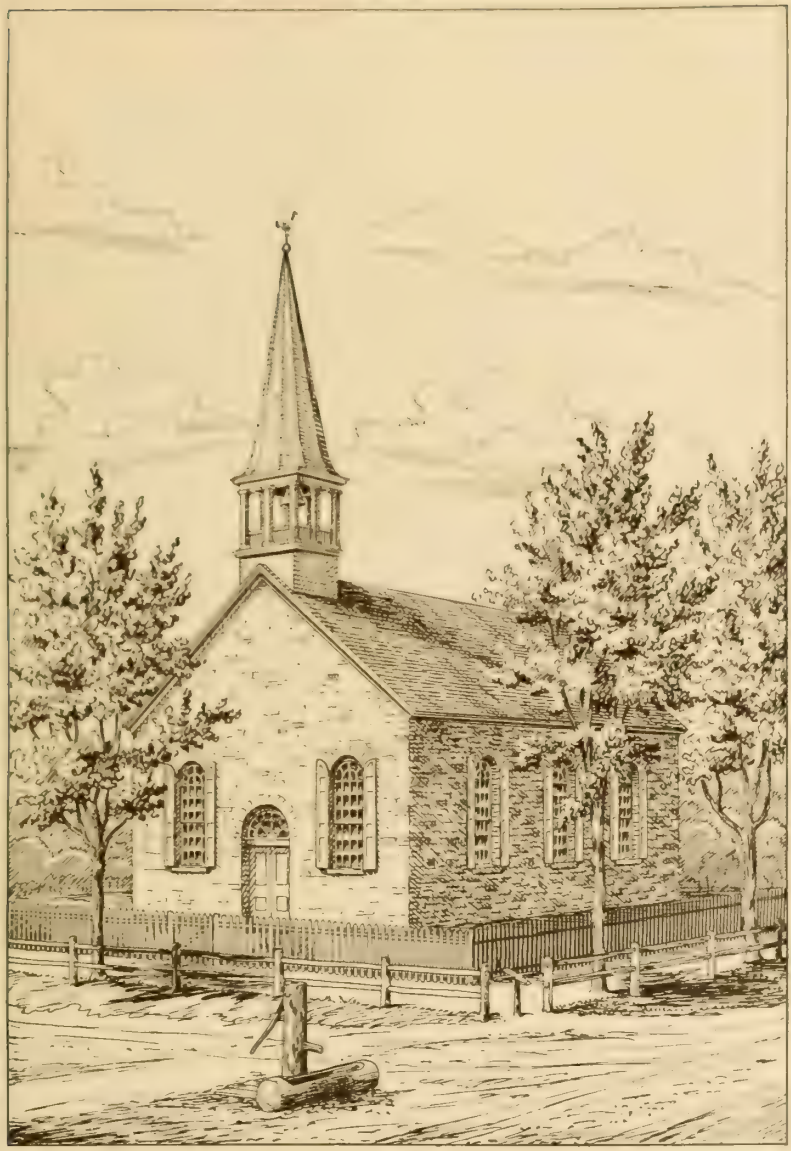
Permission to Procure Lutheran Minister.

The Governo^{rs} Liberty granted to some Lutherans here, for their Sending for a Minister of their Religion.

Whereas severall Persons under my Governm^{t} who professe the Lutheran Religion, have taken the Oath of Obedience to his Ma^{tie}, his Royall Highnesse, and such Governo^{r}, or other Officers as shall by their Authority be Sett over them, and they having requested mee for Liberty to send for one Minister or more of their Religion, and that they may freely and publiquely exercise Divine

[1] Nicum omits "van" from Düren [Dieren], and calls him a "sailor and clerical impostor and tramp." Dr. Sachse in his last visit to Europe (1903) has located over a thousand pages of manuscript reports, mainly from East New Jersey and New York, relating to Van Dieren, Knoll, and Wolf, if not to Falckner.





TRINITY EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

ON THE SOUTH WEST CORNER OF BROADWAY AND RECTOR STREETS.

Built in 1790. Mainly by the efforts of the Pennsylvania Pastor, Rev. Daniel Falkner, [illegible] and Domnie Berkenmeyer in June, 1748. This was the congregation to which Justus Falkner had gone from Philadelphia and for which he was ordained in GLORIA DEI, Philadelphia, [illegible] to see him [illegible]. In this church Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was called in 1751. Across Rector Street [illegible] Trinity Episcopal Church, then the only Episcopal Church in New York. Its members complained that Mr. Muhlenberg preached so loud in Trinity Lutheran Church as to disturb their services.

worship, according to their Consciences, I do hereby give my Consent there unto, provided they shall not abuse this Liberty to disturbance of others, and Submitting to, and obeying such Lawes and Ordenances, as shall be imposed upon them, by the Authority aforesaid, Given under my hand at ffort James in New Yorke on the Island of Manhatans this 6th day of December, 1664.

RICHARD NICOLLS.[21]

BUT after all this has been said for other parts of the American Continent, the historic Lutheran Church of America nevertheless looks to Pennsylvania as the spot of its origin and center. For two and a half centuries the territory of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania has been

[21] *History of the Lutheran Church in New York City.* The history of the Lutheran Church in New York City is an exceedingly lengthy, interesting and instructive one. Over in Amsterdam, the center of the Dutch colonization movement to Manhattan Island, there were no less than 30,000 Lutherans in this early day, and there was in the city at this time the largest Lutheran congregation in the world. Some of these Lutherans came out to Manhattan with the first colony, between 1623 and 1626, but for reasons mentioned in the text above, they were not organized into a congregation. In 1644 a small number of north Germans were added to them. The earliest specific mention of Lutherans in New York City was made by Father Jogues, the Jesuit missionary, in 1643. (*Documentary History of New York*, IV., p. 19.) In 1649 the Lutherans in New Amsterdam petitioned the Lutheran Church at Amsterdam for a pastor, and they were called a "congregation" in the minutes of the consistory of that congregation. (*Lutheran Church Review*, XII., p. 182.) On June 6, the first pastor, John Ernst Goetwasser, arrived. Thus began the Dutch Lutheran congregation in New York, which now, with many changes, is the oldest Lutheran congregation in America. Fabritius arrived in 1668. In 1671 a small church was built. The second pastor, Arsenius, began his ministry there in the same year. Andreas Rudman, from the Swedish Church, in Philadelphia, served them in 1702, and Justus Falkner from 1702–1723. For a more extended account, see Dr. Schmucker's articles on "*History of the Lutheran Church in New York*," in the *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. III., 1884, pp. 204, 222, 276–295.) (See also *Early History of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in New York City*, by J. B. Remensnyder. *Lutheran Church Review*, XV., p. 382.) (For details concerning the constancy of these early Dutch Lutherans in New York to the Lutheran faith in the midst of persecution, see Brodhead's *History of New York*, I., pp. 582, 617, 634, 642.) (See also Nicum, *Geschichte des New York's Ministerium*, Reading, Pa., 1888.)

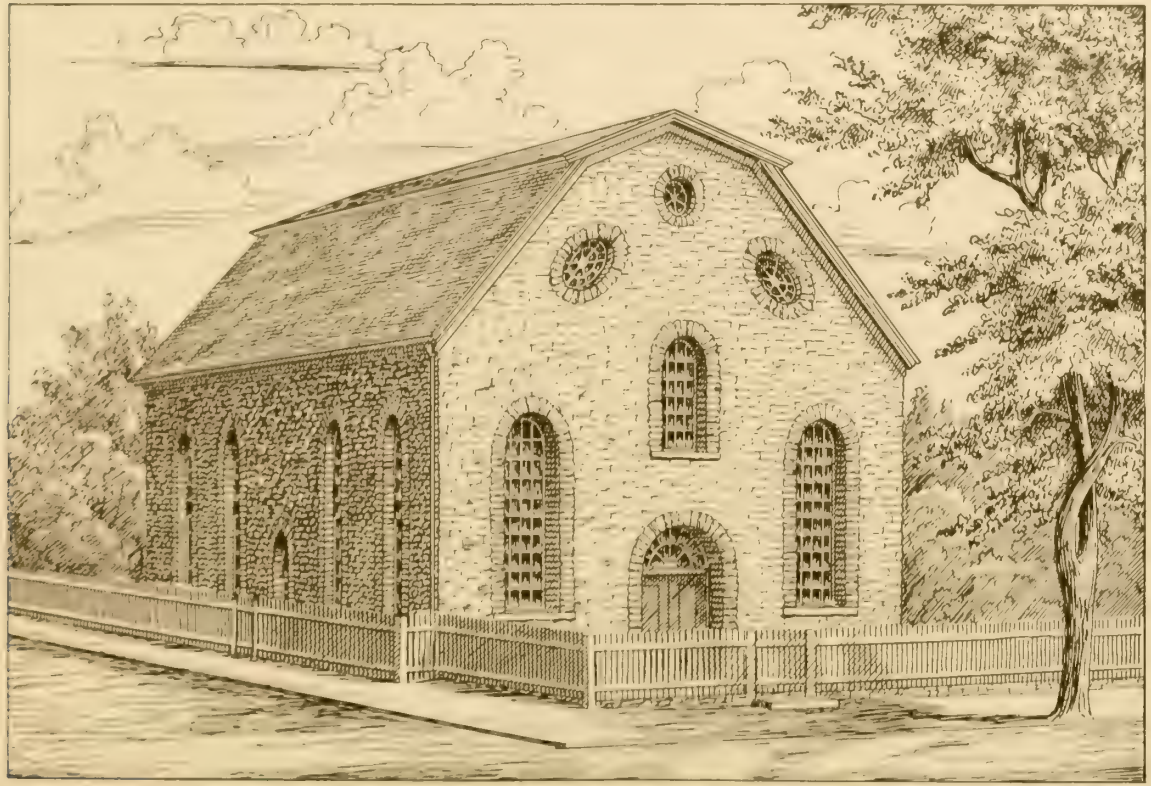
the original, the most substantial, and the abiding seat of the Lutheran Church in this country. In New England there were no traces of Lutheranism prior to the middle of this century.[22] Though Lutheranism in New York City, among the Dutch, has a history of nearly 250 years, and though the history of the Lutheran Church along the Hudson[23] is that of the Palatines (a large part of whom migrated to Pennsylvania in 1723), yet New York in a proper historical sense is prevailingly the original territory of the Reformed Church in America as Pennsylvania is that of the Lutheran as well as the Reformed Church. The early Lutheranism of the South, of Georgia where the settlement of the Salzburgers were made, of the first settlers of North Carolina and the original pioneers of eastern Tennessee, does not enter into comparison either in date or in membership with that of Pennsylvania.[24] In strength and sobriety of leadership, in the piety of pastors, in the power of actual numbers, in establishment of general ecclesiastical organization, in size and architecture of buildings, in secular and governmental prominence, as well as in general priority of date, no provinces in the New World of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, can, for Lutheranism, compare with Pennsylvania.

For one thing Pennsylvania was settled first by Lutherans. The sagacious and progressive King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, having learned the reports concern-

[22] Within the last two decades there has been a steady and strong migration of Lutherans into the New England States.

[23] The newer Lutheranism of western, and to some extent of central New York, particularly in and about Buffalo has its source in waves of immigration from Europe that reached our land in the middle decades of this century.

[24] The Lutheranism of the West and the Northwest, now a mighty factor in the religious development of the land, had no existence before the third, fourth and fifth decades of this century.

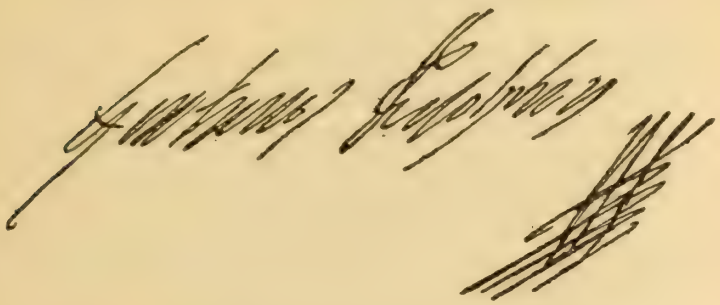


CHRIST'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

ORDINARILY CALLED "THE OLD SWAMP CHURCH."

Erected at the corner of Franklin and William Streets, by the Pennsylvania Pastor, John George Rieger, of Conewago, subsequent to 1764. Its dimensions were [illegible]. Pastor [illegible] of St. Clair's, that another Pennsylvanian, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, [illegible] New York, Lutheran Pastor [illegible] Presbyterian, [illegible] himself as an ardent patriot.

ing the soil, the climate, and the heathen Indian population of America, evolved a plan in his mind for the establishment of colonies in the New World to which immigrants from Germany and all parts of Europe were to be invited. The King was at that time on German soil and in the height of his power. This was in 1630. To him the successful projector of the Dutch West India Company, Wilhelm Usselinx, who had severed his connection with the Company, had offered his services for a similar colonization



project under King Gustavus Adolphus' authority. In 1632 Peter Minuit had also given up his commission in the Dutch company and returned to Germany. The plan of Usselinx, which included the idea of offering inducements to German capital and population that the latter might participate in the Swedish colonization project, was approved by the king by a patent issued at Nuremberg. Only a few days before Gustavus died as the hero of Protestantism on the field of Lützen, he advocated his colonial project, which he regarded as "the jewel of his kingdom," to the people of Germany.

Five years later, in 1637, Oxenstiern, the Prime Minister of Sweden, carried out the wishes of his deceased

ARGONAVTICA GVSTAVIANA;
Das ist:
Nothwendige Nach-Richt
Von der Newen Seefahrt vnd
Kauffhandlung;
So von dem Weilandt Allerdurchleuchtigsten / Großmächtigsten vnd Siegreichesten Fürsten vnnd Herrn / Herrn GVSTAVO ADOLPHO MAGNO, der Schweden / Gothen vnd Wenden König / Großfürsten in Finnlandt / Hertzogen zu Ehesten vnd Carelen / Herrn zu Ingermanlandt / &c. Allerglorwürdigsten Seeligsten Andenckens / durch anrichtung einer
GeneralHandel-COMPAGNIE,
Societet oder Gesellschafft /
In dero Reich vnd Landen / zu derselben sonderbahrem Auffnehmen vnd Flor / auß hohem Verstande vnd Rath / vor wenig Jahren zu stifften angefangen:
Anietzo aber der Teutschen Evangelischen Nation / insonderheit denjenigen welche sich in S. K. M. Freundschafft / devotion, oder Verbündnuß begeben / vnd sich dieses grossen Vortheils / bey so stattlicher Gelegenheit / gebrauchen wollen / zu vnermeßlichem Nutz vnd Frommen / auß Königlicher Mildigkeit / zuneigung vnd Gnade / mitgetheilet worden: vnd mit dem förderlichsten / vermittels gnädiger verleihung deß Allerhöchsten / fortgesetzet vnd völlig zu Werck gerichtet werden soll.
Darauß denn ein jedweder claren / gründlichen / vnd zu seinem Behuff satsamen Bericht vnd Wissenschafft dieses Hochwichtigen Wercks einnehmen / vnd wie dasselbe nicht allein an sich selbst sondern auch dieses orths / Christlich / hochrühmlich / Nachmässig vnd hochnützlich / auch practicierlich vnd ohne grosse difficulteten sey / zur gnüge verstehen kan /
Dabey auch zugleich vernünfftig erachten vnnd ermessen mag: Ob jhme vnd den seinigen / welches Standes oder Condition er immer seyn möchte / dieses hierzu jhme angewiesenen vorhabens / zwischen diesem vnd dem / gelobten Gott nächst ermelten Newen Jahrs Tage / durch einsicherung seines Namens vnd einer gewissen Post Geldes / so viel es wolle / sich theilhafftig zu machen rathsam vnd thunlich erfunden werden möchte.
Was aber für allerhandt vnterschiedene Schrifften / diese Sache betreffendt / allhier beysamen vorhanden, solches wird die nächstfolgende Seite zeigen.

1. Regum 9.

Vnd Salomo machte auch Schiffe zu Ezeon Geber / die bey Eloth ligt am Vfer deß Schilffmeers im Lande der Edomiter: Vnd Hiram der König zu Tyro sandte seine Knechte im Schiff / die gute Schifleute vnd auff dem Meer erfahren waren / mit den Knechten Salomo / vnd kamen gen Ophir / vnd holeten daselbst Vierhundert vnd zwantzig Centner Goldes / vnd brachtens dem Könige Salomo.



Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn / bey Caspar Rödteln /
Im Jahr Christi 1633. Menſe Junio.
Mit der Cron Schweden Freyheit.

TITLE PAGE OF ARGONAUTICA GUSTAVIANA. ORIGINAL AT HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MERCVRIVS GERMANIÆ.

das ist/

Sonderbahre Anweisung für Teutschlandt:

Wie beneben dem Allgemeinem

Wesen/der Kauffhandel vnd Seefahrt/vnd ins gemein alle Nahrung darinnen sehr zuvermehren vnd zu verbessern: Also das selbige Landt hierdurch zu seinem vorigen Flor vnd Wollstand in kurtzem wider vmb zelangen mögen.

Erinnerung an den Leser.

LIeber Leser/Ehe vnd zuvor ich zum Hauptwerck schreite/muß ich dir mit wenigen anzeigen: Das S. K. M. von Schweden / Allergloriwürdigsten Angedenckens/Kurtz vor dero Seligen Ablieben/ vnd Jahrsherrschafft in Nürnberg/ dieses allhier vorgestellte Werck mit allem Ernst wider zur Handt genommen / vnd mit Außfertigung deß Privilegij auff die Teutsche Nation vmbgangen: Auch darauff dazumal deren nachfolgender discurs entworffen worden. Weil dann zum dahmen hero von S. K. M. als noch im Leben vnterschiedlich darinnen gehandelt / vnd solches auch an jetzo auß gewissen Vrsachen nochmalen allenthalben dabey gelassen worden. Als wolleſt du derowegen dich dieses nicht irren lassen: Auch dencken dir gantz keine Gedancken machen / als wann durch gedachtes / zwar vns allerseits hoch Trawrigen/Abster ben höchstermelter S. K. M. diesem Werck etwa newe merckliche difficulteten, so noch nicht in deliberation gezogen / zugewachsen weren/davon anderswo mit mehrem.

Anleitung für Teutschlandt.

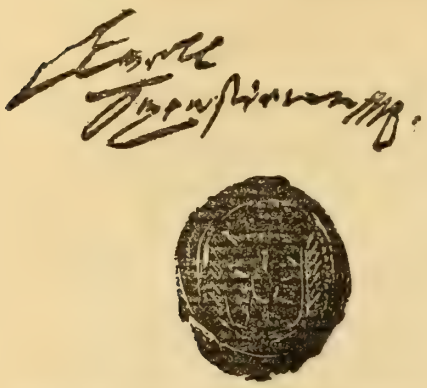
Gleicher Gestalt alle Länder vnd Städter durch den Kauffhandel vnd die Seefahrt/zu einem grossen Auffnehmen gerahten / vnnd dadurch blühen / wachsen vnd zunehmen / solches hat die Erfahrung zu allen zeiten so vberflüssig gelehrt vnd bezeuget / daß es vnnötig einigen Beweiß deßfals anzuführen. Gleicher massen auch vberflüssig würde fallen / mit vielen Worten zu erzehlen / wie Teutschlandt durch die Tyrannen vnd Rauberey / wie auch das wilde vnnd vnordentliche wesen deß Keyserischen vnnd Spanischen Kriegsvolcks seiner Nahrung vnd Wollstands beraubet vnd fast gäntzlich ruinieret worden / Inmassen die trawrige Erfahrung solches aller orten vnd enden gnugsam leider bekant gemacht. So bezeugen gleichfals die täglichen Klagen / das durch die noch immer wehrende beschwerliche Kriegsleufften die Nahrung je mehr vnd mehr in abnehmen gerahten thue/vnd das hergegen die Beschwerungen vnd Auffagen täglich zunehmen / davon auch noch kein Ende zu spüren oder zu sehen. Darüber den viel Leuthe gäntzlich in solche perturbation vnd Bestürtzung gerathen/daß sie nicht wissen / was sie ferner gewisses zur handt nehmen sollen/ihr Hauß normirtmäßig zu vnterhalten / vnnd dem noch vber häuffig schwebenden Vngluck vorzubeugen. Dann sie auch nicht wenig Vrsach haben / weil es der Augenschein gibt / do ferrn alle Sachen weiter noch eine Zeitlang in einem solchen Zustande wie bißher / verbleiben solten / das noch vnzehlich viel Leuthe daben in das eusserste Armuht vnd Elend gerahten vnd verfallen würden.

Tugendreiche Lehr der Gottseligkeit vnd Kauffhandel/ handelt vnnd Teutschlandt. Vnd dessen höchste

Welches alles dieweil es gnugsam bekandt ist/so erfordert ja die höchste Noth/ das dieweil Friede vnd Ruhe in allen Ständen so balde wol noch nicht zu hoffen man auff andere Mittel / weiß vnd wege dencke vnd trachte/dadurch fernerem Vnheil vnd Verderb vorgebawet/Teutschland in seinem vorigen

TITLE PAGE OF MERCURIUS GERMANIÆ. ORIGINAL AT HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

master, and early in 1638 two shiploads of immigrants, consisting largely of Hollanders and Germans, sailed up Delaware Bay. They were under the command of Peter Minuit, a native-born German from Wesel, who twelve years before, also had laid the foundation of New Amsterdam.[25]



SIGNATURE AND SEAL OF OXENSTIERN.

The one great object of Gustavus in his colonization project was to plant the Christian religion among the heathen, and the missionary idea was always prominent in the spirit and in the instructions of the line of Lutheran pastors that began their ministrations at the first settlements on the Delaware. A regularly organized Lutheran church was instituted at once. The first Lutheran church building erected by the colony in the present bounds of this State was in Delaware County in 1646. From 1638 on, for over a century and three-quarters, there was a regular succession of thirty-five faithful and devoted pastors ministering to the colonists in at least six Swedish churches. These early Lutheran churches, supplied by pastors from Sweden, were governed by Provosts, amongst whom were the two distinguished historians and scholars, Acrelius and Von Wrangel.

[25] Minuit himself had been a ruling elder in the Reformed Church. For Pastor Michaelius, of the Reformed Church at Amsterdam, in 1628 states in his "Bericht" that the Director Minnewit of Wesel, who had acted as Diakon of the Reformed Church in his native city, had now assumed the same office in the new church. Minuit had been obliged to resign from the Dutch Company, in 1633, on account of factional strife.

Thus the first European settlers to reach the forest land subsequently called Pennsylvania for the purpose of remaining there, were the Swedish Lutherans of 1638. The second colony was probably that of Dutch miners and farmers on the "Minisink Flats," in Monroe County, not very far above Stroudsburg. This colony had come down from Esopus on the Hudson, cutting a 100-mile road through the wilderness to the Delaware. They were there a number of years before New York was occupied by the English in 1664, but their existence was unknown to the English government at that time and subsequently. Their rich grain fields and abounding orchards were destroyed by the savage outbreak of the Indians in 1755.[26] The third group of settlers was probably the Dutch colony on the Delaware at the mouth of the Hornkill Creek about 1664. The fourth body of colonization was that of the Quakers in 1682. The fifth was that of Pastorius at Germantown in 1683. The sixth was that of the German mystics and pietists on the Wissahickon in 1694. And soon, subsequently, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, there came, literally by the thousands, the great bulk of Pennsylvania's inhabitants, Lutheran, Reformed, and the German sects, with large sprinklings of Scotch Irish, Welsh and English.

In 1694 the second body of Lutherans, all from Germany this time, arrived for settlement in the vicinity of Philadelphia. The fact that the Hanoverian kings of England were both Lutherans and Episcopalians (the former in a private, the latter in an official capacity) and that the orders of the German and the English service were very similar; and that the English language naturally was predominant

[26] The existence of this colony has recently been brought to light by the researches of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg Richards, of Reading, Pa.

in the colony of Penn, gave rise to the birth of the Episcopalian Church in Pennsylvania under Lutheran auspices and under the fostering care of a preacher of the Lutheran doctrine. Beginning with 1710 a slow but steady migration of Lutherans began, and in 1727, the immigration assumed large proportions. By the middle of the eighteenth century fully one-half of the population of the State is said to have been German, the Reformed and Lutheran element preponderating. The statement has ever been made that the Lutheran population reached the number of 60,000.[27] But the Church itself, in comparison with the population standing in some relation to it, was weak and in many regions helpless. The people arrived practically without spiritual shepherds and it was left to Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who came in 1742, to bring order out of the primeval

[27] "It may safely be asserted that the Lutheran population of Pennsylvania alone in the year 1750 aggregated the enormous figure of 60,000."—*Losses of Lutheranism in Pennsylvania.*

Kuhns in his *German and Swiss Settlements in Colonial Pennsylvania* has called attention to the fact that statements made concerning the numbers of the immigration into Pennsylvania in the third, fourth, and fifth decades of the eighteenth century have been largely exaggerated and are usually the result of guess-work. "It has recklessly been estimated that as many as 50,000 came before 1730. On March 16, 1731, the minutes of the Synodical Deputies of Holland state that the total baptized membership of the Reformed in Pennsylvania was 30,000. That this could not be true we need only refer to the figures concerning the whole population given by Proud. Rev. John B. Reiger, in a letter dated November 22, 1731, estimates the number at less than 3,000, which is nearer the truth, as Boehm in his report of 1734 gives the actual number of communicants as 386." (P. 52.) Kuhns estimates the total number of Germans in Pennsylvania in 1775 as about 110,000. These figures in our judgment are somewhat too low. We believe that the lists of vessels entering the port of Philadelphia by no means catch up the names of all the entries of immigrants through Philadelphia, and sufficient allowance is not made for the entry of immigrants through other ports. It is a question, also, whether sufficient allowance has been made for the extremely prolific natural increase of the Germans. Löher, in his *Geschichte der Zustände der Deutsche in Amerika* (1847), writes "Im Jahre 1751 Zählte man in Pennsylvanien an 60,000, welche sich einer lutherischen Kirchengemeinde angeschlossen hatten." (P. 62.) But the figure is evidently high.

Lutheran chaos and to organize the Lutheran Church in this land. He also did much to reduce the affairs of the Lutheran Church in New York and in New Jersey to order. His powerful hand controlled the development of the Church down to the Revolutionary period. New and splendid church edifices came to be erected by the Lutherans in Philadelphia, Lancaster, Reading, Easton and other places. The ability and learning of the Lutheran ministers, the size of their churches, and their fine music, coupled with the fact that Philadelphia was now the capital of the United States, caused the Church to be extraordinarily prominent in the earliest or infant period of American national life. Washington himself recognized a bulwark against the incoming waves of French frivolity and rationalism, in the sober orthodoxy of the German Lutheran Church.

In the beginning of the present century the agitations in the Church connected with the transition from the German to the English language and the difficulties arising from this transition, which have clung like clog and chain round the neck of the Church to the present day, took their rise.

Although the German Lutheran Church became so strong prior and subsequent to the Revolutionary period under the powerful and guiding hand of Muhlenberg, it did not permanently preserve the ratio of influence and power it should have possessed in the course of the development of the State. Some of its own clergy in earlier days appeared to consider the English established church the legitimate successor on American soil of German Lutheranism. A large number of the most substantial and most highly cultured Lutheran families in the State deserted the Lutheran faith when they came to exchange the language of their fathers for the language of the

land.[28] But these prominent defections in the German Church were not sufficient permanently to enfeeble the strong tide of sturdy Lutheranism that was now flowing through the German portions of the State. The great channel of this tide was the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, organized by Muhlenberg in the year 1748. In a historical sense and as a matter of settled development the Ministerium of Pennsylvania is generally conceded to be the Old Mother Synod of the Lutheran Church in America. Mr. John Fiske points out the fact that Pennsylvania in colonial days was the center of distribution of foreign immigration, which from here as a starting point spread to all points south and west. "Shortly after the beginning of the new century they began to penetrate the dense forests which then covered the present counties of Montgomery, Lancaster and Berks. As the lands nearest to Philadelphia became gradually taken up, the settlers were forced to make their way farther and farther to the west. When no more lands remained on this side of the Susquehanna, the Germans crossed the river and founded the counties of York and Cumberland. Still later they spread over Northampton, Dauphin, Lehigh, Lebanon, and other counties, while toward the end of the century the tide of colonization swept to the south, and the newly opened west. One by one Monroe, Centre, Adams and Cumberland counties were taken up. As early as 1732 a number of Pennsylvania Germans under Jost Hite made their way along the Shenandoah valley and settled Frederick, Rockingham, Shenandoah, and other counties of

[28] Thus the founder of St. Luke's Episcopalian Hospital in New York City and of the Episcopalian Church of the Holy Communion in that city was the great grandson of the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America. (Life of William Augustus Muhlenberg, by Anne Ayres. New York. Thomas Whittaker. Fourth Edition. 1889.)

Virginia. In the central and western parts of North Carolina there were many communities formed by settlers from Berks and other counties in Pennsylvania. After the successful outcome of the French and Indian Wars, when Ohio was thrown open to enterprising settlers, Pennsylvania Germans were among the pioneers of that region, many parts of which are still distinctly marked by the peculiarities of the parent colony. Still later they were in the van of the movement which little by little conquered the vast territory of the West, and subdued it to the purposes of civilization."[29]

In this way the Lutherans of Pennsylvania really became the heart and source of Lutheranism through a large part of the United States.[30] In the old Ministerium of Pennsylvania were born both of the two large general bodies, the General Synod and the General Council, whose domain extends through the whole territory of North America.

[29] *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*, by Oscar Kuhns, pp. 59, 60.

[30] Among the prominent Lutherans which Pennsylvania-German blood has furnished the Middle West are: President R. F. Weidner, D.D., LL.D., Chicago Lutheran Seminary; Judge Grosscup, Chicago; Dr. S. Barnitz, General Synod missionary superintendent, Des Moines; Rev. Prof. W. K. Frick, Milwaukee; Rev. G. H. Trabert, D.D., Minneapolis; Rev. A. J. D. Haupt, St. Paul; Prof. Elmer F. Krauss, Chicago; Rev. Prof. J. A. Clutz, D.D., President Midland College, Atchison, Kansas; Rev. Leonard Groh, D.D., Omaha; Prof. Kressler, founder of Carthage College, Illinois; Dr. Ezra Keller and Dr. Sprecher, of Wittenburg College, Ohio; Rev. Prof. J. P. Uhler, Ph.D., of Gustavus College, Minnesota; Rev. E. F. Bartholomew, D.D., of Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.; Rev. L. A. Gottwald, Wittenburg College, Ohio; Dr. Reuben Weiser, Colorado; Dr. L. H. Kuhns, Omaha, Nebraska; Prof. S. F. Breckenridge, Sc.D., Springfield, O.; Rev. Geo. Diehl; Rev. Hezekiah R. Geiger, Ph.D.; Rev. John B. Miller, Ph.D.; Rev. G. W. Mechling, D.D., Ohio; Rev. S. A. Ort, S.P.D., Ohio; Rev. M. Rhodes, D.D., St. Louis, Mis.; Rev. H. W. Roth, D.D., Chicago; Rev. Michael J. Steck. In this connection the descendants of Rev. Gerhart Henkel, who began the first publication house at New Market, Va.; and the Rev. John Bachman, DD., LL.D., of Charleston, whose first American ancestor came to this country as the private secretary to William Penn may be mentioned. This list might be expanded indefinitely.

Nevertheless, the large influx of Germanic and Scandinavian elements arriving from Europe in this century from its fourth decade onward, has caused a number of States in the West to eclipse the strength of Lutheranism in Pennsylvania as far as numbers and population are concerned. The two Dakotas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana, are very largely Lutheran. In North Dakota, particularly, more than one-half of the voting population of the State is Lutheran. Chicago has more Lutheran churches than Philadelphia, and her Lutheran churches outnumber those of any other denomination, not excluding the Roman Catholic. Missouri is a swarming source of the most aggressive and successful type of Lutheranism in this country. But the historic core of Lutheranism in America is to be found in Pennsylvania. This State is the seat of the English Publication Boards, Mission and Church Extension Boards, largest and oldest theological seminaries and collegiate institutions of the Church.

At the present time the old Mother Ministerium of Pennsylvania embraces 356 ministers, 531 congregations and 132,839 communicant members.[31] The seven other Lutheran Synods in the State aggregate in addition 572 ministers, 892 congregations, and 124,510 communicant members.[32] To these must be added the Lutheran membership

[31] See *Lutheran Church Almanac* for 1901.

[32]

	Ministers.	Congregations.	Members.
Pittsburg Synod,	140	204	28,206
West Pennsylvania Synod,	92	145	25,809
Allegheny Synod,	66	151	14,628
East Pennsylvania Synod,	111	122	23,453
Central Pennsylvania Synod,	41	89	9,338
Pittsburg (II.) Synod,	68	100	11,434
Susquehanna Synod,	54	81	11,642
	572	892	124,510

and congregations of nationalities not German or English, perhaps 30,000. If the population of Pennsylvania be about six millions, the Lutheran population of the State, about 300,000,[33] will be somewhat less than one twentieth of the whole number of Pennsylvania's people.[34]

Heavy as this proportion of church membership to population may appear to be, the Lutheran Church cannot claim the leading position in Pennsylvania in any numerical comparison; and the Reformed Church is still less able to do so, both of these denominations having lost constantly and heavily in their membership, for a century and more, to purely English churches. The following table extracted from Dr. Carroll's Religious Forces of the United States, 1893, and based on the census of 1890, will show the proportionate numerical strength in Pennsylvania of the various historical denominations within the State in 1890. The property and social strength of some of the smaller denominations, *e. g.*, the Episcopalians, the Moravians and the Friends is very much greater in proportion than their numerical strength. Dr. Carroll was in charge of the Division of Churches in the eleventh census and was one of the Editors of the New York *Independent*.

According to the totals given by Dr. Carroll, there are in Pennsylvania, according to the census of 1890:

Roman Catholics,	551,577	Communicant	Members.
Methodists,	260,388	"	"
Lutherans,	219,725	"	"

[33] This is a communicant membership. Children and mere church attendants are not reckoned in.

[34] Taking one of the typical German counties, say Montgomery, the proportion of German and of Lutheran churches, to the whole number of churches can be ascertained. For Montgomery, "The census of 1870 gives the county one hundred and forty-four houses of worship. Of this number the exclusive German sects had 68, only four less than half, as follows: Lutheran, 25; German Reformed, 10; Mennonite, 10; Dunkards, 9; and Schwenkfelders, 5. (*Centennial Vol. of Montgomery Co.*, p. 58.)

Presbyterians,	216,248	Communicant	Members.
Reformed,	122,944	"	"
Baptists,	86,620	"	"
Episcopalians,	54,720	"	"
Dunkers,	16,707	"	"
Friends and Moravians, under	15,000	"	"

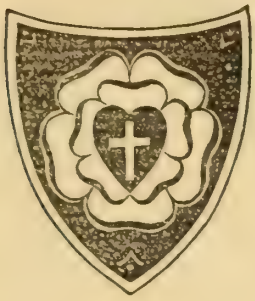
Of the total communicant membership, therefore, in the church denominations of Pennsylvania, aggregating over a million and a half souls, the Lutheran Church communicant membership constitutes a little more than one seventh of the whole.

In summing up the historical relationship between Pennsylvania and the Lutheran Church, it should be noted that the latter is neither the most wealthy nor the most conspicuous religious communion in Pennsylvania history. It is generally retiring in disposition, and is a church of the quiet middle classes. Neither its original Swedish nor its later German political and religious temperament were of that tenaciously aggressive turn which distinguished the Dutch and the English in their public deeds, and which afforded Quakers and Episcopalians an original ground of vantage in the Colony and Presbyterians and Methodists an opportunity to work out their own later destiny in all governmental affairs, whether secular or ecclesiastical. In common with the entire social and religious fabric of the Pennsylvania German this church has been obliged to develop under the handicap of a foreign language.

With all its weaknesses, the Lutheran Church has some unique historical claims upon this Commonwealth. The first settlers of Pennsylvania were Lutherans.[35] Nearly a

[35] They were colonists sent to America by the greatest of Lutheran kings, and his chancellor, under the secular leadership of the same Reformed ruling elder who had already established New Amsterdam, and with instructions to establish a Lutheran church, a Lutheran mission among the Indians, and with a long line of Lutheran pastors.

half century prior to the landing of the great and far-sighted Quaker whose family name was rightly given to this Commonwealth, the Lutheran Church was planted on the western shore of its beautiful boundary river, and the Christian religion was taught to the red men of the Delaware region by Lutheran missionaries. The first sacred building erected within the confines of the territory of Pennsylvania was a Lutheran church. The first songs of praise that went up to God from the shores of this State were those of the Lutheran Liturgy. The first book in North America to be translated into the language of the American Indian was Luther's Catechism. To this story in detail we now turn.





CHAPTER II.

Pennsylvania as a Lutheran Settlement Prior to the Days of Penn.



ARMS OF SWEDEN.

ON March 29, 1638, Peter Minuit, the leader of the Swedes on the Delaware, concluded the purchase from the five chiefs of the Minquas, a tribe of the Iroquois stock, of the lands on the right bank of the Delaware from Bombay Hook up to the Schuylkill, without defined boundary to the west. This land was named New Sweden and its limits north and south were marked by boundary posts with the Swedish coat-of-arms. The news of the foundation of this Swedish Lutheran colony traveled swiftly northward, through Fort Nassau, to New Amsterdam, and by May 6th the Dutch governor at New Amsterdam protested against the settlement. The English authorities in Virginia also protested.

The next year, 1639, the first Lutheran minister in the



SITE OF FIRST LUTHERAN CHURCH BUILT IN AMERICA,
IN MINUET'S FORT, 1638.

(ROCKS SHOW SITE OF MINUET'S FORT, CHURCH STOOD WITHIN THE ENCLOSURE.)

SITE OF LUTHERAN CHURCH AT CRANEHOOK, 1667-1699.

(SITE IS SHOWN BY MONUMENT.)



HOLY TRINITY (OLD SWEDES) LUTHERAN CHURCH AT CHRISTINA, 1698.

territory of Pennsylvania and of the United States, Reorus Torkillus,[36] arrived. He began public services in Fort Christina, and the first Lutheran church, a blockhouse, was built soon afterwards. In 1640, Pieter Hollander, the governor, bought additional lands from the Indians so as to extend the purchase toward the north as far as Trenton Falls. In 1641 another Lutheran minister arrived. In 1643 John Printz came over as governor of this New Sweden with instructions to see that divine service be zealously conducted according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession (the Lutheran Confession), that members of the Reformed religion shall be allowed religious freedom, that the youth be properly instructed and trained in the fear of the Lord, and to spread Christianity among the Indians. With the new Governor came the Rev. John Campanius, the Lutheran clergyman who built a Lutheran church at Tinicum, 9 miles southwest of Philadelphia in 1646 and held services on Sundays and festival days, preached on Wednesdays and Fridays, and conducted daily matin and vesper services. Here he translated Luther's Small Catechism into the language of the Delaware Indians (Lutheri Catechismus, "Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket." Stockholm, Tryckt vthi thet af Kongl. May^{tt} privelig. Burchardi Tryckeri, af J. J. Genath/f. Anno MDCXCVI., p. 160.).

Campanius learned the language of these red men and became the first Protestant Missionary among the North American Indians. John Eliot, who came to Boston in 1631, settled as a teacher in the city of Roxbury in 1632, and did not begin his work among the Indians until 1646. The Indian Catechism of Campanius antedated

[36] Acrelius, says: "Their clergyman was Reorus Torkillus, of East Gothland."

LUTHERI Catechiſmus/

Öfwerſatt
på
American - Virginiſke
Språket.



Stockholm/
Tryckt vthi thet af Kongl. Mayt. privileg.
BURCHARDI Tryckeri/af J. J. Genath/ f.

Anno M DC XCVI.

TITLE PAGE OF CAMPANIUS' INDIAN CATECHISM.

Eliot's Indian Bible in actual use, but not in appearance in print. Eliot's New Testament was printed in 1661, and Campanius' Catechism was not put into print until 1696, written copies being used up to that time. The catechism is printed in Indian and Swedish, the languages alternating. The Swedish portion is printed in German and the Indian portion in Roman characters. The book contains the entire Catechism, the Five Parts, Confession, the Table of Duties, and Morning and Evening prayers. With the appended vocabulary of Indian words and phrases it makes a small volume of 160 pages. The vocabulary is that of the Delaware language. It is 28 pages in length, and is entitled *Vocabularium Barbaro-virgineorum*. Copies of this Catechism are preserved in the Philadelphia Library, and in the Library of the Lutheran Historical Society at Gettysburg. The regulations given by Oxenstiern and the Swedish Council of State for the colony on the banks of the Delaware are very explicit in their instructions as to the manner of dealing with the aborigines in this region, who before they met the Swedes had not come into contact with white men.

The instructions are as follows: "The wild nations, bordering upon all other sides, the Governor shall understand how to treat with all humanity and respect, that no violence or wrong be done to them by Her Royal Majesty or her subjects aforesaid; but he shall rather, at every opportunity, exert himself that the same wild people may gradually be instructed in the truths and worship of the Christian religion, and in other ways brought to civilization and good government, and, in this manner properly guided. Especially shall he seek to gain their confidence, and impress upon their minds that neither he, the Governor, nor his people and subordinates, have come into those

parts to do them any wrong or injury, but much more for the purpose of furnishing them with such things as they may need for the ordinary wants of life."[37]

The grandson of Campanius in a description of the latter's work among the Indians (Description of the Province of New Sweden, by Thomas Campanius Holm[38]), published in 1702, states that the Indians at first were very suspicious of this Lutheran missionary, and that his life and the lives of the other missionaries were in considerable danger from the Indians, who daily came to him and asked him many questions. But he finally gained their affection, and in their visits they induced him to learn their language so as to be able to instruct them in the Christian doctrine, and "he was so successful, that those people who were wandering in darkness were able to see the light." The credit, therefore, of humane and Christian dealing with these tribes does not belong alone and primarily to William Penn, and when Penn came as a man of peace forty years later he entered an environment prepared for him by Lutheran missionaries before his day.

In 1655 the whole Swedish Lutheran colony was conquered by the Dutch of New Amsterdam, and in 1664 the Dutch rule itself in the latter place gave way to the rule of England. Thus the power of Sweden over this territory ceased after seventeen years, but the Swedish Lutheran Church under great difficulties nevertheless continued. The year 1671 marks the advent of the first German Lutheran minister in the Delaware colony. He came from New Amsterdam and in 1677 was made pastor of the Swedish Lutheran log church built in that year at Wicaco

[37] Acrelius, pp. 35–39.

[38] Translated from the Swedish by Peter S. DuPonceau, LL.D., Philadelphia, 1839.

with the consent of the Governor out of an old fort or blockhouse, which had been erected in 1669.[39] The German minister, Jacobus Fabritius, preached his first sermon in this original "*Gloria Dei*" church on Trinity Sunday, 1677. He preached here and at Tinicum on alternate Sundays. He is known to have used the Hollandish language, but is not known ever to have preached in the German or the English language to the immigrants soon to be incoming. In 1682 Fabritius became blind, but continued in his service of the congregations until his death about 1693. He resided, in the latter part of his life, in Kensington and was rowed on the Delaware in a canoe to his preaching places and led to the pulpit by an attendant.[40]

In 1681 the new and predominant element entered into the history of the settlements on the Delaware. Charles II. granted William Penn 26 millions of acres of land on the western bank of the Delaware with full proprietorship and dominion, saving only the King's sovereignty. In addition to this Pennsylvania grant of the lands of the Dutch and Swedes, Penn the next year gained the Delaware grant of the lands below Pennsylvania in possession of the Swedes. "Penn claimed—what was finally adjudged to be his—the lands on the Delaware which had been settled by the Dutch and the Swedes. He wanted the waters and shores of the river and bay of Delaware to the ocean, and this concession he obtained in 1682, from the Duke of York by deeds of enfeoffment. The three counties of Delaware, or 'the territories,' as Delaware, in distinction

[39] *Hallische Nachrichten*, I., p. 36.

[40] For Fabritius, see *History of New Sweden* (translation), p. 177, Gräbner, *Geschichte der Lutherischen kirche in America*, pp. 30, 35–36, 60–64, 69, 77; Jacobs' *Lutheran Church in the United States*, pp. 57–59, 86; Nicum in *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. 12, p. 184; J. F. Sachse in *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. 17, pp. 68–70, Vol. 18, 118–120, in *German Pietists*, pp. 30, 252.

from the Pennsylvania grant, was called, were thus annexed to his dominion, but held by a different tenure."[41]

William Penn's cousin, Captain Markham, and two commissioners arrived toward the close of the year 1681 with instructions to lay out a great city, and were followed by Thomas Holme, the surveyor-general. The newcomers found the site of the present Philadelphia settled by the Lutheran Swedes.[42]

During the year 1682, no less than twenty-three vessels arrived in the Delaware from Europe, bringing more than 2,000 immigrants. They were principally Friends or Quakers, from England, but with them, and following later on, came settlers from Wales, Ireland, and continental Europe.[43] Late in 1682 Philadelphia was laid out. Acrelius, the learned Swedish Lutheran provost, pastor and author, after having spent several years in the Colonies, in his History of New Sweden, published at Stockholm, in 1758, in referring to the laying out of Philadelphia, says: "On the river at Wicacoa, a high, dry, and pleasant place, the city of Philadelphia was laid out. The land for it, consisting of three hundred and sixty acres, was given by three brothers of the Swaenson family, upon condition that two hundred acres should be given to each of them in another place in the city, in what are now called the 'Northern Liberties' of the city, with a yearly rent of one half bushel of wheat for each one hundred acres. Those who bought land in the country had building lots given to them in the city, its first charter was given in 1682, and its so-called 'Liberties' extended three English miles beyond the city, between two navigable streams, the Delaware

[41] Fisher's *The Colonial Era*, Scribners, 1892, p. 201.

[42] For an interesting description of the homes and the dress of the Swedes, v. *Chester and its Vicinity*, John Hill Martin, Philadelphia, 1877, p. 37.

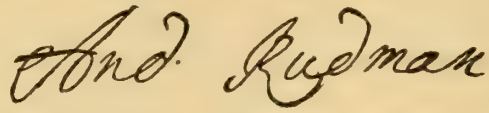
[43] *Abstracts from the Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania.*

and the Schuylkill. Within the first year the city contained eighty houses, and after twenty years was amazed at its own strength and greatness. Its beautiful situation, deep harbors, regular streets, expensive buildings, important commerce, and rapid improvement, are a wonder to the world, and may become hereafter even greater."

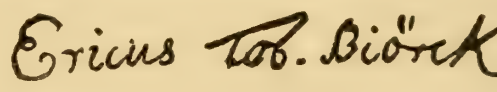
Many of the original patentees for town lots under Penn were descendants of the earlier Swedish settlers. When Penn himself landed at Upland (Chester) on Oct. 27, 1682, the Swedes assured him in a formal address that they "would love, serve and obey him with all they had." Penn looked upon the Swedish people as the original settlers of the Province, pioneers in the path of adventure and privation.[44] "Although strenuously opposed to him coming, since they were the real owners of the soil, the Swedes received the new comers 'with great friendliness, carried up their goods and furniture from the ships, and entertained them in their homes without charge,' showing a Christian hospitality which continued to be gratefully recalled by the Quakers for a century later. Penn was delighted with them and appreciated especially their kind offices for him and the Indians. They acted as his interpreters. He relates that he found them quite as cordial toward him as were the few Englishmen who lived among them, and he commends their respect for authority as well as their kind behavior to the English, 'as they are a proper people and strong of body,' he adds, 'so have they fine children and almost every house full. And I must do them that right. I see few young men not sober and industrious.'"[45] The Swedes had some place both in the General Assembly and in the Council of the new Province.

[44] John Hill Martin's, *Chester, Delaware County, in Pennsylvania.*
[45] Acrelius.

The Lutheran Church which had begun so well under Pastor Torkillus in 1639, and under by Pastor Campanius and had languished under Pastors Lars Lock and



Fabritius, from 1693 to 1694 was supplied by Charles Christopher Springer, a sound Lutheran schoolmaster, and a lay reader, Andrew Bengston. But, in response to repeated appeals from the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware,[46] in 1697 Pastors Andreas Rudman, Eric Björk, and



Jonas Auren arrived from Sweden, and the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania entered on a new era.[47]

[46] The Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam was appealed to to either send a pastor from Holland, or to awaken an interest in Sweden. But no answer came to these letters sent out by the Lutherans in America.

[47] This wonderful accession of pastors was brought about in a very extraordinary manner. Andrew Printz, a young man and a nephew of the first Swedish governor, had paid a visit to his countrymen on the Delaware as early as 1790. When he returned to Sweden, in a conversation with the postmaster of Gothenberg, he detailed the sad condition in which he found the Lutheran churches on the Delaware. This postmaster, John Thelin by name, was so much stirred by the tale that he made a direct appeal to the King of Sweden to send aid to America. He found the King not unwilling, and he therefore wrote a long letter of inquiry to the Swedes in America, in which he tells them that the King is ready to furnish them not only with ministers but with religious books. The letter was answered by the schoolmaster, Charles Springer. Under date of May 31, 1693, he says, "We beg that there may be sent to us two Swedish ministers, who are well learned and well exercised in the Holy Scriptures, and who may well defend both themselves and us against all the false teachers and strange sects by whom we are surrounded, or who may oppose us on account of our true, pure, uncorrupted service to God and the Lutheran religion, which we shall now confess before God and all the world, so that, if it should so happen—which, however, may God avert—we are ready to seal this with our own blood. We beg also that these ministers may be such as live a sedate and sober life, so that we and our children, led by the example of their godly conversation, may also lead lives godly and well pleasing to God. It is



Ericus Tob. Biörck

On the day after the arrival of the three Swedish clergymen, Wednesday, June 30, 1697, they "went to Wicaco[48]

also our humble request that we may have sent to us twelve Bibles, three copies of Sermons, forty-two manuals, one hundred Handbooks and Spiritual Meditations, two hundred Catechisms, etc. God grant that we may obtain faithful pastors and watchmen for our souls, who may also feed us with that spiritual food, which is the preaching of God's Word and the administration of the Holy Sacraments in their proper form."

A postscript requests as a special favor that sermons on the Gospels and Epistles be sent to Captain Lars Cock, "for which he will pay." A roll of settlers to the number of 188 Swedish families, and including 942 persons in the settlement, accompanies the letter. The King consulted a man who from this time on until his death became almost a father to the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. He was Dr. Jasper Svedberg (father of Emanuel Swedenborg) who was professor of theology at Upsala in 1692, and also Provost of the Cathedral at Upsala in 1695. Dr. Svedberg recalled that there were certain funds held in trust by the Swedish crown for the conversion of the heathen, but which the nobility was using and he advised the King that these funds should be devoted to the heathen through the Swedes in America, and "to see to it that the children of Sweden do not become heathen as they dwell among us."

Dr. Svedberg selected two of his own students, Andreas Rudman, who was just completing his course for the degree of Ph.D., and Eric Björck, a tutor of Svedberg's nephews. The King added a third, Jonas Auren, of Wenneland, in Sweden, who was to make surveys of the Swedish region, with a description of their character and the condition of the inhabitants and return to the King soon with them. But that he might perform such ministerial acts in America as might be useful, he was ordained with the other two. After considering the call, Rudman agreed to go to America on condition that the King promise "that provided God spared his life he should be recalled in a few years and advanced to some charge of honor and profit in his native land." So far from being mercenary in spirit, as might be inferred from the laying down of such a condition, Rudman was one of the most self-sacrificing and liberal missionaries that ever set foot on American soil. He served for years without salary. He gave up his good charges to others. When funds were at hand, he paid church debts with them. He personally paid the travelling expenses of Rev. Andrew Sandel who was to come over as his successor. And when the opportunity to return to Sweden arrived and the King's promise was about to be fulfilled, he failed to embrace the opportunity out of consideration for his wife's wishes.

(J. F. Sachse, commenting on this fact in *The German Pietists*, p. 474, remarks: "Pastor Rudman, devout and sincere as he was, by making this apparently reasonable request, unwittingly established a precedent which was taken advantage of, and followed by every succeeding Swedish missionary who came to America. The effect of this was eventually to make the American

[48] From diary of Rev. T. E. Björck. See *Records of Trinity Church.*

then some distance from the embryo city, and held their first service among the Swedes on the Delaware, and, as Rudman states, ' according to the true doctrines contained in the Augsburg Confession of Faith, free from all human superstition and tradition.'[49] Upon this occasion the three clergymen officiated, clad in robe and surplice. This service, in the Swedish tongue, * * * was the first in America in which the Lutheran ritual was rendered in its fullness according to the custom of the Mother Country. The following day the three ministers went to Germantown and

mission a mere stepping-block for clergymen who were ambitious for subsequent home preferment, and it was just this unfortunate circumstance which in the course of time alienated the Swedish Lutheran Church in America from the faith, and landed both church and congregations within the Protestant-Episcopal fold."

The King presented Rudman with 500 and the other two with 400 guilders to settle debts and prepare for the voyage, and prior to the voyage he gave the missionaries several personal audiences and appropriated 3,000 guilders toward their expenses and passage. He had the Indian translation of the catechism made by Campanius brought forth from where it had lain for nearly half a century in neglect, and 500 copies were printed and stamped with the King's name in gilt letters, and forwarded for use among the Indians. He also sent with them for the use of the congregations in America, 30 folio Bibles, 6 sets of *Postillen*, 150 manuals, 100 Swedish hymn-books, Agenden, 100 catechisms, 300 smaller catechisms, 400 A B C books bound in strong wooden covers, and 100 religious works.

The three clergymen left London on Feb. 4, 1697, and arrived in Chesapeake Bay after a ten weeks' journey. They stopped in Maryland as the guests of Governor Francis Nicholson. They reached New Castle by way of Elk River and came to the scene of their labors at Philadelphia on June 29, 1697. "Their first official act after landing was to wait on Lieutenant-Governor William Markham, as did Kelpius and his party three years previous. When he saw their credentials, fortified as they were by a passport, dated at Kensington, November 22, 1696, with the British King's (William III.) own hand and seal, giving liberty of passage from England over to the Delaware, Governor Markham received them with great kindness and welcomed them cordially to Penn's domain, promising them all possible favor and assistance." (Sachse's *German Pietists*, p. 94.) The original letter of the Swedish archbishop which contains both the official authorization and delineation of Rudman and Björck is still preserved in the archives of *Gloria Dei*. By this official letter the three clergymen were bound to the Holy Scriptures, the Augsburg Confession and other symbolical books of the Lutheran Church. They are to administer the sacraments aright, diligently preach and teach the catechism.

[49] Rudman's *Memoirs of Wicaco.*

visited the fraternity on the Wissahickon, where they were received with great consideration by Kelpius and his associates. The friendship begun at this time was continued * * * until the death of Kelpius."[50]

Rudman and Auren[51] remained in Philadelphia, while

[50] *The German Pietists*, pp. 94–95.

[51] Not long after the arrival of the three clergy the news of the death of Charles XI. was received, and Auren concluded to stay in America. He, no less than the other two Swedish pastors, became very intimate with the mystics on the Wissahickon, and Auren came into intercourse with the Sabbatarians at Philadelphia and at Providence and was converted to their seventh-day views.

In accordance with the intent of the trust funds which had brought the pastors across the sea, and with the original purpose of Gustavus Adolphus in founding the Swedish settlement, and with the object of Campanius in translating the catechism, 500 copies of which were now in America awaiting use, it fell to Auren's lot to go into the interior and preach the gospel to the Indians. Auren gives an account of this work in Björck's *Dissertatio Gradualis*, de Plantatione Eccl. Sved. under date Jan. 13, 1699–1700. He penetrated as far as the Conestoga region in Lancaster County a quarter of a century before the white men settled there and nearly forty years before the Moravian missionaries made their appearance on the territory of the Red Men. By a strange coincidence he is said to have preached and impressed his Seventh-Day teachings on the Indians in the neighborhood of Ephrata. This was years before the Ephrata Seventh Day community was founded. In 1700 Auren published his reasons for becoming a Sabbatarian in Leed's Almanac, under the title, *Noah's Dove.*

This publication by Auren stirred up much trouble in the Lutheran Congregations on the Delaware, and Björck answered it by issuing another pamphlet, also in English, entitled "*A Little Olive Branch*, put in the mouth of the (so-called) Noah's Dove. Printed and sold by William Bradford at the Sign of the Bible in New York, 1704." (It was a small quarto, and the only copy known to exist was on exhibition at the "Bradford" exhibit by the Grolier Club in New York in 1893.) The year after Auren's arrival, and two years before the publication of his erratic views, on May 28, 1698, Auren laid the corner stone of the old Swedes church of Wilmington (Holy Trinity of Christiana) on the Seventh Day, Saturday, May 28, 1698. Auren was also present as assistant at the consecration of *Gloria Dei* Church, July 2, 1700, but he does not seem to have been present at the ordination of Justus Falckner in *Gloria Dei*, Nov. 24, 1703. He was called as pastor to the Raccoon Church in New Jersey and as he there preached his Sabbatarian doctrine, Björck cited him to appear before the governor of New York. The governor permitted him to return to Raccoon Creek as pastor, with the understanding that he was to preach the orthodox Lutheran doctrine to his congregation on Sunday, while he and his family were at liberty to keep the Seventh Day. In November, 1710, when Auren was living near the Susquehanna River, he was married by Rev. Björck to Lydia, daughter of Hans Giostason. He died at the Racoon church, February 16, 1713. He was buried there by Lidenius and Sandel.

Björck took charge of the church at Wilmington. The work of the Lutherans expanded immediately. Under the influence of Björck's activity at Wilmington the corner stone of the Old Swedes church, which is still standing,



OLD SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH (TRINITY), AT WILMINGTON, DEL.

was laid on May 28, 1698, and the church was consecrated on July 4, 1699, just seventy-seven years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence.[52]

In Philadelphia at Wicaco it was not so easy to make progress. The old block church had long ago been unfit for use. But the difference of opinion as to a site for the

[52] Björck, Rudman and Auren were present. Rudman performed the act of consecration. The church cost £800, of which the pastor himself contributed £135. The governor of Pennsylvania was invited to be present at the consecration. There was a great feast; meat, drink, wheat, malt, bread, flour, hops, wine, butter, sugar, raisins, eggs, veal, mutton, venison, chicken, turkey and turnips were contributed. The church is of granite gray stone. The walls are six feet thick at the base. There are five large arch old Norman windows and three heavy Norman doors. There are inscriptions on all four sides in iron letters. Within, there are a brick floor, cedar roof, fir pews, and quaint pulpit with high sounding board. 1698 is the date in iron letters on the west gable.



SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH AT WICACAO (1677-1699) AND HOUSE OF SVEN SENER.

FROM AN ORIGINAL SKETCH IN THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY.

new church became so intense that Pastor Rudman threatened to lay down his office unless agreement was reached. Finally, after an eloquent sermon by Pastor Björck, the difficulty was left to the decision of the clergymen, who



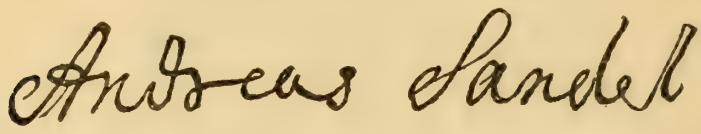
GLORIA DEI CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

determined to build near the site of the old church. It was July 2, 1700, before the new *Gloria Dei* church was consecrated,[53] Björck preaching the sermon from II. Samuel 7 : 29.[54]

[53] The building was 60 by 30 feet and 20 feet to the square. The dedication extended over three days, being opened on Saturday by the *Kirchweih* feast. Pastor Björck christened the church *Gloria Dei.* Not only Swedes and Germans but also a large number of English were present, and Pastor Björck was forced to repeat his Swedish sermon in English at the close of the service. The Mystics from the Wissahickon furnished the instrumental music and chanted the dedicatory psalms and responses. Rudman, Björck, and Auren were robed in surplice and chasuble. The church was the earliest of Philadelphia's fine colonial buildings of importance still standing, all of them built of red brick with black glazed headers. It is the oldest building of character now standing in the city, and is of the same dimensions as the Old Swedes Church at Wilmington. At its completion few structures were equal to it in the town.

[54] It was a few weeks after the consecration of this new building that Daniel and Justus Falckner returned from Germany.

This new Swedes church in Philadelphia was erected at substantially the same time when the new Christ Episcopal church was finished and when the German Lutherans, under Falckner, began to have intimate relations with the Swedish Lutherans. But Pastor Rudman was not able to lead the Philadelphia Swedish congregation into a large and prosperous sphere of ecclesiastical development. His health became infirm. It was scarcely a year after the new church was built before he was obliged to appeal to the authorities in Sweden for a successor. This successor, Andrew Sandel, reached America March 10, 1702.[55]



Pastor Sandel at once began to place congregational affairs into better disciplinary order. The right of the members to their church pews, the duties of the church officers, and the time and order of the services were determined more definitely. Preaching and teaching services were arranged at various spots in private houses, because the members were in widely scattered districts. Fines were introduced as a penalty in exercising discipline, but were

[55] Meantime an imposter, by the name of Tollstadius, had represented to the infirm Pastor Rudman that he had been sent over to take charge of the Wicaco Church, and was already in possession before Sandel arrived. Tollstadius by his wicked course of life occasioned the Lutheran pastors much trouble, and was finally drowned in the Delaware River by the capsizing of his boat.

A letter of July 18, 1701, written by the archbishop of Upsala and according to Gräbner still preserved in the archives of *Gloria Dei* Church, addressed to the congregation, makes it Sandel's duty to teach God's word purely according to the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures and as it is briefly comprehended in the recognized chief symbols of the Lutheran Church and its other symbolical books ; also to administer the Sacraments according to God's own order, to be faithful in catechetical instruction and to exercise proper church discipline.

subsequently discontinued.[56] In 1704 the weight of the roof of the church building began to press the sides outward, and the two side wings which are still standing were added.

Meantime Pastor Rudman did not return to Sweden,[57] but removed to New York, from whence he had had repeated calls from the distressed congregations in that State.[58]

Rudman remained in charge of the Dutch Lutheran interests in New York city and Albany until he secured Justus Falckner as his successor. He returned to Philadelphia in the fall of 1703.[59]

[56] Their record is of value as giving an insight into the peculiar circumstances of the time. The fine for coming to church in an intoxicated condition was 40s. and public repentance. The fine for scoffing at God's Word or the Sacraments was £5 sterling, punishment and public repentance. The fine for singing at the wrong time was 6s. If any would not pay these fines they were to be shut out from congregation and cemetery.

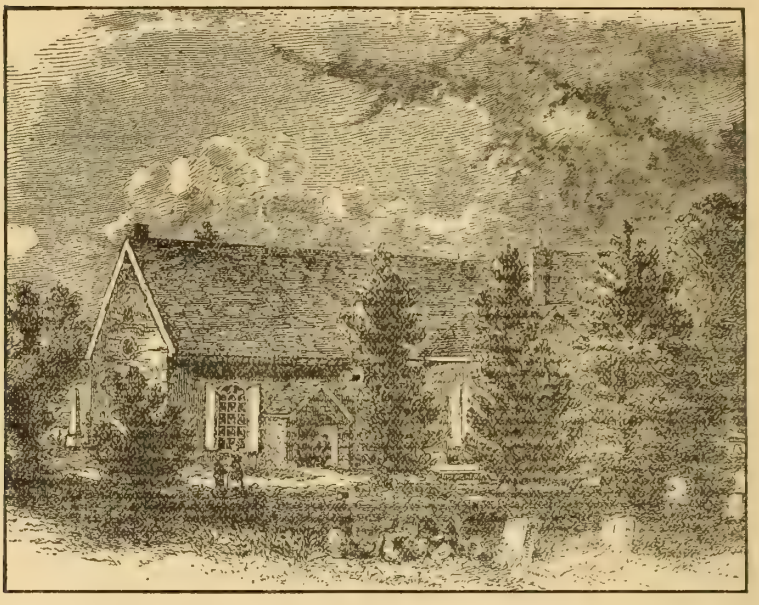
[57] Both because of his infirmities and also because of the deep attachment of his wife to her native Pennsylvania.

[58] On July 5, 1702, Rudman installed Sandel as pastor of *Gloria Dei* at Wicaco, and on the 19th of the same month he preached his farewell sermon. It was on this occasion that he warned his congregation against Auren's new teaching of the doctrine of the Sabbath. Early the next day, on July 20th, he started for New York, accompanied by the schoolmaster at Christ Church, who intended to sail for Europe, and a number of Swedes. On June 15th Rudman had been given a farewell service and reception by the Mystic Brotherhood at Germantown, of which there is a Swedish account. The following poem was presented to him on that occasion.

"Rudman der Armen Sweden Hirte
Kahm hier ins land zu rechter zeit,
Das Irthum auch noch dass Verwirrte,
Was allbereit unwissenheit
Von Luther's wahrer lehr bey nahe entfernet,
Das hat Rudmannus nun auch wieder neu gelernet,
Ein jedes werk preist seinen meister,
Und wie der Haus herr, so sein lohn;
Rudmannus hast die flatter-geister
Und predikt Christum Gottes Sohn;
Sein leben, lehr und ambt, kan selbst vielmehr erweisen,
Als meine feder ihn den leser kann an preisen."

[59] In New York he at once began to gather up the German, Dutch and Swedish Lutherans in his immense parish, which included the valley of the

Having installed Sandel as his successor at Philadelphia, and sent Falckner as his successor to New York,



TRINITY CHURCH, OXFORD, ORIGINALLY SERVED BY PASTORS RUDMAN AND SANDEL.

Rudman, who continued to live in Philadelphia, and acted as Provost of the Lutheran Churches, now was without a definite pastoral charge. But under the direction of George Keith he ministered to the outlying Anglican congregations, as well as supplied the rector's place at Christ

Hudson, Long Island, East Jersey as far west as Phillipsburg and Easton. His family followed him to New York, but in the summer of 1703 they were all prostrated by the plague of yellow fever which was then raging. He never recovered entirely from this attack and realized that he could not attend to the work in New York during the rigors of another winter. And thus he came to think of asking Justus Falckner to take charge of the New York congregation. He therefore returned to Philadelphia, and ordained the latter on November 24, 1703.

Episcopal Church when the rector himself was absent.[60] He took charge of the Oxford and Radnor congregations, walking to and from the city, stopping at all homes by the way and performing missionary services in the most zealous manner, in spite of the feebleness of his physical condition.[61] After serving these Anglican congregations for three years he was notified that he had been granted a gratuity by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in London.[62] Thus Rudman, the Swedish

[60] "October 5, 1704, Mr. Andrew Rudmann, late Swedish minister, by the direction of Mr. George Keith serves there (Oxford) now in hopes of encouragement from the Honorable Society.* * * At Germantown in the same county the people are numerous, they want both Church and Minister."—*Evan Evans.* —MS. records of the Church. General Archives of S. P. G., London. Quoted in *German Pietists*, p. 476.

[61] "When Dominie Rudmann, who was physically frail, first took charge of the Oxford and Radnor congregations, he walked to and from the city, stopping at the houses by the wayside, no matter of what nationality the inmates —whether English, Welsh, Swedish or German—catechising in some, reasoning in others, and often administering consolation in the hour of sorrow; while some cases, where the occupants were too strongly imbued with Quakerism to heed his discourse, he would meet with a rebuff strong enough to cause him to obey the Scriptural injunction 'to shake the dust from off his feet and pass on.'"

"On these lonely pilgrimages he would frequently, when his strength was exhausted, sink down, faint and weary, on a rock or stump of a tree, pray for both bodily and spiritual strength, and after thus refreshing himself again start upon his journey, singing a few verses of the good old rhythmical prayer of the Fatherland:

'Liebster Jesu, guadensonne,
Meines herzens zuversicht,'

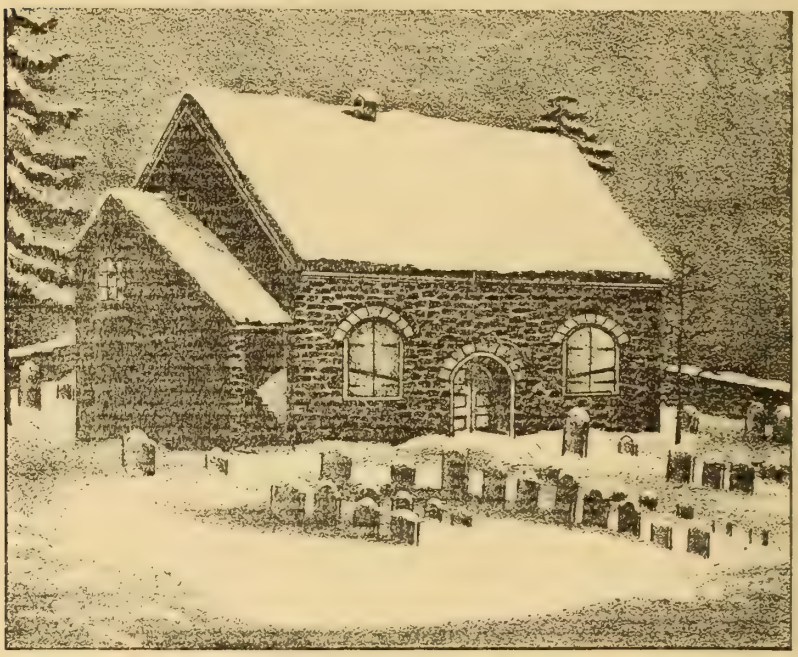
to cheer him on his way while toiling wearily through the forest, over hill and dale, to his distant charges.

"He was frequently overtaken on these journeys by the sudden storms so common in our country, with no protection but such as was afforded by the trees of the forest which happened to be near the roadside.

"When he realized that his frail constitution would no longer sustain such exposure and fatigue, he tried to hire a horse in Philadelphia, but soon found that his slender means would not bear so great an outlay. Consequently there was no other remedy, when the weather permitted, but to continue his ministrations on foot." (*German Pietists*, p. 479.)

[62] This amounted to a total of £62 sterling, from which he paid Mr. Club 15 pounds Pennsylvania currency for his services at Radnor, and £5 7s. to remove an old debt for ceiling Oxford church. He also bought a horse, so that he could supply his distant charges with more certainty. (*German Pietists*, p. 480.)

Lutheran Provost, like Köster, the German Lutheran preacher, of whom we shall hear later on, employed his most active and valuable energies in upbuilding the newly established Episcopal Church. Like Köster, also, Rud-



OLD ST. DAVID'S CHURCH, RADNOR, THE CORNER STONE OF WHICH WAS LAID BY ANDREAS SANDEL, THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN PASTOR, MAY 9, 1715.

man became obnoxious to the Quakers. For he was leading many of the Welsh at Radnor and Oxford to their old mother church. In 1704 the Quaker authorities attempted to restrain Pastor Rudman and others from crossing the Schuylkill on Sundays to attend public worship.[63] This

[63] For a similar and earlier occurrence see p. 76.

was at Gray's Ferry. The Anti-Quaker party secured a boat of their own, and in consequence an "Information" was lodged again Pastors Rudman and Sandel, and presented to the Provincial Council, May 4, 1704, by the proprietor of the ferry: "Information upon an apprehension of another ferry boat, being intended to be sett upon his ferry Landing place, by two swedes ministers."[64]

From this time on the relations between the Episcopalians on the one side and the Lutheran Pastors, Rudman, Sandel, and Björck on the other side, became very intimate.[65]

[64] See *German Pietists*, p. 478, for full text.

[65] This was largely due to the advice of Dr. Svedberg in Sweden. As pastor Sandel says: "Although between them and us there is some difference with respect to the Lord's Supper, yet he [Dr. Svedberg] does not want that small difference to rend asunder the bond of peace. We do not attempt any discussion upon it; neither do we touch upon such things, when we preach among them, nor do they attempt to persuade our people to their own opinion in this respect; but we live on intimate and fraternal terms with one another, as they also call us their brethren. They have the government in their hands; we are under them; it is enough that they want to have this intercourse with us; we can do nothing else than render them every service and fraternal favor, as long as they are so amiable and confiding, and have not sought in the least to draw our children into their church. As our church is called by them the 'sister church of the church of England,' so we live fraternally together, God grant that this may long continue." (Gräbner, p. 118, from the MS. of Sandin, quoted by Jacobs in *History of Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, pp. 98, 99.)

The Swedish pastors regularly attended the Episcopal pastoral conferences. In the absence of English rectors, they preached in the latter's pulpits. In 1712, on the fourth Sunday after Easter, Rev. Ross of the English church preached for Rev. Björck at Wilmington, and Rev. Björck for Rev. Ross at Chester. When a corner stone was laid or a church consecrated by the English, the Swedes were regularly invited, and accepted the invitation. While Christ's Church, Philadelphia, was being enlarged in 1710, the Swedes arranged their services so that the English congregation could use the building every Sunday at eleven o'clock. When, in 1715, a Rev. Mr. Phillips had rendered himself very obnoxious to his congregation generally, Provost Sandel, at the request of the governor and of the English clergy, held an English service for two months, preaching English after the close of his Sunday morning service in Swedish. (Jacob's *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, p. 98.)

When, therefore, the pastor of Christ Church, Mr. Evans, left for England, Pastor Rudman took temporary charge of the Christ Church,[66] but his feeble body was rapidly giving way. In his letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, dated August 26th, he wrote: "I am a sickly man, and now for seven weeks together in consumption." He died on September 17, 1708. He was buried in front of the altar of *Gloria Dei* church which he himself had built. Björck delivered the funeral sermon in English on the text selected by Rudman, Psalm 73 : 24. He had been in America eleven years,[67] having attained the age of only forty years.

Provost Sandel labored continuously in Philadelphia from his arrival in 1702 to his return to Sweden in 1719. Several events of importance had occurred in this period. In 1712 two new laborers, Andrew Hesselius the learned nephew of Bishop Svedberg and Abraham Lidenius had arrived. On the 29th of June, 1714, Provost Björck had returned to Sweden, greatly mourned by all his parishioners.[68] After the return of the family to Sweden, the son of Provost Björck, Tobias Eric,[69] a native American, published

[66] Because of a misunderstanding between Rudman and Evans in relation to a bill of exchange, Pastor Rudman resigned the Oxford Church on Aug. 26, 1708.—*German Pietists.*

[67] His tomb, which is hidden from view by the flooring of the church, bears the following inscription:

"Mors Mihi Vita in Coelo Quies Est."

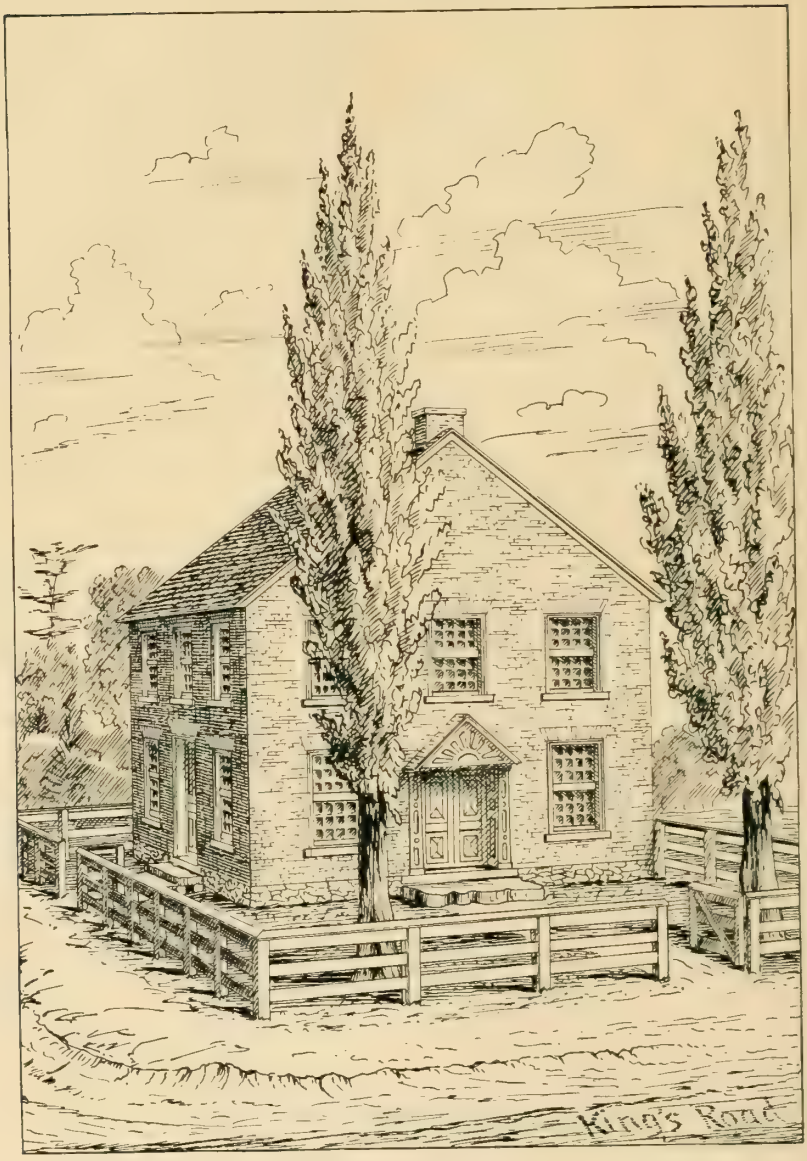
This marble covers the remains of the Rev. Andreas Rudman. Being sent hither from Sweden, he first founded and built this church; was a constant, faithful preacher, eleven years, in this country where he advanced true piety by sound doctrine and good example. He died 17 September, 1708, aged 40 years."—*German Pietists.*

[68] He loved his American parishioners even until his death, and was loved by them after his death, so that the people got into a habit, which they still retain, of counting their age from his time—the older ones from his arrival in the country, the younger ones from his departure. Acrelius, p. 274.

[69] The fahter's name is Eric Tobias.

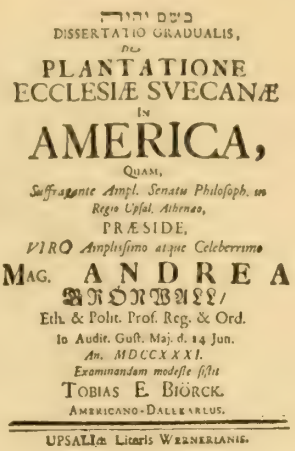


RACCOON SWEDISH CHURCH, SWEDESBORO, N. J.
ORGANIZED 1698.



ST. GEORGE'S SWEDISH CHURCH, PENN'S NECK, N. J.
ORGANIZED 1714.

in Upsala in 1731 a work on the establishment of the Swedish Church in America, which has already been referred to, and which constitutes one of the sources of our knowledge. A facsimile title-page of this early work is here reproduced.



בעזר יהוה

DISSERTATIO GRADUALIS,

DE

PLANTATIONE
ECCLESIÆ SVECANÆ
IN
AMERICA,

QUAM,

Suffragante Ampl. Senatu Philosoph. in Regio Upsal. Athenæo,

PRÆSIDE,

VIRO Amplissimo atque Celeberrimo

MAG. ANDREA
RÖRAM,

Eth. & Polit. Prof. Reg. & Ord.
In Audit. Gust. Maj. d. 14 Jun.
An. MDCCXXXI.
Examinandam modeste sistit
TOBIAS E. BIÖRCK.
AMERICANO-DALEKARLUS.

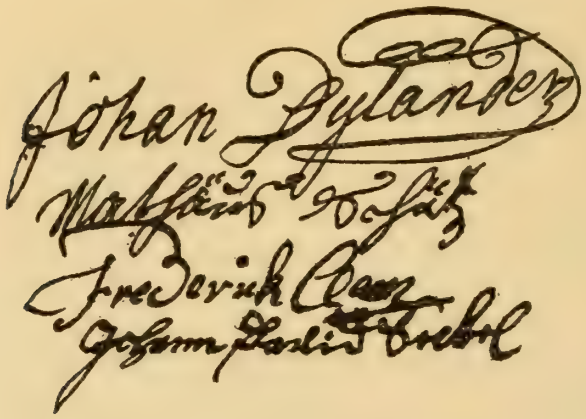
UPSALIÆ Literis WERNERIANIS.

By the departure of Sandel on the 25th of June, 1719, for Sweden, the Wicaco church was left without a pastor, but in charge of Hesselius and Lidenius, of Wilmington. By the first Sunday in Advent, however, Samuel Hesselius, a brother of Andrew, and Joseph Lidman had arrived, and were present at the service on that day in *Gloria Dei*. Samuel Hesselius served Neshaminy and Manathanim near Pottstown.[70] In Philadelphia Lidman became pastor at *Gloria Dei* and remained so until 1730, though the affairs of the congregation were not very prosperous during this period.[71] From 1730 to 1732 the *Gloria Dei* church was supplied by John Eneberg, who on his first arrival in America had been occupied in preaching to the scattered Germans. In 1733 Gabriel Falck arrived to take charge of *Gloria Dei*. He made a splendid beginning and the congregation built him a two-story parsonage. But before the end of the year, because of unproved charges made by him against one of his members, he was obliged to leave.

[70] In 1723 he became his brother's successor at Wilmington, and in 1731 returned to Sweden disheartened.

[71] In 1722 a vain attempt was made to continue the Swedish parochial school. Pastor Lidman did not receive his salary promptly. He preached his farewell sermon on November 14, 1730.

A new era began when John Dylander arrived in 1737. He preached in three languages in his church. Matin service was in German, High Mass was in Swedish and the Vesper Service in English. He died in 1741.[72]



The untimely death of Dylander ushered in a several years' period of vacancy and confusion. Some of the

[72] He became so popular with the English-speaking people that the English rector complained to the governor of the weddings which Dylander was taking from him. Kalm states that, as during the week days he visited and preached among various settlements of Germans, it often happened that within the week he preached no less than sixteen times. Among others whom he served were the Germans of Germantown. He even looked after the interests of the German Lutherans of Lancaster. Nor did he care only for the German Lutherans, but also for the German Reformed of Philadelphia, who, together, attended the German service in *Gloria Dei* Church. At his death his funeral sermon was preached in English by Pastor Tranberg, because of the large numbers of persons from all parts of the country and of various nationalities who were present to do him honor. One of the secrets of his influence is found in his having thoroughly identified himself with the Swedish-American people by his marriage with the daughter of the most prominent of the Swedish laymen, the merchant Peter Kock (Cook), who afterward was of the greatest aid to Muhlenberg when he first came to Philadelphia. So fully are the records of those days preserved that we are able to know even the books which the pastors had at hand in their studies; and the list prepared by Dylander shows two copies of that masterpiece of Lutheran theology, Gerhardt's "Loci Theologici," as well as Seckendorf's classical "History of Lutherans."—Jacob's *History of the Lutheran Church in the U. S.*

members turned away to the Episcopal Church. Others followed Bryzelius, the Swede whom Zinzendorf brought with him in 1743. But on the 21st of October, 1743, a regular pastor again arrived from Sweden in the person of the Rev. Gabriel Naesman. With all energy he attempted to lift the congregation from its pitiable condition and his efforts to uphold the true Lutheran doctrine, pure discipline, and a proper use of the Sacraments, met with partial success. He officiated not only in Swedish, but in English, German, and even French at times. Though he was so faithful and exemplary as a pastor, his opposition to Peter Koch's scheme for the union of the German Lutheran and the Swedish Lutheran churches led Koch to render Naesman's pastorate very unpleasant.[73]

In 1750 Olaf Parlin began his faithful seven years' pastoral term at Wicaco, while the learned Israel Acrelius, the earliest great American Lutheran historian, and the writer[74] of that History of New Sweden which has preserved for us the major part of our information concerning the Swedish Lutheran churches, became pastor at Wilmington and provost of all the churches.[75] Acrelius entered into fellowship and definite united effort with the German Lutheran church[76] and with Muhlenberg, attended the Lu-

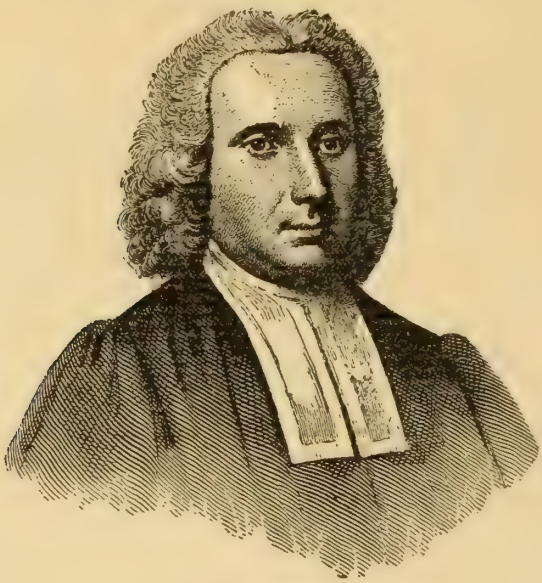
[73] For full account of Naesman's pastorate see Gräbner's *Geschichte*, pp. 345–353.

[74] At this time (1750) the learned Professor Peter Kalm, from Finnland, sent to America at the cost of the Swedish government to make scientific investigations, preached temporarily in the Lutheran congregations at Raccoon Creek and Pennsneck.

[75] Acrelius had been preacher extraordinary to the admiralty in Stockholm, and was a most fluent Latin scholar as well as a sound and faithful Lutheran. In reply to his call he stated to the Swedish authorities that he would rather look death in the face than come to America where his entire ignorance of the English language would render him a useless instrument. Here he became so proficient in the English language that a delegation from the Episcopal Church begged him to hold services for them in their church.

[76] The list of the German Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania at this time, which Acrelius gives in Latin form, is of intense interest. It runs as fol-

theran synods, and strove with great fidelity and zeal to resuscitate his own congregations from impending decay. Broken down by ill health which he ascribed to a feverish





climate, and by the language and pastoral troubles he was called on to confront, Acrelius returned to Sweden in 1756.

lows: Parochia Philadelphiensis, Francofurtana, Germanopolitana, Neshamensis, Dublinensis superior, Tohicouensis, illaque ad furcas fluvii de la Ware, nec non alia quaecunque prope Trajectum ad idem flumen, vulgo Roses-Ferry, Saccumensis porro Milfordensis, Heidelbergensis juxta montes subcaeruleos Weissenburgensis, Jordanensis, Macunshyensis, novae Goshehoppensis, veteris Goshehoppensis, et quae in campo Indianorum sita est, vulgo Indian-Field: Schippackensis quoque, novae Providentiae, Pikespolitana, magnae Vallis, Molotoniana seu Olyensis, nova Hannoverensis, Colebrookdahlensis, Vincentii Alsatiae, Readingensis, Heidelbergensis, Kilonii septentrionalis, Tulpehookensis, Lancastrensis, Carlopolitana, omnes et singulae intra limites Pennsylvaniae.

Beſkrifning
Om De
Swenſka
Förſamlingars
Forna och Närwarande
Tilſtånd,
Uti
Det ſå kallade Nya Swerige,
Sedan
Nya Nederland,
Men nu för tiden
Pennſylvánien, ſamt näſtliggande Orter wid Alfwen De la Ware, Wäſt-Yerſey och New-Caſtle County uti Norra America;

Utgifwen
Af
ISRAEL ACRELIUS,
För detta Probſt öfwer de Swenſka Förſamlingar i America och Kyrkoherde uti Chriſtina, men nu Probſt och Kyrkoherde uti Fellingsbro

STOCKHOLM,
Tryckt hos HARBERG & HESSELBERG,
1759.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF ACRELIUS' HISTORY.

En

Resa

Til

Norra AMERICA,

På

Kongl. Swenska Wetenskaps Academiens befallning,

Och

Publici kostnad,

Förrättad

Af

PEHR KALM,

Oeconomiæ Professor i Åbo, samt Ledamot af Kongl. Swenska Wetenskaps-Academien.

Tom. II.

Med Kongl. Maj:ts Allernådigste *Privilegio.*

STOCKHOLM,

Tryckt på LARS SALVII kostnad, 1756.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF PETER KALM'S WORK, 1756.

(60b)

During the next decade, from 1759 to 1768, the Lutheran Church in America was favored with the presence and leadership of the greatest Swede who had as yet set his foot on American soil. He was Dr. Charles Magnus Wrangel, educated in the schools of his own country and at Göttingen, and up to this time court preacher to the King of Sweden. He at once entered into the warmest friendship with Muhlenberg, and brought about the removal of the latter's residence to Philadelphia. These two men now together organized and guided the development of the German Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, reconstituting the Synod, working out a congregational constitution and a common order of liturgy. The German Church in this State owes much to the advice and coöperation of Muhlenberg's friend, the Swedish provost, Von Wrangel.

Von Wrangel was recalled to Sweden against the will of the Swedish Churches on the Delaware, and amid much dissatisfaction was succeeded by the unbalanced Göransson. Von Wrangel had conducted a theological seminary in his own house, and had among his students Peter Muhlenberg[77] and Daniel Kuhn, who was from the German Lutheran congregation in Lancaster, and the son of a leading member there. The Church Council of *Gloria Dei* petitioned the Swedish authorities to appoint Mr. Kuhn their pastor; but the petition was not granted. This was in 1774. They said they wished "a preacher of their own choice, and a native American." But Nils Collin, the last of the pastors to arrive from Sweden (he came in 1770), became their pastor in 1786 and in 1789 all further connection of the American congregation with Sweden was dissolved.

[77] Later General Peter Muhlenberg.

The Swedish Lutheran Church in the Province had entered the eighteenth century with a force of three earnest and zealous clergymen, and had given great prominence to the Lutheran Church in the young colony by its newly erected and extraordinarily substantial church buildings. Its pastors in the first half of the eighteenth century preaching in the German language, aided the German Lutherans in the organization and establishment of some of their earliest congregations. In 1723 we find Samuel Hesselius preaching to the Germans at Falkner's Swamp. A little later John Dylander aided the Germans of Lancaster and Germantown to organize congregations and preach to them. One year after the arrival of Muhlenberg a union between the German and Swedish Lutheran Church was proposed, but was rendered nugatory by the efforts of the Swedish pastor Nyberg whose affiliations with the Moravians rendered him hostile to Muhlenberg, and who subsequently was deposed by the Swedish archbishop. In 1748 when the first Lutheran Synod in America was organized in Philadelphia two of the Swedish pastors were present and took a prominent part in all its proceedings. By the middle of the century this Swedish Lutheran Church was giving influence, position, encouragement and advice to its younger and more promising German sister, and through its indefatigable Provosts, from 1749 to 1768, fostered the tie of a common brotherhood among the Pennsylvania Lutheran pastors. But it also by the help of its pastors and by the gravitation of the rising generation to an English church, strengthened and fostered the growth of the English established church in Philadelphia as over against the dominating faith of the Quakers. Toward the close of the century, after difficulties with the Swedish archbishops relative to the appointment of pastors and after the last of the Lutheran

pastors sent from Sweden had arrived in 1770, the *Gloria Dei* church called an Episcopalian ministrant, who formerly had been a Lutheran theological student. He became an assistant pastor in the church. Gradually the charters of the churches were changed so as to allow the pastors to belong to either the Lutheran or the Episcopalian Church. The last Swedish pastor during his career here had eight Episcopalian assistants. The first Episcopalian confirmation occurred at Wilmington in 1803 and the Lutheran name finally disappeared altogether. In 1846 the old *Gloria Dei* Church in Philadelphia declared its full connection with the Episcopalian Church, and other churches followed suit. Thus the earliest Swedish Lutheranism in America, after an existence of over two centuries, ended in absorption in the Anglican communion.

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CAMPANIUS HOLMIENSIS THOMAS, *Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Swerige uti America.* Stockholm, 1702. Translated by Peter S. Duponceau, Philadelphia, 1834.

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HESSELIUS, A., *Kort Berettelse Om Then Svenska Kyrkios närwarande Tilstånd in America.* Norrköping, 1725.

KALM, P., *En resa til N. America.* Stockholm, 1753–61. Translated by Forster, three vols., Warrington, 1770.

ACRELIUS, ISRAEL, *Beskrifning Om De Swenska Församlingars Forna och Närwarande Tilstånd Uti Det så Kallade Nya Sverige.* Stockholm 1759. *History of New Sweden,* by Israel Acrelius, formerly Provost of the Swedish Churches on the Delaware, Stockholm, 1759. Translated by W. M. Reynolds, D.D., Philadelphia, 1874.

FERRIS, *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware.* Wilmington, 1846.

CLAY, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware.* Second edition, Philadelphia, 1858.

NORBERG, *Swenska Kyrkans Mission vid Delaware.* Stockholm, 1893.



GLORIA DEI, A. D. 1700.

CHAPTER III.

Quakerism and Lutheranism in the New Province.

Review of Period from 1638–1683.



ARMS OF VON BUCHEN.

IT must not be overlooked that a considerable portion of the original Swedish colony of 1638 was in reality German.[78] Gustavus Adolphus himself had begged the Protestant German princes to permit their subjects to join his scheme of colonization.[79] The charter of the colony gave the Germans more favorable conditions than it did the Swedes. Campanius says that Germans went in the ship "*Der Vogel Greif*" which sailed with 50 colonists to establish the first colony on the Delaware. Governor Printz, who came over with explicit instructions

[78] See *History of Pennsylvania under German Influence*, Vol. I., *The German Exodus to England*, p. 261.

[79] C. J. Stille in *Penna. Mag. of History and Biography.*

respecting worship in accordance with the unaltered Augsburg Confession, was himself a German nobleman, a native of Holstein, whose name was Edler von Buchen. With Governor Printz came no less than 54 German families, mostly from Pomerania.[80]

In addition to these original German settlers among the Swedes, there were a few Germans here in America before the year 1682. A German named Warner settled near Philadelphia in 1658. Hartsfelder took up land in 1676. Plattenbach also was here before 1682. There is a tradition in the Reiff family of the Perkiomen region that John George Reiff, a member of the Reformed Church, came to Pennsylvania before Penn set up his government. F. R. Diffenderffer believes that in the large general immigration in 1682, which Proud states to have taken place to the extent of thirty ships, that there were a number of Germans. The *Halle Reports*, 1754, state that between the years 1680–1708 some Germans came over by chance, among whom was one named Henry Frey, who reached America about 1680.[81] Various Platt-Deutsche from the neighborhood of Cleves also arrived in the same early period,[82] and some of them must have been Lutherans, for as late as the middle of the next century we find

[80] *The First German Immigrants to North America*, by Louis P. Hennighausen, pp. 160–162.

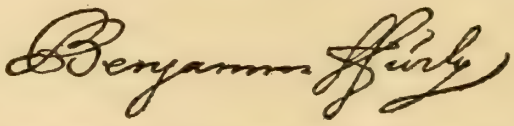
[81] Some of these Germans undoubtedly were of the Reformed faith, and perhaps Henrich Frey was one of them. He was already elderly when he was married to Anna Catharine Levering, whose father, Wigard Levering, came to Germantown with his family in 1685. The marriage took place on April 2, 1692, when the bride was twenty years old. The marriage certificate is still in existence, signed by F. D. Pastorius, as Justice of the Peace, and many witnesses. See Seidensticker, *Der Deutsche Pioneer*, Cincinnati, Vol. II., 1870, p. 137. See also Seidensticker in *Der Deutsche Pioneer*, Vol. VI., pp. 400–426.

[82] "Gemeinschaftliches Schreiben der drei ältesten Herren Prediger im Namen des gesammten vereinigten Ministerii, an Herrn Hofprediger Ziegenhagen und Herrn D. und Prof. Francken, vom. 9. Juli, 1754," *Hall. Nacht.*, 1, 194.

that their descendants were still clinging to the long-intermitted ancestral Lutheran teaching of the means of grace. We wish to point out a little further on that it was very natural for a few Lutheran churchmen in a predominantly Quaker community not to make any attempt to hold public Lutheran services, and yet in their secret hearts maintain a yearning for the same. Of the descendants of these early Germans, the Lutheran clergy state in 1754, that while some of them were still living along in the Quaker way into which their ancestors had fallen, others were susceptible to church influences and had allowed the Lutheran clergy to baptize them. We thus see that though these early German Lutherans may never have held public services, some of their descendants remained sufficiently strong in their Lutheran Church convictions to be baptized sixty or seventy years later on when opportunity presented itself, while others, on the other hand, had totally acquiesced into the non-churchly way of the Quakers. Up to the year 1682, then, there was no trace of the German Lutheran Church in the colony, except the advent of the first German Lutheran minister, Jacobus Fabritius,[83] in 1671, and his preaching his first sermon in the old block church at Wicacoa in the Swedish language in 1677.

The Period from 1683 to 1693.

When therefore Francis Daniel Pastorius landed with about twenty German families in 1683, as the result of



Benjamin Furly's activity in Penn's behalf in Germany,

[83] For Fabritius see Chapter II., p. 40.

and founded the "German township," there was apparently still no public trace of the German Lutheran Church in the colony. These twenty families of Pastorius it is true had all been brought up in the Lutheran or the Reformed [84] faith in the Fatherland [85] and were persons of exemplary piety.[86] But the fact that they had come over under Quaker auspices, and for the purpose of founding a Quaker settlement, and that they had already been moved by Quaker teachings in Germany, naturally would cause them to make no effort after their arrival to establish regular orthodox Lutheran and Reformed services. Pastorius himself was a baptized Lutheran. His father had been converted to the Lutheran faith [87] at Sommerhausen in the year 1649. Pastorius was born at Sommerhausen in 1651, and undoubtedly was baptized in the Lutheran faith, his sponsors being Daniel Gerring, Doctor of Law at Leghitz, and Franciscus Freyherr of Limburg. That Pastorius was not the only



hereditary Lutheran that sailed from Europe in the company bound for Philadelphia, is shown by his letter written home to his Lutheran father in the year after his arrival, dated Philadelphia, March 7, 1684, and headed "Lieb-

[84] Isaac Dilbeck, who came in the same ship with Pastorius, and was one of the original settlers in Germantown, was of the Reformed Church. In the year 1710 he and his wife, Mary Blomerse, were members of the Whitemarsh Dutch Reformed congregation, organized by Paulus Van Vlecq, the Dutch minister at Neschaming. Dilbeck was the junior elder. In 1728 he was an officer of the German Reformed congregation at Whitemarsh under the care of Boehm. (Dotterer's Church at Market Square, p. 6.)

[85] Seidensticker in *Cincinnati Pioneer*, Vol. II., p. 275; also quoted by Sachse in *German Pietists*, Vol. I., p. 36.

[86] Sachse, *German Pietists*, Vol. I., p. 66.

[87] *Proceedings Penna.-Ger. Soc.*, "The Settlement of Germantown," Vol. IX., p. 105.

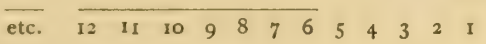
werthester Herr Vatter und Frau Mutter," in which he says, after mentioning that in all there were about 80 people in the ship's company: "In my company I have fallen in with the Romish Church, with the Lutheran, with the Calvinistic, with the Anabaptist, and with the English, and only one Quaker."[88]

Pastorius himself was a great admirer of William Penn, of his broad and simple religion as well as of English blood and birth. He wrote to his own children, "Dear children, John, Samuel, Henry Pastorius: Though you are Germano *sanguine nati*, yet remember that your father was naturalized and you were born in an English colony, consequently each of you *Anglus natus* are Englishmen by birth." In opening accounts with the Friends in his ac-

[88] See Pennypacker's translation in *Proceedings Penna.-Ger. Soc.*, Vol. IX. In this same letter Pastorius makes some observations of interest on the Swedish settlers who had preceded him into the land. Speaking of the condition of the land he says: "The Swedes and Dutch who have cultivated the same for twenty-five years and more, are in this instance, as in most others, of two opinions, laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis. * * * The above-mentioned old inhabitants have neither barns nor stalls, let their grain unthreshed under the open skies for several years." He further mentions in this letter that they have more trouble with bad Christians in Philadelphia than with the Indians. He says, "The Lutheran preacher who wants to show the Swedes the way to heaven like a statue of Mercury, is, in a word, a drunkard." Pastorius states that both good and bad came over in his sailing vessel, and that there is no lack of pious and God-fearing people in Philadelphia. He adds: "I will say no more than that among them are found some Germans who have already been in this country twenty years and so have become, as it were, naturalized, namely people from Schleswig, Brandenburg, Holstein, Switzerland, etc., also one from Nüremberg, Jan Jacquet by name." Speaking of the first two Indians which he saw, he says, "I presented them with a drink of brandy." Of the Indian children he says, "They have coal black hair, but the Swedish children born here have snow white hair." Of his own household he says, "The Hollanders, who are with me, are not of much use in it * * * I very much desire as soon as possible to bring over a German maid, whom I can trust better than I do now, alas! Now, if you wish that your hope should not be disappointed, send only Germans, for the Hollanders (as satisfactory experience has taught me) are not so easily satisfied, which in this new land is a very necessary quality, etc."

count book he credits them "in the first place with love." As the friend of William Penn, as the head of the Frankfort Land Company, and as the most learned man in the community, his influence in a religious way would be overpowering and it was all thrown in favor of the Quaker religion—though it appears that after his marriage, the old Lutheran teaching was sufficiently strong in his blood to cause him to have his children baptized in the Lutheran faith.

In his letter of 1684 he gives testimony to the existence of one church building in the Province, his language showing that it was then an essential part of the town-place and that it was the Lutheran Church. Speaking of the three lots, in the city of Philadelphia, which he bought to build houses upon, in addition to the 15,000 acres on which Germantown was erected, he draws the following:



and explains the diagram thus:

"The double line represents the Delaware River, on which the town lies, the numbers, the following houses, and farm houses. 1. Schwed Schwan. 2. The Lutheran Church. 3. The Pastor's house. 4. An English man. 5. Schwed Anders. 6. Will Penn's Youngest son. 7. The ————. 8. Philip Fort. 9. The Society and their Trading house. 10. The Inn of the blue Anchor. 11. James Claypoole. 12, etc., are other houses whose naming is here unnecessary." Thus it appears that the one church in the community was the Swedish Lutheran Church, with the pastor's house on the lot next to it.

Two years later, in 1686, Pastorius sent another letter to his father, describing the religious condition of the Ger-

Sichere Nachricht auß America, wegen der Landschafft Pennsylvania / von einem dorthin gereißten Teutschen /

de dato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 1684.

AEiner schuldigen Obliegenheit so wol als auch meinem Abschiedlichen Versprechen ein Genügen zu leisten / sol ich etwas umbständlicher advisiren, wie und was ich hiesiger Landen gefunden und angemercket habe / und weilen mir nicht unwissend / daß durch ungleiche Relation ihrer viel hinter das Licht geführet würden / versichere ich zum vorauß / daß ich mit ohnpartheyischer Feder ohne verfälschlichen Zusatz / beedes die Ungemächlichkeiten der Reiß und den Mangel hiesiger Provintz / als den von andern fast gar zu sehr gelobten Uberfluß desselben getreulich anführen wolle: Dann ich verlange an meinem wenigen Orte mehr nicht / als zu wandeln in den Fußstapffen deß jenigen / welcher ist der Weg / und zu folgen seinen heilsamen Lehren / weil Er die Warheit ist / auff daß ich unauffhörlich mit Ihm dem ewigen Leben vereinigt bleibe.

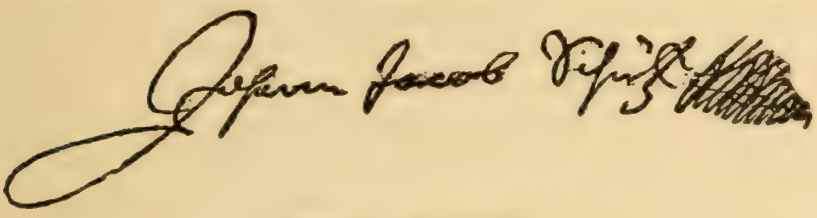
1. Ich wil also den Anfang machen von der Seefart / welche sicherlich so wol wegen der zu befürchten habender Schiffbrüche / gefährlich / als auch wegen der schlechten und harten Schiffskost / sehr beschwerlich ist / daß ich auß eigener Erfahrung nun ziemlich verstehe / was David im 107. Psalm sagt / daß man auff dem Meer nicht nur die Wunderwerck deß HErrn / sondern auch den Geist deß Ungewitters verspühren und warnehmen könne. Dann meine Anheroreiß belangend / bin ich mit 4. Knechten / 2. Mägden / 2. Kindern und 1. Jungen / den 10. Jun. von Deal abgesegelt; hatten den gantzen Weg über meiste widrigen / und nicht 12. Stund aneinander favorablen Wind / viel Sturm- und Donnerwetter / auch zerbrach der vorderste Mast zu zweyen malen / so daß wir erst binnen 10. Wochen allhier arrivirt; jedoch sat citò, si sat benè. Massen es selten geschiehet / daß einige viel zeitlicher anhero kommen. Die Crefelder / welche den 6. Octobr. allhier angelangt / waren ebenfals 10. Wochen auff der See / und das Schiff das mit dem unsern von Deal außgefahren / war 14. Tag länger unterwegs / auch starben einige Menschen darauff. Gedachte Crefelder haben auch zwischen Roterdam und Engelland eine erwachsene Tochter verloren / welcher Verlust jedoch zwischen Engelland und Pennsilvanien mit der Geburt zweyer Kinder ersetzt worden. Auff unserm Schiff hingegen ist niemand Todes verfahren / auch niemand geboren / ꝛc. Fast alle Passagiers waren etliche Tag lang Seekranck / ich aber nicht über 4. Stund / herentgegen war ich andern Accidentien unterworffen / da mir nemlich die zwey außgehauene Löben über unserer Schiffglock schier den Rucken eingeschlagen / und ich den 9. Jul. bey nächtlichen Sturm so unversehens auff die lincke Seiten gefallen / daß ich einige Tag über deß Berts hüten muste. Diese beede Fäll erinnerten mich nachdrücklich deß ersten auff alle ihre posteritàt durch errungenen Falls unserer Ureltern / welchen sie im Paradeiß / auch vieler der jenigen / die ich in diesem Jammerthal meines exilii begangen. Per varios casus, &c allein zupreisst sey die Vatterhand göttlicher Barmhertzigkeit / welche uns so dickmals wieder auffrichtet / und zurück hält / damit wir nicht gäntzlich verfallen / in den Abgrund deß Argen. Görg Wertmüller fiel zeichmässig über auß hart / Thomas Gasper / schlug am Leib sehr auß / die Englische Magd hatte das Rothlauff / und Isaac Dilbreck / der sonst dem äusserlichen Ansehen nach der stärckste / lag am längsten darnieder. Hatte ich also einen kleinen Schiff-Hospital / wiewol ich allein von den Teutschen meine Lägerstätt unter den Englischen genommen / ꝛc. Daß ein Boots-gesell unsinnig / und unser Schiff durch widerholtes anschlagen eines Wallfisches zum Zittern bewegt worden / hab ich in meinem

letztern

man settlers in Pennsylvania, and which was published in Nüremberg, 1692, by the father as an appendix to the history of his native town of Windsheim. In this epistle Pastorius states, "The Swedes and High Germans are Evangelical and have their particular church, whose preacher is called Fabritius, about whom I must mention with sorrow that he is greatly addicted to drunkenness, and so far as the inner man is concerned he is still almost blind." Then, on the other hand, Pastorius draws attention to the fact that his own German settlers had just built a church in Germantown, saying:

"We have here in Germantown, Anno 1686, built a church for the congregation, but have not cultivated outward appearances by erecting a great stone edifice, that the Temple of God (which we believers are ourselves) may the rather be erected."

Mr. J. F. Sachse,[89] who was the first one to draw attention to this letter, goes so far as to maintain that the whole printed account was evidently written and published in the interest of the Frankfort Land Company, for the purpose



SIGNATURE OF SCHÜTZ.

of influencing German emigration to Pennsylvania. Mr. Sachse throws great light on the religious situation, and on the pro-Quaker and anti-Lutheran judgments of Pastorius:

[89] "Genesis of the German Lutheran Church in the land of Penn," in *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. XVI., No. 1 (1897), p. 68.

"When Pastorius obtained his position as agent for the Land Company, he professed fealty to the Pietistical branch of the orthodox Lutheran Church, and as such was received by the directors of the Frankfort Company.[90] He, however, had no sooner arrived in the Province, and became firmly established there, than he renounced the orthodox church, and affiliated with the Society of Friends, as is shown by ample documentary evidence in the Friend's records, which are still preserved in the original." The "church" to which Pastorius refers as having been built in 1686 was a small meeting house erected for the German Quakers at Germantown, among whom Pastorius was a leader. His mention of it was intended to convey to Germans at home the deceptive impression that the Germans would find their Church already established in the German colony. "With the German yeomanry of that day, Lutheran as well as Reformed, the Church was held in great veneration, and it was mainly on account of the religious persecutions that so many left home and Fatherland for the western Wilds. Had they known that a Church was wanting, all seductive inducements would have failed to bring about the stream of Lutheran and Reformed settlers who came thus early to our shores."[91]

[90] Pastorius himself speaks of his relation to the Pietists in Frankfort who constituted the Frankfort Land Company, and of their relation to Penn, as follows:

"Upon my return to Frankfort in 1682 I was glad to enjoy the company of my former acquaintances and Christian friends, Dr. Schütz, Eleonora von Merlau, and others, who sometimes made mention of William Penn of Pennsylvania, and showed me letters from Benjamin Furley, also a printed relation concerning said province; finally the whole secret could not be withholden from me that they had purchased twenty-five thousand acres of land in this remote part of the world. Some of them entirely resolved to transport themselves, families and all. This begat such a desire in my soul to continue in the society, and with them to lead a quiet, godly, and honest life in a howling wilderness, that by several letters I requested of my father his consent."

[91] Sachse, *Lutheran Church Review*, XVI., p. 70.

It is a question whether the mention by Pastorius of the Swedes and of the Germans and of their being Evangelical is not also deceptive on its surface. There is no evidence to show that Pastorius associated in any way with the Swedes, and it seems very doubtful whether Fabritius ever preached German outside of his regular Swedish pastorate. We do not even know that he preached German to the German-Swedes forming part of the original colony within his pastorate.

It is quite probable that the Swedes and Germans at this time were not on good terms. The two races had a mutual antipathy on political grounds. Germany had suffered great hardships from the Swedish invasions after the death of Gustavus Adolphus. "So great was the dread of the Swedes at one time that in north Germany, during the latter part of the seventeenth and early years of the eighteenth century, special prayers were daily said for deliverance against the Swedish enemy." [92]

It was three years after the arrival of Penn and Pastorius, before the little Quaker meeting house was built in Germantown, and still the only Evangelical building consecrated to God in the Province was the Lutheran church in Philadelphia. But meantime the Mennonites who had come to America from Holland and Germany as Friends became more and more conscious of the difference between the doctrines of pure rationalism held by the Quakers and

[92] For an interesting account of the relations existing between the Germans and the Swedes in Pennsylvania, see two papers by Prof. Oswald Seidensticker in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, 6th vol. (1874), pp. 400 and 426. Prof. S. shows that there were a few Germans among the Swedes prior to 1683. He also shows how in the next century the two layman, the Swede, Peter Koch, and the German, Henry Schleydorn, labored together for a uniting of the Germans who were poor, and of the Swedes, who had the property, into one to protect both against the ravages of the Moravians; how the plan was opposed by the Swedish pastor, and how the death of Koch put an end to the plan.

their own Evangelical faith, and "began to feel that they were numerous enough to establish a distinctive organization, separate from that of the sect of the Proprietor."[93] And although they did not all agree, since at this time the most were still Quakers, nevertheless they found it good *to have exercises together*, and separate and distinct from the German Quaker meetings of Pastorius.[94] By 1690 with the arrival of more of their brethren Mennonite services seem to have been held regularly in the house of Isaac Jacobs Van Bebber, and a preacher, in the person of William Rittenhouse, and some deacons, were chosen. About this time also some Dutch Reformed began to arrive in the vicinity.[95]

Two years after this date, in 1692, the learned George Keith, a Quaker preacher,[96] who had emigrated to America in 1685 and after teaching the Friends' school in Philadelphia, traveled to New England and defended Quakerism in controversy with Cotton and Increase Mather, returned to Philadelphia, and publicly accused the Friends of deism

[93] *Proceedings of the Penna.-Ger. Soc.*, "Settlement of Germantown," p. 220.

[94] *Life of Hendrick Pannebecker*, p. 48, quoted by Pennypacker.

[95] William Dewees, a Reformed churchman of early Germantown, in whose house Van Vlecq's congregation organized in 1710, worshipped, landed in New York in 1689, and settled in Germantown early in the 90's. His sister was married to Nicholas Rittenhouse in 1710. William Dewees erected the second paper mill in America, on the west side of the Wissahickon. He was senior elder of the Reformed Church established later on, and his children were baptized by Van Vlecq. Cornelius Dewees and Gerret Dewees were also located at or near Germantown. James De la Plaine came to Germantown from New York about 1692. He was a Huguenot. Evert Ten Heuven arrived in 1698 with his family. He was ordained senior elder of the Whitemarsh congregation at its organization in 1710. Henry Pannebecker was another Reformed settler in Germantown between the years 1699–1702. Hans Hendrick Meels was another Reformed settler in Germantown in 1701. John Revenstock was still another in 1702.

[96] In England Keith had been associated with Robert Barclay and William Penn in defending Quaker views, and had suffered imprisonment for the same.

in their religious teachings. He thus brought on a grave schism in their sect. Going to England he rebuked Penn himself for error on the doctrine of the atonement.[97] Keith was condemned by the annual meeting of the Quakers, and Penn pronounced him an apostate and dismissed him from the Society. Keith responded in an able argument, and formed a society of his own known as the Christian or Baptist Quakers, or Keithians, and finally, in 1702, was ordained in the Church of England, and was sent back to Pennsylvania to propagate the Gospel.[98]

The Keithian controversy in Philadelphia quickly extended to Germantown, where it took a political turn. Pastorius, the ex-Lutheran, sided with the rationalistic Quakers, and with their teaching of the entire sufficiency of the inner light. Bradford, the celebrated printer, published a defense of Keith, which finally became the cause of Bradford's removal to New York, and Abraham op den Graeff, one of the Mennonites, also espoused the unpopular cause of Keith. Into this wild reaction in favor of Evangelical Christianity in the Quaker colony in Pennsylvania, there came the first Lutheran preacher in 1694. His name was Heinrich Bernhard Köster. He was one of the band of mystics which had been connected with the *collegia pietatis* of which Herman August Francke had been the head in Erfurth, in Germany; [99] and unlike

[97] Penn spoke from the text, "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin," his exposition being that "the blood is the life and the life is the light within them." Keith then took up the subject, and showed that "sin was cleansed by the blood of the true Christ actually shed on Calvary."

[98] Here we found him employing Rudman in our last chapter.

[99] It was in 1690 or 1691 that the body of pietists in Erfurth was under the leadership of August Hermann Francke, "Diacorius Augustine," in that city. Francke was excommunicated by the Church at Erfurth, and only twenty-four hours were granted him to leave the city. At Hamburg, Jacob Zimmerman, the leader of the band of mystics, who afterward sailed to Pennsylvania, became acquainted with the brother-in-law of Spener, and finally went to

his fellow hermits, Kelpius in particular, Köster was unwilling to judiciously submit his strong Evangelical and churchly convictions to the ruling rationalism of the Quaker community. His arrival and his orthodox preaching were extremely inconvenient and untimely for Pastorius, who was definitely committed as the public and political leader of the Germans in the way of the Quaker rationalism, and the two men soon became involved in most bitter disputation. With character attacked and maligned by the highly esteemed founder of Germantown; with a genius at once restless and eccentric; with a mysticism gravitating toward theosophy; and with his only known biographer a man who was interested in writing a "*Dictionary of Fools*,"[100] this heroic champion of Evangelical Lutheran doctrines in the early colony of Pennsylvania, was not understood by historians until his life and services were investigated and set in their proper relation by Mr. Julius F. Sachse. And inasmuch as the story of this man's teaching in Pennsylvania, as given by Mr. Sachse, has recently been not merely questioned, but set aside with the sneer that its subject was a lunatic, it will be given with some fulness of detail at the close of the following chapter.

The Quaker feeling against the Lutherans was not a new thing, but dated back to the days when the Swedes were still the only representatives of that faith in the Province. One Charles Christopher Springer, a Swedish Lutheran

Erfurth to organize his company. He was a Lutheran clergyman, deposed for his mystical teachings. Dr. Peterson and Eleonora von Merlau, his wife, of the Frankfort Land Company, were also intimate with the band of mystics who sailed to America. Zimmerman had been pastor of the Lutheran Church in the Duchy of Wirtemburg. He died before sailing, but his widow and three baptized children accompanied the emigrants. Köster, entering the membership of a local *Collegium Pietatis*, became acquainted with Horbius, the brother-in-law of Spener, and through him with Jacob Zimmerman.

[100] Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*, Vol. VII., pp. 86, et seq.

schoolmaster at Wicacoa, who, as the old record states, was a "plain, honest, pious man, but devoid of talents,"[101] made a determined effort, after the incapacity and death of Fabritius, to maintain some show of church services among his countrymen, until a regular pastor should arrive from Sweden in response to their repeated petitions.

These services were strictly according to the Lutheran doctrine, the sermon always being read from Luther's "*Postillen*." It appears that they attracted the notice of the Welsh beyond the Schuylkill River, and the Quakers, fearing that this might alienate the former from their fold, attempted to prevent both Welsh and the Swedes from crossing the Schuylkill on Sundays, so that they could not attend the services.

This action on the part of the local authorities was met by a protest and petition from the Swedes to Governor Benjamin Fletcher, of New York, as soon as the news came of his appointment to the governorship of Pennsylvania under the Crown.

This petition was read before the Provincial Council on May 11, 1693, His Excellency, Governor Fletcher, presiding. In this paper "they sett forth that their meeting house is on the other side the river: that they live three miles distant from the ferry, and that they are restrained from passing the river the nearest way to their worship on Sundays & Holydays by Philip England, keeper of the ferry att Schuilkill."

Governor Fletcher, as the minutes of the Council state, "did offer his Inclinations to remove any obstruction that

[101] As a matter of fact Springer appears to have been a man of thorough education, as he was an attaché of the Swedish Minister in England, whence he was abducted and carried off to Virginia, where he was sold into bondage. After serving as a slave for five years he made his escape, and found a home with those of his own nationality on the Delaware.

might be given to the worship of God, and his regard to the Interest of the proprietarie in the ferry, desiring the Councill's advice."

The members of the Council present at the meeting—Andrew Robeson, Robert Turner, Pat. Robinson, Lawrence Cock, Wm. Clarke—gave as their opinion, "That the petitioners may have Libertie granted them to transport themselves over the river to & from their worship, provided they doe not abuse this Libertie to other ends, to the prejudice of the ferry." [102]

[102] *German Pietists*, I., pp. 264, 265.



CHAPTER IV.

First German Lutheran Services in Pennsylvania, 1694–1702.



A NEW era in the religious history of Pennsylvania begins with the year 1694. The first German Lutheran services in the province are held in June of that year by a band of forty immigrants, newly arrived from Germany, six of whom are said to have been Lutheran theological students. The chaplain of the company continued these orthodox Lutheran services regularly in the house of Van Bebber, the Mennonite, in Germantown. In Philadelphia he began to preach English and held the first orthodox English services known in that city. He preached the Lutheran faith in the English tongue for the first time in Pennsylvania and to a congregation that sub-

sequently developed into Christ Episcopal Church. Moreover, one of the members of this newly arrived company of emigrants returned to Europe half a dozen years later and brought back to Pennsylvania a German theological student who became the first Lutheran minister ordained in America.

This company was a band of German Mystical Pietists under the leadership of Johannes Kelpius, Henrich Bernhard Köster, Daniel Falckner, and Johannes Gottfried Seelig, the private secretary of Spener.[103]

[103] Mr. Sachse says of the company (*Lutheran Church Review*, 1897, pp. 71–72): This strange company of Chiliastic Theosophists had been organized in Germany a year or two earlier, and was led by Johann Jacob Zimmerman, one of the most noted European astronomers of his day. Zimmerman died before they sailed from Rotterdam, and Johann Kelpius was elected Magister. He brought them to the Wissahickon. They had come to secure liberty of conscience and to prepare for the "Coming of the Bridegroom." They erected a house in the forest, surmounted by an observatory, which was the first regular observatory established in North America. Here they were on the lookout for the harbinger of the Bridegroom. The whole company are said to have been adherents of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and not to have allowed their mystical and theosophical views to conflict with their orthodox Lutheran faith. They at that time worshipped according to the liturgy of the Orthodox Church. Their numbers were strengthened by arrivals in 1702, 1704, 1706 and 1708. By the time Muhlenberg arrived, such few of them as remained had gone over more exclusively to mystical heterodoxy, having been influenced in that direction by the Ephrata community, which had meanwhile been established. For a complete history of this company see Sachse's *German Pietists in Provincial Pennsylvania.*

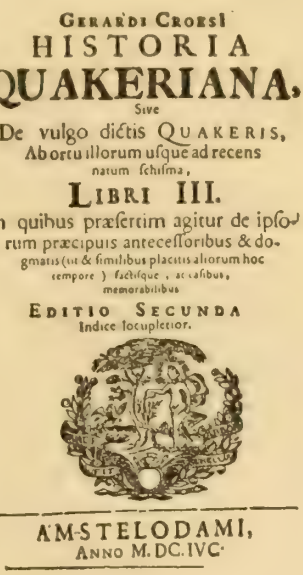
Gerard Croese wrote a history of the Quakers, *Historia Quakeriana*, which was printed in Dutch, 1694, and translated into English in 1696, and was answered by another Quaker work in opposition. (Croese was the writer who in 1704 tried to prove that Homer's Odyssey contains the history of the Jews in the patriarchal ages, and that the Iliad is an account of the siege and capture of Jericho). This Reformed Quaker historian gives a description of the vexation and troubles which the Quakers had "from this new brood of Teutonics." He says: "Among these few mystical men there was one John Jacob Zimmerman, of the Lutheran Church in the Duchy of Wirtemburg, and a Man skilled in Matematics, and, saving what he had contracted by these erroneous opinions, had all other excellent endowments of mind, to which may be added the temperance of his Life. *** Zimmerman having yet N. Köster for his colleague, who was also a famous Man, and of such severe manners that few could equal him, writes to a certain Quaker in Holland," for assistance to go to Pennsyl-

These German enthusiasts, by one of the curious contradictions so common in human nature, were mystics in

vania. Benjamin Furly seems to have given the requested assistance, obtaining transportation, and enabling the band of mystics to arrive in America. The fact that these Pietists had been assisted on their journey by Quakers in Holland was afterward brought up against some of them in Pennsylvania at the yearly meeting at Burlington in 1695. (See Sachse, *German Pietists*, p. 44.)

"It appears that Benjamin Furly and Rudolph Köster, then living at Amsterdam were intimately acquainted; and it was mainly through the intercession of the Köster brothers that the experiment was made possible and concessions from Penn's representatives in Holland were obtained."—Sachse.

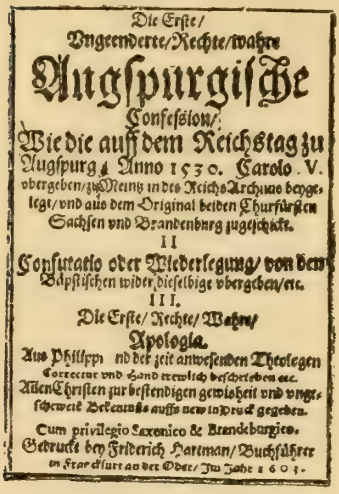
Croese, in closing his account of the company, states: "That they arrived at the place they aimed at, and they all lived at the same house, and had a publick Meeting, and that they took much pains to teach the blind people to become like unto themselves, and to conform to their examples." Evidently he had heard of the services inaugurated by Köster and was very much prejudiced against the position taken by Köster against the Quakers.


GERARDI CROESI
HISTORIA
QUAKERIANA,
Sive
De vulgo dictis QUAKERIS,
Ab ortu illorum usque ad recens
natum schisma,
LIBRI III.
In quibus præsertim agitur de ipsorum præcipuis antecessoribus & dogmatis (ut & similibus placitis aliorum hoc tempore) fatisque, ac casibus, memorabilibus
EDITIO SECUNDA
Indice locupletior.
AMSTELODAMI,
ANNO M. DC. IVC.

CROESE'S BOOK.

Judge Pennypacker in *Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol., IX., p. 270, says of Zimmerman: "He entered the Lutheran ministry, and, from 1671 to 1674, was in charge of the church at Bietigheim. He became, however, profoundly impressed with the views of Jacob Boehm. * * * Getting into controversy with the orthodox, and being accused of trying to elevate Boehm above the Apostles, of teaching astrology, magic, and cabalism, he was tried and deposed from the ministry. From 1684 to 1689 he was Professor of Mathematics in Heidelberg University. * * * He died on his way to Pennsylvania in 1693." Judge Pennypacker then proceeds to give a biography of Köster, "who," he says, "from the exercise of the power of excommunication would seem to have succeeded Zimmerman." Judge Pennypacker refers as his authorities to Mr. Sachse, from whom he has evidently drawn much, to p. 107 in the *Life of Hendrick Pannebecker*, and to p. 86, Vol. VII., of Adelung's *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*. He evidently has no knowledge, excepting through Mr. Sachse's work, of Rathlef's extended biography of Köster. Rathlef was a contemporary of Köster's and saw and spoke with the subject of his biography.

philosophy, pietists in feeling, chiliasts in expectation, and some of them, at least, Lutheran by faith, adherents in fact of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. Köster's well-worn copy of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, with the Seventeen Marburg Articles of Luther, still bears witness in Pennsylvania to this fact. Several members of the company were in correspondence with August Hermann Francke. They reached Philadelphia on the 23d of June.[104]


Die Erſte/
Vngeenderte/Rechte/wahre
Augſpurgiſche
Confeſsion/
Wie die auff dem Reichstag zu
Augſpurg/ Anno 1530. Carolo. V.
vbergeben/ zu Mentz in des Reichs Archiue beygelegt/ vnd aus dem Original beiden Churfürſten
Sachſen vnd Brandenburg zugeſchickt.
II
Confutatio oder Wiederlegung/ von dem
Bäpſtiſchen wider dieſelbige vbergeben/ etc.
III.
Die Erſte/ Rechte/ Wahre/
Apologia.
Anno Philippi vnd der zeit anweſenden Theologen
Correctur vnd Hand trewlich beſchrieben etc.
Allen Chriſten zur beſtendigen gewisheit vnd vngefehrete Bekentnüs auffs new in Druck gegeben.
Cum privilegio Saxonico & Brandeburgico.
Gedruckt bey Friderich Hartman/ Buchführer
in Francfurt an der Oder/ Im Jahr 1601.

FACSIMILE OF KÖSTER'S COPY OF AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

Says Mr. Sachse: "When the party of forty pilgrims arrived at Germantown on that memorable Sunday, St. John's day, June 24, 1694, they looked in vain for the church they were led to believe existed here, a spiritual home where the holy Sacraments and ordinances of the Orthodox Lutheran Church were regularly administered. No white steeple surmounted by a golden 'Hahn' loomed skyward as they approached the settlement; no tones of a sonorous bell were wafted upon the still air of the Sabbath, calling the worshippers to assemble at the holy shrine; no melodious strains of song and praise greeted their ears as they filed into the single street of the German metropolis in the new world. How great must have been the disappointment of these devout pilgrims! The first thing done

[104] *Lutheran Church Review*, XVI. (1897), pp. 71, 72.

after arriving at the house of Van Bebber,[105] and mutual greetings were over, was to hold a regular Lutheran Church service, giving thanks for their safe arrival and God's mercy which had protected them in so many ways during times of trial and danger. At this meeting Henrich Bernhard Köster officiated, as he had acted as chaplain during the whole voyage."

These services were continued and were held every three weeks. They were public, and from the start were well attended by the Germans. At them Köster sought to impress his hearers with the importance of remaining steadfast to the doctrine of the church as contained in the original Augsburg Confession.[106] Köster, who had been elected by the band of forty as their general instructor, had already preached regularly on shipboard on Sunday and in his sermons had particularly exhorted the company to remain steadfast to the Lutheran Church. Several of his company were somewhat clouded, and seemed deficient in holiness, and in certain articles of the faith. Moreover he foresaw trouble when these persons would come to a country where they might be led astray by the Quaker doctrine. He therefore devoted all his energies to guiding the erring ones aright, and to fortifying them against such temptation. What he had done on shipboard he continued in Germantown, where there was a lack of spiritual teachers.[107] That Köster, mystic and theosophist though he was, nevertheless

[105] Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber, a baker of Crefeld, was one of the original six Crefeld purchasers who bought 1,000 acres of land each from William Penn. He came to America as a Mennonite in 1687, and became one of the most influential persons in the community. He was a man of standing, ability, enterprise and means.—*German Pietists*, p. 66.

[106] Köster's personal copy of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, together with the seventeen Marburg Articles by Luther, is in the possession of J. F. Sachse. The title of this copy is reproduced in facsimile on preceding page.

[107] *German Pietists*, p. 260.

considered himself a strict Lutheran is seen not only by his constant upholding of the Word of God and the sacramental means of grace, and of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, as over against the Quakers, but also by other instances. When as a young man he was offered a lucrative spiritual appointment under the Prince of the House of Brandenberg, who was Reformed in faith, he replied, "I am a Lutheran, and therefore must not serve a Reformed master."[108] On shipboard, when Daniel Falckner probably confessed to him that he had awakened a religious ecstasy in a German pietistic prophetess, Köster, who was the chaplain of the party, "publicly read the ban of excommunication to Falckner who was present, and *in absentio* over the Erfurth prophetess in Europe.[109] Again at the close of his activity in America, we are told that when Köster felt that the term of his usefulness among the English colonists was about completed unless he joined the Sabbatarian movement, which embraced such of the Keithians as had not returned to the Church of England, he refused to do it, as it would have necessitated a sacrifice of his Lutheran principles, and he preferred to return to Europe."[110] Historians' understanding of Köster as a Lutheran has been clouded both by the chiliastic and other unorthodox mystical speculations in which he was involved in earlier and later years; by the un-Lutheran tendencies by which he was surrounded in his own company of emigrants; by a failure to comprehend the issues which as a Lutheran he was obliged to meet in a colony where the Quaker meeting was practically the only form of worship; by the radical measures he felt obliged to take in reference to these issues, by

[108] *German Pietists*, p. 257.
[109] *German Pietists*, p. 304.
[110] *German Pietists*, p. 289.

the too high opinion of the spirituality of the original American Quakers, and by the willingness to accept the words of Pastorius, the leader of the German Quakers, and a fierce enemy of Köster's, as final in judgment of the latter's case. Misled no doubt by respect for the words of Pastorius and by these various causes the annotators of the *Halle Reports*, following the lead of Adelung have assigned Köster a very dubious position in the annals of early American Lutheranism, and it is only through the later discoveries of Mr. Sachse that his true position as a pioneer in this field has been established.[111]

When it became known that Köster was holding orthodox Church services in Germantown, a large number of English hearers, who at first were mistaken for hostile Quakers, came to be in attendance. Frequently they outnumbered the Germans present.

Köster, with a progressiveness that both Swedes and Germans, both Reformed and Lutherans of later years, would have done well to imitate, informed his German hearers that he would thenceforward conduct his services in both languages.[112] This was the source of great dissatisfaction, and Köster then transferred his English services to Philadelphia itself. There the services aroused the Province from the state of religious apathy into which it had fallen. During the ten years in which Pastorius had been the German leader of the Province, the religious spirit among both Germans and English had sunk to the level of a very ordinary Quaker rationalism and now the preaching of Köster, for the first time, awakened the English and Germans within the province to the importance of the use of the sacraments as a means of grace for fallen human nature. Mr. Sachse says:

[111] For Sachse's "Life of Köster," see *German Pietists*, pp. 251–258.

[112] *Geschichte jetzt lebender Gelehrten* (Zelle, 1743), p. 489.

"It is true that the Swedish Lutheran services were held in Pennsylvania prior to Penn's coming, and for some years afterwards. But these services were held for the Swedes exclusively. No efforts whatever were made by either Fabricius or Lock, to extend the faith among the Quakers and Germans who were flocking to these shores. It was left to Köster to take the initiative and boldly raise his voice immediately upon his arrival, among both Germans and English, and institute services to induce the settlers to renew their fealty to the Orthodox Church, whether the legally established English Church, or the Orthodox Lutheran faith as held in the German Fatherland. The result of Köster's efforts was widespread." The only buildings for religious services in 1694 were the meeting houses of the Quakers and a meeting house erected by the Keithians on Second street above Market. The only services held in the Province were the meetings that took place here. The old Swedish block house at Wicaco is said to have been in a ruinous condition and unfit for occupancy. When Köster became acquainted with this condition of affairs he began to instruct his people upon Sundays and other days, especially in those doctrines of grace which the Quakers lacked.

"The Keithians," says Mr. Sachse, "soon found this out, and when they heard that he preached to the multitude of the Saviour's death, His merits, His ascension, the use of the Scripture and of the ordinances of the Eucharist and baptism, they flocked in crowds to listen to his sermons." Köster first took these Keithians for enemies, but discovering his mistake he preached the orthodox Lutheran doctrine to them and inspired them with new hope and courage. He awakened among a great many of the English and Welsh, who had been brought up in the Church of England

prior to their becoming followers of Fox and Penn, a longing for regular church services. This longing developed to such an extent that within eighteen months after his arrival in the Province, on November 15, 1695, a piece of ground was secured in Philadelphia for church purposes subject to an agreement between Griffith Jones and Joshua Carpenter. "This lot upon which Christ Church now stands, contained 100 feet fronting on Second street, and was 132 feet in depth. The pecuniary consideration was a yearly rental of Tenne pounds of current silver money of ye Province.[113]

"This attempt to establish a Church of England in the very stronghold of Quakerdom, naturally added fuel to the flame of religious excitement in the Province, and increased the bitter feeling that the Quaker leaders bore against the German religious enthusiast. So great became the hatred of the Quakers and others against the Lutherans on account of Köster's successful efforts in establishing the congregation, that when William Davis, in one of his numerous disputes with the Orthodox Friends, suggested the appointment of a Swedish pastor as referee to decide their differences, the request was refused, with the statement that the Lutherans were as 'bad as Indians or Heathens.'[114] But Köster was not to be diverted from his course, and held English services according to the Book of Common Prayer, whenever a suitable room was to be found. The leading spirit among this embryo congrega-

[113] This ground rent could be extinguished for £150 at any time within fifteen years. There was nothing whatever stated in this indenture to show or prove that the ground was secured for church or burial purposes. The witnesses to this historic document were Samuel Holt, James Trawalls, Jeremiah Price and (John) Moore. It was acknowledged in open court, on the 5th day of March, 1695, and has never been placed upon record.

[114] *Jesus, the Crucified Man, the Eternal Son of God.* Printed by Reynier Jansen, Philadelphia, 1700.

tion was Col. Robert Quarry, who with the encouragement received from Gov. Francis Nicholson, of Maryland, in the latter part of the year 1696, commenced the erection of a substantial brick building, for church purposes, upon the lot on Second Street that had been secured by Joshua Carpenter late in the previous year."

Thus the Pennsylvania colony became split into two parties, the Quakers on the one side, and the Church party on the other. On the latter side were the German churchmen, the English churchmen, and the separatistic Keithians. On the Quaker side were the bulk of the English community and such Germans as sympathized with them. The contest centered in the two leaders, Pastorius and Köster. The dissensions among the Quakers had already become very bitter prior to Köster's arrival and had been carried into politics. Keith had just departed for Europe and an effort was being made to heal the old schism. But Köster's bold stand against the Quaker doctrines revived the dissensions and drew Keithian partisans to him. As Köster's own band of fellow pilgrims, Kelpius particularly, sympathized with Pastorius and the Quakers, Köster withdrew from the original community and attempted to form a new one.

By the year 1696, the feeling between the Keithians and their opponents rose to such a crisis that the former introduced the matter into the Yearly Meeting, held at Burlington, New Jersey, and persuaded Köster to become their spokesman. Köster hesitated, but finally yielded and, forcing a hearing, said: "I raise my voice against you in full conviction of the Word of God, to refute from the Holy Scriptures your blasphemous doctrine, which is worse than that of the heathen in America, namely the doctrine of your spiritual Jesus, and that whatever was human in



ALLEGED PORTRAIT OF HEINRICH BERNHARD KOSTER

(NAT. 1662—OB 1744)

WHO HELD THE FIRST LUTHERAN SERVICES IN PENNSYLVANIA IN 1694

FROM AN OIL PANEL IN POSSESSION OF J. F. SACHSE

Jesus was dispersed among the clouds during His ascension into heaven." He controverted the Quaker doctrine of a spiritual Christ from Hebrew 7 : 27, 9 : 26, pointing out to them that he who made the offering and the sacrifice was the entire Jesus.[115] After Köster left, the Quakers spread the report that a number of lunatics had come to the meeting. This proceeding on their part brought about a printed account of the affair by Köster, published by William Bradford in New York in 1696.[116]

As an answer to the charge of the Quakers, viz. : that while Köster and the Keithians so strongly insisted on the administration of the Sacraments as means of grace, they nevertheless had failed either to baptize or to give the Lord's Supper, Köster resolved to publicly baptize such of his adherents as had been born Quakers and, therefore, were not baptized. The Keithians, as Seventh Day Baptists, asked that the ordinance be administered by immersion. In the river Delaware, therefore, a little north of the present Vine Street, in the presence of a large number of Quakers, and of Swedes, Germans and a few mystics, Köster baptized nine candidates.[117] Köster admin-

[115] For a full account of the meeting, from both points of view, see Sachse's *German Pietists*, pp. 268–271.

[116] The full title of this curious work is: "History of the Protestation, done in the publick yearly meating of the Quakers at Burlington in the year 1696, by the witness of two remarkable passages, Hebr. vii. 27, and viiii. 26, against the false doctrine of the Quakers, whereby they revile the blessed human nature of Jesus Christ and its suffering, resurrection, ascension, rule over the church and his coming again and the doctrine of the holy sacraments, depending thereupon. Printed and sold by William Bradford at the Bible in New York 1696."

[117] Sachse (*German Pietists*, pp. 275–276) gives the following description of Köster and the baptism : "Tall and erect, robed in a long black gown, and with a fearless and flashing eye, he opened the services in the name of the Trinity, and made a stirring supplication in English showing the necessity for baptism, and giving reasons why he at that time felt justified in administering the Holy Ordinance after the manner of the Apostles and early Christians.

istered the Holy Communion to such as demanded it, but refused to become the pastor of the Keithians because of their Seventh Day and Anabaptist teaching.

Meantime the English congregation in Philadelphia had taken firm root and was still ministered to at times by Köster. It began a church school and in the absence of Köster, the schoolmaster, a Mr. I. Arrowsmith, read prayers.

Reports of the religious disturbances in the Province of Penn quickly spread to England, and were laid before the Bishop of London, who saw the great opening for the Anglican Church presented in the new Province. In 1698 he sent out to Philadelphia a young man, the Rev. Thomas Clayton, to take care of the English churchmen there. Köster, the Lutheran preacher, went about from house to house

After his address was finished, he demanded a public profession of faith from each of the nine candidates.

"He, then, to make the ceremony still more impressive, after the manner of the Lutheran Church, and according to the Prayer Book of Edward VI., pronounced the exorcism of 'the Devil and the seductive spirit of Quakerism' [*der Teufel und Quacker Irrgeist*]. This was delivered with all the power of the German evangelist:

"'I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from these thy servants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to His Holy Baptism, to be made members of His body, and of His holy congregation. Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence; remember thy judgment; remember the day to be at hand wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting, prepared for thee and thy angels, and presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these persons whom Christ hath bought with His precious blood, and by His Holy Baptism calleth to be of His flock.'

"When this impressive exorcism was concluded, the party to be baptized, with Köster at their head, formed a procession, and walked down to the river's edge and into the stream, until they were about waist-deep in the water. After a short invocation they were immersed one after the other in the name of the Holy Trinity, and were finally dismissed with the command in Matthew xxviii, 19: 'Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Thus ended the first public administration of the Scriptural ordinance of Baptism within the Province of Pennsylvania. Köster himself declares that he never afterward administered it in America."

with the new Anglican pastor, gathering members and teaching the pastor to refute the doctrines of the Quakers. Many of the Keithians joined the new Anglican church.[118]

[118] William Penn himself seemed friendly to the Church party in 1700 (when there was trouble between Penn and the Quakers) as the following letter of Penn shows:

R. Asheton.

The new Minister [Evan Evans] Sent over for Philad[a], has been with me, and appears a man, Sober and of a mild Disposition, y[t] may [be] p[e]vailed w[th] to be easy, I must y[r] for desire thee use all early methods by thyself, and such others of yo[r] Church as are for Peace, and a ffriendly understanding to make impressions on his mind for the best, and by all seasonable means, endeavor to dispose him to an easiness of mind and good inclinations to the Publick, and the People in general he is now to live amongst assuring him that while he behaves himself with Candour and Ingenuity, he shall want no goodwill from, nor kindness that I can show him, and that he may expect as much favor in all reasonable things, as he could from any gov[r] of his own way. They care in this, I hope I may depend on having assurance of thy good inclinations to the peace of ye Publick and that thou art sensible one of the greatest Advantages to be reaped from Religion is a quiet and easy mind, w[ch] as it is inwardly enjoyed, will show itself no less in all exterior things. As thou finds Occasion, a line from thee on this head would be acceptable to Him that is w[th] kind Love to thyself & family

Thy assured fr[d]
& affectionate kinsman
W. P.

A little later we have another letter from Penn, wherein he expresses himself in a somewhat different vein:

"Church is their Cry, and to disturb us their Merit, whose labours have made the place; they misrepresent all we doe, & would make us dissenters in our own Countrey; the Bp. of London at y[e] passing my Pat[t] did what he could to gett savings for ye ch., but was opposed by ye E. of Radnor, y[e] Presd[t]. Am civil & equal to y[m] all, putt them in all places of profit, save one, in this County, Adm[ty] Advo[is], Att, Gen[l]; 3 of ye oy[r] 5 Counties all theirs but this is not enough, they must have all; and what they do not attempt in State they do boldly in y[e] Pulpit; depending on my principle for Impunity y[e] p'sent Minister brought over printed books & board sheets in great quantities to be pasted up in their Houses, is this submission to govm[t]? this p'sent man, of himself pretty quiet, therefore what he does is concerted at home, we are much Superior to them in Number & Estates; 2 to 1 in number, 4 to 1 in estates, 20 to 1 first adventurers. G. K.'s Hypocrisy first open'd ye way for this Violent Spirit. (*William Penn to Esqr. Lawton, Penna. Archives*, Series I., Vol. I., pp. 141–2, quoted in *Luth. Ch. Rev.*, Vol. XVI., pp. 284–285.)

Thus Köster, having preached Lutheran doctrines and having originated two Seventh Day Baptist congregations, whose tenets he did not approve, and laid the foundation of the oldest Episcopal church in the State, "drove the entering wedge into the Quaker stronghold,"[119] which finally destroyed its supremacy in the State.

Köster's actions and his publications of the pamphlet on the Burlington controversy, excited the anger of Pastorius who publicly denounced the German evangelist. This denunciation brought forth another pamphlet from the pen of Köster in the year 1697, which was published in English and German by William Bradford in New York. Mr. Sachse draws attention to the fact that this was not only the first High German publication written and printed in America, but also the first work that was issued in America in two languages. Köster's pamphlet was in turn replied to by Pastorius in a brochure, entitled *Four Boasting Disputers of this World Briefly Rebuked*, printed and sold by William Bradford in New York, 1697.[120] Mr. Sachse dates the religious revival in the Province from the advent of Köster in 1694. The results of his efforts were widespread; they were not confined to Anglicans and Lutherans, but also stimulated the Baptists, Presbyterians and so-called Sabbatarians to organization.

[119] J. F. Sachse.

[120] "At a Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia, the 22 day of the 7th month, 1697. Agreed that the books put forth by Daniel Pastorious, in answer to Henry Bernhard Köster, &c., be paid for out of the Provincial Stock & be distributed to the several meetings by Francis Davenport, Caleb Pusey, James Fox and Peter Frettwell.

"Agreed that the several Quarterly Meetings take 200 of Daniel Pastorious' Primers, and pay for them out of the Quarterly Meeting's Stock, according to their several quantities, in three months' time." (*Luth. Ch. Rev.*, Vol. XVI., p. 287.)

Appendix I.

Where Koster held the first Lutheran services in Philadelphia.

The place where Koster held his German Lutheran and his English services in Philadelphia was the Keithian Meeting House which had been erected in 1692. It was in the neighborhood of Second street, below Arch, in a small alley way opening out into Second street, now known as Lagrange Place. The building was a low wooden structure and after the establishment and building of Christ Church was surrendered to "the Sabbatarians and Anabaptists." This the Baptists replaced by a large brick church, which for many years was known as the First Baptist Church. This is the congregation which until recently met in the beautiful brownstone Baptist Church at the northwest corner of Broad and Arch streets before the latter building was torn away to make room for the structure of the Equitable Illuminating Company.

We are told in the Pennsylvania Archives[121] that the meeting of the Keithian people who had purchased a lot and built a meeting house "was Intirely dissolved. Their Teacher, with the majority or great part of said people, became members of Christ Church in Philadelphia; that about the time of the Dissolution of said Society, the Congregation of said Church, by the Unanimous Consent of the people of said Society, had the use of the Meeting House, & had the Sacraments and other parts of Divine worship, according to the Constitution of that Church, Established by Law, Administred & Celebrated therein for some years & Continued untill the Church (before begun) was finished."

Appendix II.

Who and what was Henry Bernard Köster?

For the fullest biography of Köster in the English language the reader should turn to the *German Pietists*, pp. 251–298; for a much condensed account of the same to Pennypacker's *Settlement of Germantown*, Chapter X. But the original and complete biography is to be found in *Rathlef's Geschichte Jetztlebender Gelehrten*, published in Zelle, 1743, the only known copy of which in America is to be found in the library of Mr. Sachse. This copy is now before the writer's eye.

The Rev. Ernst Ludwig Rathlef, pastor of Langenhausen, near Hanover, was a friend of Köster after his return to Europe. We are told in the course of the biography that he held conversations with Köster. That he had full opportunity to observe both the strength and the weakness of the man becomes evident from the fact that Köster, living in his older days in the Lutheran Orphanage at Hanover (and dying there), was under the charge of Pastor Rathlef.

That Rathlef was a biographer of no mean order—fair and discriminative in his selection of material, careful in the facts and not given to exaggeration—is seen not merely from the immediate favor with which his various volumes of sketches of great men contemporary with himself were received, but from

[121] "In the case of the Keithian Meeting House," Series I., Vol. I., p. 285. The full text is to be found in the *Luth. Ch. Review*, 1897, pp. 283, 284.

the pains and care which he takes to meet, weigh, and accept the intelligent criticism that flowed in as a result of his efforts. He had no penchant for painting his subjects either as paragons or as fools, and anyone who reads his prefaces must be impressed with the fair dealing of the man. In the volume before us, after presenting the lives of John Jacob Bodmers and John Jacob Breitinger of Zurich, John Albrecht Bengel of Herbrechtingen, Theodor Crinsoz de Bionens of Geneva, he comes to the life of Henry Bernard Köster, whom he states to be "of Hanover," and refers to the *Zellischen gelehrten Anmerkungen*, in which "various matters are briefly narrated respecting this man." He states that few persons knew the life of Köster, but that he had fallen upon some remarkable things in connection with it, particularly that the man is noteworthy in the history of the American Quakers, and since he is the brother of the famous Rudolph Köster, formerly the Curator of the Royal Library in Paris, many will be interested in reading of him.


Geſchichte
Jeztlebender
Gelehrten,
Als
Eine Fortſetzung
des
Jeztlebenden
Gelehrten Europa,
Herausgegeben
von
Ernſt Ludewig Rathlef,
Prediger zum Langenhagen
bei Hannover.
Sechſter Theil.
Zelle, 1743,
Verlegts Joachim Andreas Deetz.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF VOL. VI. OF RATHLEF'S GESCHICHTE.

As a boy, he tells us, Köster learned Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and in his fifteenth year went to Bremen with the intention of studying jurisprudence at the Reformed gymnasium there. Spending five years at the latter place and becoming versed in the propositions of Descartes, he journeyed along the Oder to Frankfort and, studying jurisprudence three years more, ended his academic period in his twenty-second year.

His special gift was pedagogical, and while he was tutor at Küstrin, the attention of the Baron Otten von Schwerin, who was the Brandenburg Geheim Rath, was drawn to his natural (rather than mechanical) pedagogical methods, and the Baron appointed him Hofemeister, placing the education of his three sons in young Köster's hands. This was in 1685, and for seven years Köster remained an inmate of the Baron's household, both at Berlin and on the estates at Landsburg.

Now, says Köster's biographer, "The Baron had a Lutheran father, who, as can easily be supposed, would heartily desire to have this his son remain in the same communion with him and not turn to the Reformed Church. He sought all manner of means on this account to retain him with himself. He had him most diligently instructed in the doctrines of his church. He sought

to persuade him to become a clergyman, and promised that if he would do this, he would bequeath to him an especial inheritance of a respectable sum of money. He enlarged his library, and introduced into the same, very prominently, spiritual writings and the books of his Church. All this our Mr. Koster has told me [the "me" is Rev. Rathlef, of Hanover, the author of this biography of Köster, who wrote the same while Koster was still living, and had these words from Köster's own lips] and I narrate this in order that we may see that the Baron, with whom our Mr. Köster was staying, must have been well versed in spiritual knowledge, and that our Mr. Köster must have had opportunity to read many good books while he remained with the Baron. Köster permitted himself to receive, among other things, the English Polyglot Bible, because this work pleased him above all others. Using the opportunity, although he was a lawyer, he exercised himself still more in the Greek and Hebrew language. And he began to learn the other oriental languages whose translations he found in his own Polyglot. Yea, he even took opportunity to implant the great love which he held for the Polyglot in the heart of his master, von Schwerin. The latter was accustomed to visit his young sons and their Hofemeister at times and to inquire concerning their labors, and so it happened that he once saw the Polyglot in the possession of Mr. Köster. Mr. Köster praised the same and particularly the introduction of Brian Walton's, and told his master that this Englishman proves from many grounds that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament is corrupted and that the Greek labor of the Seventy translators was finished before or prior to this corruption of this Hebrew text, and therefore was the real word of God of the old covenant. This representation moved Herr von Schwerin to have the Polyglot brought to him and he read the introduction of Walton himself. With his Hofemeister he was fully convinced by the grounds given by the Englishman. There was awakened in him a desire to learn Greek, that he might himself translate the Greek translation of the Seventy into the German language. Therefore, our Mr. Köster had to give him instructions in Greek, and since we make rapid progress when we are driven rapidly, he quickly became advanced in the Greek language. He began to translate, and when he had several quartos finished he read the same to our Mr. Köster, who then corrected the mistakes made. They first began with the Psalms, afterwards with the Pentateuch, and then took the remaining writings of the Old Testament. The Baron had everything neatly transcribed in a number of quarto volumes, and these volumes were continually taken with him to church, so that he could follow all the passages read there. This translation is doubtless at this time in the hands of Count von Schwerin.

"It can easily be imagined how high our Mr. Köster was in the favor of Herr von Schwerin under these circumstances. Is it not, therefore, further easy to believe that this Baron, who had many offices to receive from his elector, also thought of Köster, his Hofemeister? He did this very often. He once said to him that he wondered very much that he had never spoken with regard to an office, and frequently he asked him whether he did not desire anything in this line, but our Mr. Köster left all these advantages slip. The gracious offers and questions of this Baron were unacceptable voices in his ears. On the contrary, the following conclusions prevailed far more: I am a

Lutheran, therefore, I must not serve a Reformed prince, and at the court there are a thousand opportunities to sin, therefore, I must flee from all court offices. In short, he did not care to know anything further of the position as Hofemeister with a great Minister, and preferred in place of the same to seek his residence in America.

"In America? once some one asked me to whom I related the history of this man. I replied that some years before that time George Fox had established the Society of the Quakers in England, that of these Quakers whole troops had gone to America, that they had settled in the English territories, that King Charles II. had given William Penn the rule over these American Quakers, because of a great favor that Penn's father, who also was named William, did the king at the time of the last flight. The American Quakers, as we know, named their territory Pennsylvania, and the principal gathering of their dwellings they named Philadelphia. They lived together under Penn in rest, they tilled the field, they gave strangers large parcels of land, allowed to them their religious freedom, they persuaded many in many lands to come to them. This mode of life many regarded as very sweet, pleasant and advantageous, and they heeded the American invitations. Whoever disliked the government under which he hitherto had lived, whoever had been obliged to endure annoyances because of his religion, whoever for other reasons was not satisfied in his own land, he took ship to seek his Canaan in America. Our Mr. Köster, who, as we know, was dubious about accepting gifts in Brandenburg, also permitted himself to be prepossessed by these glorious reports. He had some friends who similarly were pleased with America. At that time, there were in Brandenburg many people that are customarily called Pietists. They were not agreeable to all, and therefore were obliged to suffer somewhat. Among these persons were also some of the friends of our Mr. Köster. One dissatisfied person is accustomed to help another and both soon become united, if they are seeking rest. Therefore, our Mr. Köster decided to go with some friends as soon as possible to America. They agreed to assemble at Magdeburg and Halberstadt. Our Mr. Köster went from Berlin to the designated place where others joined him and his friends. The society consisted of over twenty persons. Five were candidates of theology, Selig of Senigo, Kelpius of Siebenburgen, Biedermann of Anhalt, Falkner of Saxony, and one other. The remaining were of various kinds. These all elected our Mr. Köster, as one of highest repute, for their leader. This society in the fall of 1693 went to England, remained there over winter, and in the spring began their journey in two ships.

"Our Mr. Köster settled with his society near Philadelphia at Germantown, a Dutch village. Here there lived an Englishman, Thomas Fairmond, who presented our Mr. Köster and his learned associates with a tract of land. There they prepared for themselves, according to the custom of the land, a little blockhouse out of logs, laid one over another. They cut down trees, took out the roots of the same, cleansed their land from the remaining bushes, and raised Turkish wheat. But afterward our Mr. Köster, together with two others, bought another tract at Plymouth, not far from Germantown, where he remained for a length of time. Yet, why do we wish to know where he lived, how he dressed his land, and in what manner he maintained himself? We wish rather to come to those transactions of this man that render him preëminently remarkable."

"Our Mr. Köster is a Lutheran [these are the words of the biographer] and has investigated the doctrines of his church with incessant diligence, holding fast to the same. He had been instructed in both the holy languages in his youth and was therefore in a position to read the Scriptures of God in their original languages. With his knowledge of the law, he had never forgotten continually to come to a better knowledge of theology. While he was at Herr von Schwerin's, the Polyglot had impelled him not only to continue the study of both of these languages, but also to learn to speak in more tongues, and to investigate theological science still further. He had a very faithful memory,

Unſer Herr Küſter iſt ein Lutheraner, und hat die Lehren ſeiner Kirche immerdar fleißig unterſucht, und an denſelben feſte gehalten. Er war in der Jugend in den beiden heiligen Sprachen unterrichtet worden, und war alſo im Stande, die heiligen Schriften Gottes in ihren erſten Sprachen zu leſen. Bei der Rechtsgelehrſamkeit hatte er niemals vergeſſen, die Gottesgelahrtheit ſtets näher kennen zu lernen. Bei

FACSIMILE FROM PAGE OF RATHLEF'S GESCHICHTE, IN WHICH KÖSTER IS DECLARED TO BE A LUTHERAN.

without which no one learned in languages can succeed very well. This memory of his retained everything that he entrusted to it and brought it to his mind at once whenever he demanded it. He stored in this memory all the Psalms, the Book of Isaiah, and other books of the Old Testament, and could repeat them both in the Hebrew and also in the Greek translation. He was just as well acquainted with the New Testament. And he could find a passage in the Scripture more readily in his memory than in the concordance. This abundant practice made him able to present his spiritual truths to others in public address and to defend them. The society of which he was a member and with which he journeyed to America, therefore asked him to become their *Reiselehrer* and he acceded to their request. He even spoke with them of spiritual things, and whenever Sunday came he preached to them the Word of the Lord in a regular way. Especially did he admonish them to be faithful to their church. He had in his society some persons who were rather clouded [trübe] and who may have been wanting opportunities of the Faith and of holiness. He saw also that they would be coming into a land where they might be led into the wrong by the Quakers. He therefore used all diligence to lead these erring ones into the right path and to arm them against all attacks. What he had done on the ship, he continued also in America, and taught on all the Sundays at Germantown, where there was no teacher [*Wo es an einem Lehrer fehlte*]. In the beginning he preached in the high German language. But because he saw that the greatest number of his hearers

were Englishmen he wished to use English. He stated to his Germans that they also understood English, but, on the other hand, the Englishmen could not perfectly understand the German. But the Germans did not wish to yield the point to him. When, however, he threatened that he would remove from them and go to an English village, they were obliged to yield. He therefore began to preach in the English language, and far more hearers came. Yes, the concourse at times was so large that he believed they were Quakers and other enemies who sought to storm the house where he was preaching. But they were Keithians, a kind of mild Quakers, whom he later on was the first to bring to healthier conditions.

"Some American Quakers, who perhaps were pleased with Keith's amendments of the Quaker doctrine, had wished Keith to be their preacher and the teacher of their children. Therefore Keith went to Pennsylvania in the year 1689. He instructed the youth; he also preached. But he could not conceal his views in his sermons. He disclosed his doctrine of the two natures of the Saviour, and he went still further in advocating it than he had in England. He approved of the use of the Holy Scriptures. He approved of Baptism. He approved of the Lord's Supper. Therefore many of his brethren were stirred against him, as they had been in England. On the other hand, he also found here, as he had in England, many friends, and a division arose among the Quakers. On the one side Keith was the head, and his followers were called Keithians. * * * They defended above all the true humanity of the Saviour, and the doctrines that follow therefrom. The others stood to their shadowy spiritual Jesus. The contest became very violent and extensive. In the years 1691, 1692 and 1693, there was no Quaker assembly in which our Mr. Keith was not either condemned or acquitted, according as he had friends or enemies in the assembly. It is unnecessary to tell the whole controversy at this place. And those who desire to have a more thorough acquaintance of the same will easily find a history of the Quakers. Gerhard Crosius[122] in his *Historia Quakeriana*, p. 445 and the following pages, gives an account of this controversy. A new book, William Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, may also be read. But here we should be told that this controversy in America also reached the English Quakers, and therefore our Keith returned to London again in 1694 in order to there defend himself before the large yearly meeting of the Quakers.

"Now we are called again to look at our Mr. Köster. Almost simultaneously George Keith had sailed from America to Europe, and our Mr. Köster from Europe to America. Keith had left many adherents, who were wandering like sheep without a shepherd. Köster knew nothing of all these contro-

[122] Gerhard Croese, ein Reformirter Theologus, geb. Amsterdam 1642, d. 27 April. Stud. zu Leiden, wurde Schiffs-Prediger u. ging mit der flotte nach Smyrna, nach seiner zurückkunfft hielt er sich einige zeit in Engeland auf, u. solte Prediger zu Norwich werden, wolte aber lieber in seinem Faterland bleiben, wurde Feld-Prediger der Holländeschen Völker zu Ypren, u. 1678 zu Alblas, einem Dorff bey Dortrecht, Priester. Er schrieb Historiam quakerianam; Homerum Hebraizantis; hinterlies in MSS. den andern Theil des Hom. Heb. nebst den staat von Holland suchte bey abnehmenden Kräfften seine Dimission, u. St. 1710, den 10 May am Schlage zu Dordrecht. Jöcher *Lexicon.*

versies. He began to instruct his people and good friends on Sundays, and especially impressed them with those doctrines in which the Quakers were lacking. The Keithians soon learned of this, and inasmuch as they saw that he preached the human nature of Christ, His death, His merits, His ascension, His second coming, the use of the Scriptures, of the Lord's Supper, and of Baptism, they came in large masses to hear his sermons. And it was these Keithians that, as long as he did not know them, he looked on as enemies who were desirous of disturbing his worship. But he learned to know them and their views, and led them more and more away from the teachings of the Quakers, to the paths that are called right. In this he was aided not a little by the fact that he had secured a large number of Bibles from England, since he found scarcely any copies of the Bible among the Keithians."

The biographer goes on to say that the Quakers exerted themselves to bring back the Keithians to the fold, and that the latter received new courage to controvert the teachings of the Quakers by means of Mr. Köster. Certain Keithians began to enter the assemblies of the Quakers in order to contradict the latter publicly. But they never were permitted to speak. Finally a method was hit on to secure this end. Six of the Keithians asked Mr. Köster to accompany them to the yearly meeting at "Burringtown." They selected "Burringtown" because it was not within the domain of the Quakers. They took English Bibles with them and a book by means of which they desired to secure a hearing. An old Keithian, a Scotchman, tried in vain to gain an audience. They asked Mr. Köster to speak. He declined, saying that it would go with him as it had with the Scotchman. But they showed him their book composed by a Quaker and which the meeting was bound to accept. This book taught that it was right to interrupt another speaker in the Quaker meeting. The Keithians asked Köster how they could controvert the teaching of a spiritual Jesus most clearly and pointedly. He answered that they must take a clear passage of Scripture, and at the same time two passages of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 7 : 27 ; 9 : 26, came to his mind. And here you have, he said, in the word ἑαυτου, in the "himself," the smooth stone, which you must throw into the forehead of this Goliath. They begged him urgently to speak, since God, who had put both these passages into his mind would certainly stand by him. He declined, but finally yielded. They went into the midst of the assembly, where there were 4,000 people and perhaps 30 Quaker teachers seated on an elevated spot. They desired to read their Quaker tenet out of the book and to ask three times for audience, and then Mr. Köster was to speak. Three times after the Quaker speaker had ceased they requested an audience. But each time they were ignored and a new Quaker teacher began to speak. The third time they added, "If you will not give us audience, we will make one for ourselves." One of the six Quakers then stood on the bench, and with clear voice read the words within the book that, according to their own tenets, they were bound to hear. Thereupon our Mr. Köster stood forth and began to speak. The Quaker who was preaching at the time had a weak voice, but Mr. Küster had a strong and penetrating voice which he now used powerfully. This entirely drowned the voice of the Quaker. The latter was obliged to cease speaking. All the Quaker teachers stood up on their bench. But they could not intimidate Mr. Köster."

The tenor of Köster's words, and the result as given by Rathlef have already been reproduced in a former part of this chapter.

Rathlef proceeds to state the reason why Mr. Köster decided to administer the Sacraments. The Quakers cast it up to the Keithians that the latter said they approved of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, but that neither of these Sacraments were administered among them. Rathlef now continues as follows:

"However, the Quakers did not remember that Keith was an Englishman, who had English thoughts on the ordination of priests, and who without priests did not wish to administer Baptism or the Lord's Supper. But our Mr. Köster was a Lutheran, and had entirely different thoughts on ordination. He believed, also, that in a case where it was not possible to find an ordained priest, a Christian has the right, when it is demanded of him, to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper. He therefore resolved, with the Keithians—in order that they might finally relieve themselves from the reproach cast up to them by the Quakers—to baptize some of them openly, since, as they had been Quakers, they had not yet been baptized. They decided on Philadelphia as the spot where they wished to be baptized. And, inasmuch as they desired to be baptized like the first Christians, they selected mild weather and the River *de la Varre*, which flows by Philadelphia. There were only a few men, with whom it was desired to make a beginning."

After describing the baptism, Rathlef continues: "Thereupon the Keithians would gladly have received Mr. Köster as their teacher. But he declined. And so they set up those as their teachers whom Mr. Köster had baptized, and the latter preached at Germantown and gave the Lord's Supper to those who desired it."

"The tidings of these things flew quickly over the sea to England, and influenced the English Church [these are the words of Rathlef] to send one of their clergymen here who should bring the Keithians into order and should erect an English church here. The name of the man who was to assume this responsibility was Clayton. He settled in Philadelphia. The beginning of his English congregation was very weak, and it consisted of scarcely twenty members. But it grew stronger continually. Our Mr. Köster went about diligently with him, and instructed him in controverting the Quakers. Clayton was young and willing, and very gladly accepted the direction of a man who had often dealt with such people and thus he drew one Keithian after another to his church."

Rathlef, after describing Köster's departure for Europe and his journey in Germany to an Italian baron who had been obliged to leave his country because he had become a Lutheran, and the various services of Köster as an ambassador and a teacher, including his stay at Berleburg with a medical friend of his, Herr Koch, says that Köster came at last, in the year 1735, to Hanover, "where he still lives all alone and instructs a son of Pastor Buschen and others in the languages."

In conclusion, Rathlef, speaking of Köster's ability as a translator of hymns, after referring to his translations of Bernard's "Jesus, the very Thought of Thee," says: "And in like manner he has also prepared for print the three hymns of our Church, viz., *Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her*, and *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* and *Behalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*, in ten languages,

viz., in the German, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Swedish, Danish, Slavonic, Arabian and Dutch. Rathlef's biography closes with the words "Written in the year 1730." The following postscript is added to the foot of the page: "This man is still living in the year 1743 in Hanover, but he has diminished both in power of body and of mind, and his support is being properly cared for in his old age."

The evidence given in this biography to the effect that Koster considered himself a Lutheran; that his biographer, Rathlef, a man of learning and the Lutheran pastor at Langenhangen, near Hanover, considered him a Lutheran; that Köster gave his Lutheran faith as ground for not accepting a position as teacher under a non-Lutheran prince; that after his return to Germany he sought Lutheran friends; that he died in a Lutheran orphanage, together with the fact that he was brought to a conviction of the truth of the Lutheran faith by his study in company with the son of an ardent Lutheran prince, and, finally, the evidence that he emphasized the Lutheran doctrine of the two natures of Christ, and of the use of the Sacraments of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper and of the Holy Scriptures as means of grace for the first time in the Quaker community of William Penn and in the German colony of Pastorius, hardly can be questioned.





CHAPTER V.

The First Lutheran Minister Ordained in the Province, and the First German Congregation Permanently Established, 1702–1717. The Two Falckners and Falckner's Swamp.



NEXT to Köster, the most prominent German Lutheran character in the Province was Daniel Falckner. He was the son and the grandson of a Lutheran minister on both the paternal and the maternal sides. His father was the Rev. Daniel Falckner, a Lutheran pastor at Langen Reinsdorf, Saxony. He, with his two brothers, was educated for the holy ministry and was ordained, undoubtedly, either before his first departure to America or during his temporary return to Germany five years later. He had been a licentiate in the city of Erfurt and probably attended the university there as teacher or scholar. There he was closely connected with August Hermann Francke in the formation of a Pietistic circle, and thus had become acquainted with the

COPIA

Eines Send-Schreibens auß der neuen Welt/betreffend

Die Erzehlung einer gefährlichen Schifffarth/und glücklichen Anländung etlicher Christlichen Reisegefehrten/welche zu dem Ende diese Wallfahrt angetretten/ den Glauben an JEsum Christum allda auß-zubreiten

Tob. XII. 8.

Der Könige und Fürsten Rath und Heimlichkeiten soll man verschweigen/ aber GOttes Werck soll man herrlich preisen und offenbaren.

Gedruckt im Jahr 1695.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF A LETTER HERETOFORE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN SENT BY DANIEL FALCKNER, DESCRIBING HIS GOING TO AMERICA, ETC., AND DATED AUGUST 7TH, 1694, ABOUT SIX WEEKS AFTER HIS ARRIVAL IN AMERICA. THE FINDING OF THE ORIGINAL IN THE ORPHANAGE AT HALLE SHOWS IT WAS WRITTEN BY JOHANN SEELIG.

proposed Pietistic migration to Pennsylvania. He had come over in 1694 with Köster. He sympathized with the latter in his attacks on the low state of religion among the Quakers and on the political misrule of German affairs under Pastorius.

We shall see that Daniel Falckner dispossessed Pastorius as agent of the Frankfort Land Company and became manager of its affairs. He brought his brother Justus to America. He had the latter ordained in 1702, and established the first German Lutheran Church in the State at Falckner's Swamp a year or two later. Being rendered penniless through the dishonesty of his associates in the Land Company, he emigrated to New Jersey, and became pastor of a number of congregations in that State, remaining such until almost the day of his death. His brother, Justus Falckner, at the same time, was pastor of the Dutch Lutheran Church in New York. These two Falckners are the most important and interesting personages on the pages of Pennsylvania Lutheran history in the first two decades of the eighteenth century.[123]

Ancestry and Life of Daniel Falckner.

[123] The two Falckner brothers, Daniel and Justus, were Saxons from Langen-Reinsdorf, . . . Diocese of Zwickau, situated in that part of Saxony formerly known as the Margravate of Meissen, and they were scions of an old Lutheran family. Their ancestors on both sides had been ordained Lutheran ministers.

Their grandfather, Christian Falckner (died November 5, 1658), as well as his son Daniel Falckner (died April 7, 1674), father of the subjects of our sketch, were both pastors of Langen-Reinsdorf. The latter left four children, viz.: Paul Christian, born February 2, 1662; Daniel, born November 25, 1666; a third child, of which we have no record; and Justus, born November 22, 1672.

All the sons were educated with the same object in view, and were eventually ordained to the holy ministry (according to the Berkenmeyer papers there can be no doubt whatever as to Daniel Falckner's regular ordination). It is, however, an open question whether the subject of our sketch was ordained prior to his departure to America in 1693 or during his visit to Germany in 1698–1700. But it is more likely that it was during the latter period.

Daniel Falckner's connection with the Pietistical movement in Germany

dates from its introduction into the ancient city of Erfurth, where he was a licentiate, and presumably attended or taught at the University, and we find him not only seconding Diaconus Augustus H. Francke in the formation of the local *Collegium Pietatis*, but also a believer in, and sympathizer with, Anna Maria Schuckart, *alias* "the Erfurth Prophetess." (*German Pietists*, pp. 302, 303.)

Falckner came to America with Köster, Kelpius and the mystics, displayed executive and business ability here, was sent to Europe and returned as stated in the text, brought the deposition of Pastorius with him, tried to restore order in the tangled property affairs of the Frankfort Company, took a living part in the civil government, became burgess of Germantown, and in a year or two settled down into married life. The last mention of his name in connection with the local affairs of Germantown occurs in 1704, but the official records of the Provincial land office show that he still remained in the Province and attempted to settle the affairs of the Frankford Land Company. From 1705 on he made another attempt to recover the company's property. In 1708 he was made the victim of a conspiracy in connection with the land affairs and at one time was thrown into jail. Having lost all his own property and being disheartened in Pennsylvania, his younger brother Justus, now pastor in New York, asked his assistance in ministering to the Germans in East Jersey, and as a result he was installed as pastor of two or more congregations on the Raritan. Here he settled for the remainder of his life, two of his daughters marrying parishioners. In addition to the eight congregations in New Jersey, after the death of Rev. Joshua Kocherthal in 1719, and of Justus Falckner in 1723, Daniel Falckner for at least a short time served the line of German and Dutch Lutheran congregations between Albany and Staten Island. (See extract from Kocherthal Church Register, in *German Pietists*, p. 326.) When the Rev. W. C. Berkenmeyer arrived from Europe, and took charge of these congregations, Daniel Falckner collected money among his Jersey congregations for building a new church in New York City.

"Attention is here called to the fact that Rev. Berkenmeyer, who was a great stickler for ecclesiastical ethics as is shown in his controversy with Van Diren, never once questioned the validity of Daniel Falckner's ordination or right to perform the sacred functions. This fact is repeatedly proven by his numerous entries in the church records as well as by his correspondence.

"When finally the Dutch Lutheran Church at the southwest corner of the *Breit-weg* and *Priester Gasse* was completed and dedicated to its pious uses, on the fourth Sunday after Trinity (June 29, 1729), and named after the Holy Trinity, Daniel Falckner, the former pietist of Erfurth, theosophist on the Wissahickon, and now serving as a regular ordained pastor in East Jersey, was one of the most venerable and honored clergymen who officiated at the altar upon that festive occasion. Further, the warmest thanks were extended to Dominie Falckner at the time by Pastor Berkenmeyer and his congregation for the assistance the former had rendered to them.

"Strange, indeed, it seems that this should be the same man who was so persistently vilified and maligned by Pastorius, and wronged by Sprogel and his co-partners. Outside of the accusations in the Pastorius MSS. not a word or line can be found to corroborate the charges against this pioneer missionary, who labored in the vineyard of the Lord until the end of his days.

DURING the years 1694–1698, in which Köster, opposing Pastorius and the Quakers, introduced Lutheran services in Germantown and Philadelphia in the German and

"As Daniel Falckner grew older and became unable to serve his widely scattered congregations with that regularity which had been his custom, he requested two of the congregations to secure another pastor. Before long a candidate presented himself. He was from Pennsylvania, and his name was Casper Stöver. He was willing to assume the charges, provided Falckner would ordain him to the ministry. This the latter refused to do, after hearing Stöver's trial sermon. Consequently the old Theosophist remained in charge for about two years longer, acting not only as clergyman but also as physician.

"A letter written at this period represents Falckner as aging rapidly; but he was still bodily active, his eyes were clear and sharp, and did him good service in gathering herbs and simples for curative purposes. He was, however, somewhat eccentric, and upon that account had more or less trouble with some of his parishioners. The discontented ones finally appealed to Dominie Berkenmeyer, the senior in New York." (*German Pietists*, pp. 328, 329.) For Falckner's later life, see Gräbner, *Luth. Kirche in America* (pp. 188–190, 197). "Physically the old gentleman (Falckner) was still rather robust. His eyes were still keen, but his head was, as he himself said, like a pumpkin to him, then his congregations felt themselves obliged to look for another pastor." (Gräbner, p. 188.)

Berkenmeyer came on to the parish (a detailed account of this journey is found in Berkenmeyer's diary in the archives of the Lutheran Seminary at Gettysburg) and went to Falckner's house. With him they journeyed to Rockaway where on Saturday the new church was dedicated and preparatory service held. On Sunday Revs. Falckner and Berkenmeyer administered the Holy Communion to about thirty persons. On Monday (Sept. 13, 1731) a congregational meeting was held, at which the aged Falckner made a lengthy address, speaking very generously of the New York congregation and the offer of Rev. Berkenmeyer to settle the congregational difficulties, and declaring that he was willing to resign any or all of his charges, although he was without means. But he stated that his congregations were apt to make promises to a pastor and then failed to keep them and there was no certainty of support to a man come from a distant land.

Nevertheless, at Rev. Berkenmeyer's instance, calls were issued and sent to London and Hamburg, signed by Daniel Falckner as *Pastor loci*. Three years afterward, in 1734—Falckner meantime having continued to serve his scattered congregations as best he could—the Rev. John August Wolff arrived from Europe in response to the calls. But very soon, on account of the new pastor's proven misconduct, the Church officials refused to allow him to minister to them. Then Falckner once again supplied these congregations, and wrote letters of protestation against the conduct of Wolff to Revs. Berkenmeyer and Knoll. Falckner was still living in retirement with his daughter in 1741, but the date of his death and the place of his burial are unknown.

English languages, Daniel Falckner was a resident of the Germantown community. His great executive ability had no doubt already manifested itself during these years. In 1698, while Köster was still in Pennsylvania,[124] Falckner sailed on a visit to Europe, "to set forth the lamentable state of the political as well as the religious condition of the Province."[125]

[124] Köster left Philadelphia in December, 1699.

THE MISSION OF DANIEL FALCKNER TO EUROPE.

[125] "Toward the close of the year 1697 [after the arrival of the three Swedish pastors] it became evident that the influences exercised and the truths taught both by the community and the ministrations of Köster had made themselves felt among the settlers and were bringing about good results, notwithstanding such active opposition as that of Pastorius and others of equal prominence, which, however, was aimed chiefly against the enthusiastic Köster and his 'Brethren in America.'

"In view of this greatly improved condition of the religious situation, which, early in 1698, was strengthened still more by the arrival of Rev. Thomas Clayton, the first minister of the Church of England who came to the Province, it was concluded by the leaders of the original Fraternity, partly at the suggestion of the Swedish pastors, to send an emissary from among their number to Europe to make public the true state and spiritual condition of the Germans who had emigrated to Pennsylvania; set forth the labors of the Pietistical Brethren among their countrymen in America, and solicit aid and additional recruits, so that the mystical number of forty could be kept intact, and at the same time could extend their usefulness in educating and ministering to their neglected countrymen in Pennsylvania.

"Another important scheme then under consideration was the emigration of the members of 'the Philadelphia Society' in a body from England and the Continent to settle in Pennsylvania, and there found a colony where their peculiar teachings should be their only law. Considerable correspondence had taken place upon the subject, and it was thought by Kelpius and others that the time had arrived for a consummation of the scheme. It was therefore desirable that a thoroughly competent person should be sent on the mission at that time. For this important service Daniel Falckner was selected. He was a man of strong character and practical piety, as well as the executive head of the community affairs, and, in addition to his religious duties, took considerable interest in secular things.

"Daniel Falckner, pursuant to the above arrangement, returned to Europe toward the close of the year 1698. After a short sojourn in Holland, he went to Germany to visit his old associates. Upon his arrival in Saxony, he found that time had wrought many changes in the condition of his former companions—some had been banished, others lived in obscurity, while the former leader of the local Pietistical movement, Hermann August Francke, now posed

CONTINUATIO
Der
Beſchreibung der Landſchafft
PENSYLVANIÆ
An denen End-Gräntzen
AMERICÆ.
Uber vorige des Herrn Paſtorii
Relationes.
In ſich haltend:
Die Situation, und Fruchtbarkeit des Erdbodens. Die Schiffreiche und andere Flüſſe. Die Anzahl derer bißhero gebauten Städte. Die ſeltſame Creaturen an Thieren / Vögeln und Fiſchen. Die Mineralien und Edelgeſteine Deren eingebohrnen wilden Völcker Sprachen / Religion und Gebräuche. Und die erſten Chriſtlichen Pflantzer und Anbauer dieſes Landes.
Beſchrieben von
GABRIEL THOMAS
15. Jährigen Inwohner dieſes Landes.
Welchem Tractätlein noch beygefüget ſind:
Des Hn. DANIEL FALCKNERS
Burgers und Pilgrims in Penſylvania 193.
Beantwortungen uff vorgelegte Fragen von guten Freunden.

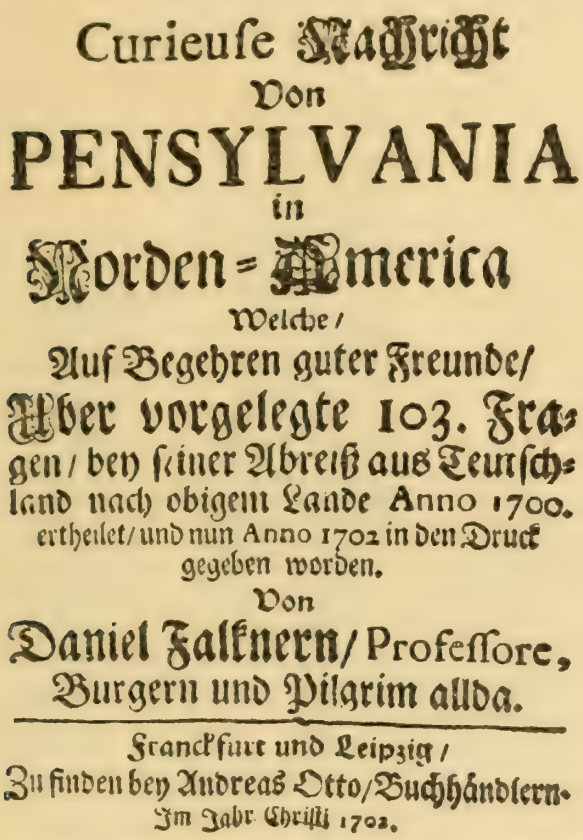
Franckfurt und Leipzig /
Zu finden bey Andreas Otto / Buchhändlern.

FALCKNER'S CONTINUATION OF GABRIEL THOMAS' ACCOUNT.

as professor of Oriental languages at the newly established University of Halle, pastor of the suburb Glaucha, and superintendent of an orphanage of his own projection.

"Falckner during his sojourn in the Old World made a visit to Holland and England in the interests of the Philadelphia Society, without, however, inducing that body to emigrate to Penn's Province." *German Pietists*, An Emissary to the Old World, pp. 96–99.

The result of this visit was a renewed interest by leading church authorities at home, in the spiritual condition of the Germans here, and the deposition of Pastorius as agent of the Frankfort Land Company, followed by the


Curieuſe Nachricht
Von
PENSYLVANIA
in
Norden-America
Welche/
Auf Begehren guter Freunde/
Über vorgelegte 103. Fragen/ bey ſeiner Abreiß aus Teutſchland nach obigem Lande Anno 1700.
ertheilet/ und nun Anno 1702 in den Druck gegeben worden.
Von
Daniel Falknern/ Profeſſore,
Burgern und Pilgrim allda.

Franckfurt und Leipzig/
Zu finden bey Andreas Otto/ Buchhändlern.
Im Jahr Chriſti 1702.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF FALCKNER'S DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1702.

(See also title to Gabriel Thomas' account on preceding page.)

appointment of Daniel Falckner as his successor. During Falckner's sojourn in Germany he published a description

of Pennsylvania, which was widely circulated and did much to stimulate German emigration. When finally he returned to Pennsylvania, he was accompanied by several theological students, among whom was his brother, Justus Falckner, who subsequently had the honor of being the



AN ALLEGED (CONTEMPORARY) PORTRAIT OF JUSTUS FALCKNER WHILE A STUDENT AT HALLE.

first clergyman to be regularly ordained in the Western world.[126]

[126] *Lutheran Church Review*, Genesis of the German Lutheran Church, XVI. (1897), p. 75.

Let us pause for a moment in the course of our narrative to take a closer look at Justus Falckner, the brother of Daniel. Justus Falckner was one of the students at Leipzig who followed Thomasius to Halle upon the latter's expulsion from Leipzig, and Mr. Sachse has found his matriculation record on the sixth page of the oldest register of the University of Halle. Already in 1697 his hymn "*Auf! ihr Christen, Christi glieder*," had been incorporated by Francke in the hymn-book which the latter had published at Halle. Justus had been educated for the ministry, but probably because of a sense of timidity and an extremely conscientious doubt as to his fitness for this calling had come over to Pennsylvania with his brother that he might avoid entering active ministerial service, and with the intention of acting in conjunction with Daniel as attorney and surveyor for Benjamin Furly and the Frankfort Land Company.[127] But he had not been in Pennsylvania long, before his brother made him acquainted with the Swedish Lutheran pastors Björck and Rudman. Now it so happened that pastor Rudman had been ministering to the Dutch Lutherans in New York and when his failing health obliged him to depart, he thought of young (he was aged twenty-eight years at this time) Justus Falckner in Pennsylvania as his successor. Justus accepted the call, though he declined to preach a trial sermon.[128] But as he had not

[127] Sachse points out that there is no authority to substantiate this tradition except the Latin note in Björck's "*Dissertatio Gradualis de Plantatione Ecclesiæ svecanæ in America*," in which it is stated that:

"This man deserted his home so as to escape the burden of the Pastorate, yet now he submitted to be brought to himself by Rudmann, Björck and Sandel, on November 24, 1703."

[128] On Oct. 27, 1703, Pastor Rudman wrote Justus Falckner in the name of the congregation that he come to New York and preach a trial sermon, and three days later a call with the same request was sent him. Four days later still, on Nov. 3, Falckner replied to the pastor and Church Council of the New York congregation, that he was prepared to accept the call to New York, but without a trial sermon.

yet been ordained to the office of the ministry, this solemn ceremony was performed by the Swedish ministers in Gloria Dei church, Philadelphia, on November 24, 1703. He thus became the first Lutheran minister[129] who was ordained in America, and the pastor of the oldest Lutheran congregation in America. In conscientiousness, piety, sound learning and good judgment, he was a worthy example to head the list of multitudes that have followed him.

There is a detailed account of the ordination of Justus Falckner in Sachse's *German Pietists* (pp. 353–360) which we incorporate at this point:

"It was a solemn ceremony which was enacted upon that bleak November day within the walls of the Swedish church on the banks of the Delaware. The sacred structure, as yet bare and unfinished, lacked both tower and side projections. The interior, with its rough walls and exposed roof, earthen floors and hard benches, well matched the unadorned altar within the recess in the east, separated by a rude railing from the body of the church and its primitive surroundings.

The Theosophical Brotherhood, partly clad in the habit of the German University student, others in the rough pilgrim garb of unbleached homespun, occupied the front benches, while the rear of the church was filled with a number of Swedes and a sprinkling of English churchmen and dissenters. It is said that even a few Quakers and Indians were attracted to the church, and enhanced the picturesqueness of the scene.

The service was opened with a voluntary on the little organ[130] in the gallery by Jonas, the organist, supplemented

[129] Probably the first minister of any religious denomination in America.

[130] This organ was undoubtedly obtained from Germany through the exertions of Justus Falckner. Vide *Schreiben an D. Henr. Muhlen*, by Justus Falckner, Germantown in der Amerikanischen Province Pennsylvania, Sonst Nova Suecia, d. 1 Aug., 1701. (J. F. Sachse.) Facsimile title is given on p. 130.

with instrumental music by the Mystics on the viol, hautboy, trumpets (*Posaunen*) and kettle-drums (*Pauken*). After this they intoned the Anthem:

Veni Creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia,
Quæ tu creasti pectora, etc.

While this was being sung, a little procession of six persons entered the church by the west portal. First came two church wardens, then the candidate for ordination, with Rev. Andreas Sandel as sponsor by his side; lastly,



ARMS AND BOOK PLATE OF BENJAMIN FURLY.

Revs. Erick Björck and Andreas Rudman, the latter as suffragan or vice-bishop.

As the little procession reached the chancel rail, the two wardens (*Eldeste*) stood on either side of the railing, while the suffragan and the two priests entered within the chancel and ranged themselves in front and at either side of the altar, upon which were placed a crucifix and lighted tapers. The suffragan was robed in a girdled surplice, with chasuble and stole, while the two assistants wore the black clerical robe (*Schwarze Taler*). The candidate, wearing the collegiate gown of the German University, knelt before the rail, upon which a chasuble (*chor-hemd*) had been previously placed.

The anthem being ended, the suffragan, standing in front of the altar facing the congregation, opened the services proper with an invitation to prayer. Then turning to the east, while all kneeled, he repeated the following invocation:

"Almighty and everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who himself has commanded us that we shall pray for laborers in thy harvest, we pray thy unsearchable mercy that thou wouldst send us right-minded teachers, and give thy holy and wholesome Word into their hearts and mouths, so that they without error may both correctly teach and perfectly execute all thy commandments, in order that we being taught, exhorted, comforted and strengthened by thy holy Word, may do that which is pleasing unto thee and useful to us.

"Grant us, O Lord, thy Holy Spirit, that thy Word may always remain among us; that it may increase and bear fruit, and that thy servant may with befitting courage preach thy Word, so that thy holy Christian Church may be edified thereby, and may serve thee in steadfast faith, and forever continue in the knowledge of thee. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The suffragan then arose and turned to the congregation, after which Rev. Sandel, acting as consistorial secretary, advanced to the chancel rail and read out the name of the candidate and the charge to which he was called.

The suffragan, then addressing the kneeling candidate,

said: "Inasmuch as you, Justus Falckner, are called to the Holy office of the Ministry, and in order that you with us, and we with you, may rightly understand the sacredness of this calling, then let us hear the promise and the exhortation of the Word of God." At this point Rev. Björck stepped forward and read out the following parts of Scripture:

Matt. xxviii, 18–20; St. John ii, 15–17, xx, 21–23; Matt. x, 32–33; 2 Cor. v, 17–20; Jeremiah xv, 19; Matt. v, 13–16; 1 Tim. iv, 7–8, 12–14, 16; 2 Tim. ii, 15–16, 22–25; 1 Peter v, 2–4.

When this reading was concluded, Vice-Bishop Rudman advanced and said:

"May God give you grace that you may faithfully guard these sayings in your heart. May they be a guide for your conversation, and remind you of your responsibility. May *it* increase your watchfulness, uphold your zeal, and now and forever consecrate you to the service of Heaven.

"The Church of Jesus Christ expects of you that, being sensible of the weight of the ministerial office, you yourself shall consider the important duties which this office lays upon your shoulders. The Church of Jesus Christ expects of you that, in believing prayers in the name of Jesus Christ, you implore God for grace and power worthily to exercise it. The Church of Jesus Christ expects of you that you fight a good and faithful fight, lay hold of eternal life and make a good confession. Confess therefore your faith before God and this congregation."

Sandel, as secretary, now advanced and slowly read the Apostolic Creed, each word being carefully repeated by the candidate before the next following one was uttered by the secretary. When this important feature of the ritual was concluded the suffragan said:

"May the Lord God grant unto you grace to stand fast in this faith to the end, and to strengthen those who are your brethren in the faith."

Advancing to the kneeling candidate, the suffragan asked the following questions:

"Do you, Justus Falckner, declare yourself willing to undertake this holy ministerial office in the name of the holy Trinity?"

To which the candidate answered a clear "Yes."

"Will you solemnly promise that this office shall be worthily and rightly

administered in all its parts, to the glory of God and the salvation of souls?"

Again the same clear response, "Yes."

"Will you always continue in the pure Word of God, flee all false and heretical teaching, preach Jesus Christ according to the Word of God, and administer the Holy Sacraments according to his institution?"

Response, "I will."

"Will you so regulate your life that it may be an example to the faithful, and shall scandalize no one?"

The kneeling man again answered in the affirmative.

The suffragan continuing, said:

"You acknowledge therefore your obligations. You have declared it to be your purpose to fulfil them. Confirm it now with your oath of office."

The obligation was then administered upon the Holy Evangels by the acting secretary.

After which the suffragan continued:

"May the Almighty God strengthen you and help you to keep all this, and according to the power given to me in God's stead by the Church, I hereby confer upon you the ministerial dignity in the name of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen."

The candidate here again kneeled, while the Brotherhood intoned, to the soft strains of instrumental music, the hymn:

"Veni Sancte Spiritus,
Reple tuorum corda fidelium."

During the singing of this hymn, the suffragan, assisted by the two clergymen, invested the candidate with the chasuble and stole. When this ceremony was completed and the hymn sung, the suffragan repeated the Lord's Prayer, while he imparted the Apostolic succession by the laying on of hands. He then returned to the altar, and said, "Let us pray." Then, turning once more to the east, he read the following invocation:

"O everlasting merciful God; dear heavenly Father, who through thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, hast said unto us, the harvest is plenteous but the laborers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he send forth laborers into his harvest, and who by these words hast made us understand that we cannot procure right-minded and faithful teachers except only of thy merciful hand; we pray thee therefore of our whole heart that thou wouldst mercifully look upon this thy servant who is now ordained to thy ser-

vice and to the holy office of thy Ministry, and give him thy Holy Spirit, so that he may go forth under watching and be strengthened by thy Word, and be able to stand fast in the fight for thy kingdom, and to execute thy work, teach and reprove men with all humility and learning; in order that thy Holy Gospel may continue among us pure and unadulterated, and bear for us the fruits of salvation and of eternal life. Through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here the suffragan, turning to the kneeling postulant, said: "Bow down your heart to God and receive the benediction."

After this was given the impressive liturgy was at an end. The Theosophists then intoned the 115th Psalm: "*Non Nobis Domine*," during which the little procession re-formed and as the last verse was sung, slowly left the church, and the solemn and impressive ceremonial which marked the first regular ordination of a Protestant clergyman in America was at an end."

A week after this ordination, on the second day of December, Rev. Justus Falckner arrived in New York and preached his first sermon there on the third Sunday in Advent. His parish was very great in size, extending northward as far as Albany. His Church Record is still preserved in New York and has been a mine of information for historical investigators.[131] His ordination certifi-

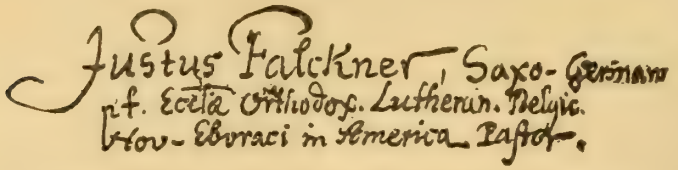
[131] "The first record made by Justus Falckner in the *Kercken-Boeck*, or church register, shortly after his arrival sets forth the facts of his call in Dutch, with a short prayer in classical Latin.

"[In the name of Jesus. In the year of Christ 1703, on the second of December, I, Justus Falckner, born in Saxony, Germany, at Langen-Reinsdorff, in the district of Zwickau, came to Philadelphia, thence to New York, after previous invitation. On the third Sunday after Advent I delivered two sermons in the Lutheran Church here. I did the same on the fourth Sunday after Advent. Thereupon I was received by the Consistorium of the Christian Protestant Lutheran Congregation as their regular pastor and teacher.]

"Then follows the invocation:

"'*Deus Ter Optimus Maximo qui intrusit me hanc in messem, adsit speciali sua gratia mihi operato abjecto et admodum infirmo, sine qua pereundum mihi est sub mole tentationum, quæ me sæpius obrunt. In Te, Domine, speravi, non sinas me confundi! Redde me ad vocationem meam aptum;*

cate was signed by the three Swedish pastors on the Delaware. This document was deposited by Justus Falckner with the congregation upon his acceptance of the charge.[132]



OFFICIAL SIGNATURE OF JUSTUS FALCKNER IN THE NEW YORK CHURCH RECORD.

It was preserved for a time but seems now to have disappeared.

The young and pious pastor ministered not merely to the Dutch and Germans, but also to the negroes and Indians. In 1708, in order to keep his people thoroughly sound in the Lutheran faith he prepared a book in the catechetical method, by which he attempted to fortify his readers by quotations from the Scriptures against what he designated "Calvinistic errors."

"This book, published by William Bradford, was in the low Dutch language, and was the first orthodox Lutheran text-book published in America. Falckner was the second Lutheran clergyman to avail himself of the Brad-

non cucurri, sed misisti, intrusisti; interim quicquid in me inscio corrupta admiscuerit natura remitte; da veniam humiliter deprecanti, per Dominum nostrum, imo meum Jesum Christum. Amen.'

"[God, the Father of all mercy, and Lord of great majesty, who hast sent me into this harvest, be with me, thy lowly and ever-feeble laborer, with thy special grace, without which I should perish under the burden of temptation which often overcomes me with its might. In thee, O Lord, have I trusted; let me not be confounded. Strengthen me in my calling. I did not seek it, but thou hast sent me, yea, placed me in the office. Meanwhile wouldst thou grant remission for whatsoever, without my knowledge, a corrupt nature has introduced within me, and forgive and pardon me upon my humble supplication, through our Lord, yea, my Jesus Christ. Amen.]" *German Pietists*, pp. 361–363.

[132] See Sachse's *German Pietists*, p. 376.

Sacri Ministerii Stator & Conservator, DEUS, primus Ipse, in Paradiso concionandi munere functus est, primosque parentes a personato deceptos diabolo, ad spem salutis, promisso mulieris semine, erexit, quod serpentis caput contriturum esset. Nec dubium est, quin Adamus liberos suos instituerit, quomodo fiduciam in promisso semine reponere deberent. Ante & post diluvium instauratae ecclesiae lumina justitiaeque praecones exstitere, Noa Abraham, aliique sancti DEI viri; & post latam legem, jam inde a Mose, ad correctionis tempus, fuere Sacerdotes & Levitae, qui populo DEI doctrina & vita praelucerent. Quoniam vero negligentius hoc suum officium saepenumero executi sunt sacerdotes Levitici, placuit DEO, non tantum illorum mores vitamque degenerem per Prophetas arguere, sed etiam, quo propius ecclesiae tempora a partu virginis & nativitate promissi seminis abessent, eo clarius, vaticiniorum copia ac varietate, proponere reparandi generis humani mysterium. In Novo Foedere, ordinatione etiam sua distinxit DEUS Doctores ab Auditoribus, insigniterque hunc Ordinem adversus diaboli & mundi malitiam tutatus est. Johannes Baptista, jussu DEI, Concionatoris munus auspicatus est; cui, suo praecursori, CHRISTUS ipse successit, qui aqua baptismatis tinctus, ad id munus publice inauguratus est. CHRISTUM autem cum oporteret passione & morte generis humani redimere salutem, atque in coelos ascendere, simul ac docendi munus Suum in terris susceperat, duodecim Apostolos vocavit, eosque Sua Sacra edocuit, addito mandato, ut exirent docturi omnes gentes. His suppares septuaginta Discipulos misit, ut Verbum DEI Civitatibus Judaicis annuntiarent. CHRISTI in coelum assumti partes explevit promissus Paracletus, SPIRITUS SANCTUS. Hinc Paulus in oratione ad Presbyteros Ephesinos ait, eos gregis dominici inspectores a Spiritu Sancto constitutos esse. Ex quo docemur, neminem sibi ipsi, sine divina vocatione, honorem (sacerdotii) sumere debere. Nam ministri ecclesiae sunt DEI legati; ast, nemo sibi sumit partes Legati, absque Legantis auctoritate. Sunt Oeconomi mysteriorum DEI; ab hero itaque domus constituendi sunt dispensatores bonorum Domini. Culpandi proinde sunt, qui nec missionem, nec ecclesiae, & quorum interest, adprobationem expectantes, suo ausu & privato arbitrio ecclesiasticum munus capessunt, aut id per vim occupant, aut pretio

Qui verò legitime ad sacrum hoc munus vocati sunt, tranquilla
sui conscientia et vocationis suæ, non sine singulari consolatione
recordari, eâq; tanquam clypeo, se contra omnia adversitatum tela
tueri possunt. In horum numero censendus est Perexim̃us ac præstan-
tissimus Dom: Justus Falckner, qui preces et manuum impositionem
rite sacris ordinibus initiatus die 24 Novemb: hujus anni ad Ecclesiæ
Ministerium designatus est. Deum T. Opt: Max: rogamus velit hic ex
cessum officio addere, & bona à se novo Ministro data indies magis
magisq; augere in Nominis sui gloriam Ecclesiæ salutem nec non
proximi emolumentum. Dab: ipso inaugurationis die Anno
1703 in Wicaco in Pennsylvania

And. Rudman
olim Past: ad Wicaco, postea
Eccliæ Luth. qq̃ e Neo-Eboraci
in America nunc accinctus
itineri ad patriam

Ericus Tob. Biörck
Past. Eccliæ ad Christinæ

Andreas Sandel
Past: Eccliæ Luthi ad
Wicaco in Pennsylvania

"The official Certificate of Ordination of Dom. Justus Falckner, the first minister regularly ordained in America, duly executed at Gloria Dei, Wicaco, Philadelphia, on November 24th, 1703, in accordance with the regular form of the Lutheran Church of Sweden, and signed by the three Lutheran pastors on the Delaware, of whom And. Rudman had been authorized by the Archbishop of Sweden to act as vice-bishop and perform the ceremony of Ordination."

ford press; his predecessor having been Heinrich Bernhard Köster, in 1695.

The title of this work reads as follows:

"Fundamental Instruction
upon
certain chief prominent articles of the
Veritable, undefiled, Beatifical
Christian Doctrine,
founded upon the basis of the Apostles and Prophets of which
Jesus Christus
is the corner-stone,
expounded in plain, but edifying
Questions and Answers.
By
Justus Falckner, Saxo
Germanus, Minister of the Christian
Protestant so-called Lutheran
Congregation at N. York and Albany.
Printed in New York by W. Bradfordt,
1708.

"A *facsimile* of this title page is also reproduced. The original is in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

"In the preface, which is also in Dutch, the compiler commits himself absolutely to the symbolism of the Lutheran Church, the confession of the Fathers; 'which confession,' he continues, 'and faith by the grace of God, and the conviction of his Word and Spirit, lives also in me, and shall remain there until my blissful end.'

"He further states that it is to be distinctly understood that the contents of this book are to be taken in strict conformity with the teachings, confession and faith of the Lutheran Church, to which his parents and grandparents belonged. He continues: 'Both my grandfathers, paternal and maternal, as well as my father, were found worthy

GRONDLYCKE ONDERRICHT
VAN
Sekere Voorname Hooſd-ſtucken, der
Waren, Loutern, Saligmakendon,
Chriſtelycken Leere,
Gegrondet op den Grondt van de Apoſtelen en Propheten, daer
Jeſus Chriſtus
de HOECK-STEEN.
IS.
Angeweſen in eenvoudige, dog ſtigtlycke
Vragen en *Antwoorden*,
Door
JUSTUS FALCKNER, *Saxo-Germanus*, Miniſter der Chriſtelycken Proteſtantſen Genaemten Lutherſchen Gemeente te *N. York* en *Albanien*, &c.

Pſal. 119. v. 104. (*God*) *n Woort maeckt my Kloeck; daerom hate ick alle valſche Wegen.*

Gedruckt te Nieuw-York by W. Bradfordt, 1708

"TITLE OF FIRST LUTHERAN TEXT-BOOK AND HYMN-BOOK PRINTED IN AMERICA."

2. Heer Jesu Christ, Thy Godes Lam!
Wy zyn versaemt in uwen Naem:
Weest dan in 't midden van ons, Heer,
En geeft ons aendacht tot uw Leer.
3. Heyl'ge Geest, ons in waerheyd leydt;
Uwe dienaers moodt en tong bereydt:
Laet 't woordt door d'oozen 't herte ingaen,
En help ons doen na uw vermaen.
4. Heer, ons' Godt boven al vermaert
In drie Personen g'openbaert;
Wy bidden U hert'lyck t'samen,
Verhoor doch dese onse beed'! Amen.

HEer Godt dyn trouw met g'naed' verleen
En schick dyn heyl'gen Geest met een
Die ons de waerheydt leere;
En geef verstandt, herr, ia, Heer Godt,
Dat ons uw Woordt niet zy een spot,
Maer gantsch tot U bekeere.
O God, uw g'naed' daer aen bewyz,
Dat hem wel schick tot uwen pryz,
Al onse doen en laten;
Wat hind'ren mach, dat selve wendt;
Wat voord'ren mach, dat geeft behendt;
Te wand'len uwe straten.
2. En suur ons wel Heer by den tydt:
Wy weten niet hoe eert subyt
Passeeren onse Dagen.
Lucht, g'loof, liefde, vrede sieck'en en trouw
Leer ons uw Geest, die ons nieuw bouw,
Dat wil Hy niet af-slagen.
Hy schoed altydt voor valsche leer,
De boose wer'l. doch trouw'lyck weer
Dat sy ons niet verblinde:
Hy deel uyt syn Barmhertigheydt,
Toon ons daer door de Saligheydt,
En help met g'naed' ten ende.

"FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL HYMN PRINTED IN AMERICA 1708. COMPOSED AND PUBLISHED BY JUSTUS FALCKNER, LUTHERAN MINISTER IN NEW YORK."

by the grace of God to serve in the holy priesthood of his aggressive church.'

"The body of the book consists, as before stated, of a series of questions and answers. The last two pages are taken up with hymns. The first, of three stanzas of ten lines each, is a Dutch translation of Luther's hymn, '*Wir glauben all an einen Gott.*' This is followed by a hymn to be sung before the sermon, which has four stanzas of four lines each. The last one is a hymn of two stanzas of twelve lines each. These are evidently of his own composition and without doubt are the first original hymns published in the Western Hemisphere.

"The whole book is remarkable for its orthodoxy, and it attracted the attention of leading divines in Germany. The celebrated Löscher, in his 'Continuations' for 1726, designates this text-book as a "*Compendium Doctrinæ Anti-Calvinianum.*'" [133]

Daniel Falckner

Returning now to the older brother, Daniel Falckner, we find that his life in the new world after his return from Europe in August, 1900, is divided into two parts. In the first part he became the successor of Pastorius as head of the Frankfort Land Company, developing particularly the Manatawny tract of 22,000 acres and founding the earliest permanent Lutheran congregation in the State at New Hanover. In the second part he devoted himself entirely to the pastorate, first at Falckner's Swamp, and then at

[133] From Sachse's *German Pietists*, pp. 367-369.

the solicitation of his brother Justus in New York he left Pennsylvania forever and served congregations on the Raritan, in New Jersey, where he died about 1741. Let us examine these two periods more in detail:

Daniel Falckner's return from Europe brought consternation to Pastorius. Falckner carried back with him a power of attorney from the Frankfort Company dated January 24, 1700, which put him with Jawert and Kelpius in the place of Pastorius;[134] together with a power of attorney from Benjamin Furly, Penn's agent in Rotterdam, authorizing Falckner to act for Furly in Pennsylvania; to which subsequently was added "an autograph order from Penn to his secretary, ordering him to prepare land warrants for Falckner and his brother."[135] Thus Falckner was shown to have had the confidence of all the members of the Land Company (since they all signed the power of attorney), as well as of William Penn and Benjamin Furly.

Falckner at once demanded of Pastorius an account of the Company's property, and it can readily be imagined that Pastorius, especially if he had not properly cared for the Company's affairs, did not relish being ousted. He and his friends made a strong protest against Falckner's action, and matters were still further complicated by the fact that the mystic Kelpius refused to take any part in these civil matters and drew up a document delivering all his authority to act to Falckner.[136]

Falckner succeeded in getting possession of some of the Company's affairs, and at the next town election (1701),

[134] A certified copy of the power of attorney has been found recently among a number of old Pastorius papers in Germantown. For the text of this power of attorney, see *German Pietists*, p. 177.

[135] Minute Book "G," Penna. Archives, 2d series, Vol. XIX., p. 244. Quoted in *German Pietists*, p. 145.

[136] For this document see *German Pietists*, p. 170.

was chosen bailiff, with his brother Justus as one of the three burgesses.

It is quite natural that Pastorius should have been very bitter against Falckner, and he reports Falckner as leading a dissolute life from this time on. But it is important to notice, as Mr. Sachse points out, that our whole knowledge of Daniel Falckner until recently has been largely "based upon certain defamatory entries and epistles made by Daniel Francis Pastorius, who was his bitter opponent"; and that the various aspects, hitherto unknown, of his life that have recently been brought to light, show him to have been a much injured man in the traditionally accepted accounts, and place his character in a favorable light.[137]

As the new head of the Land Company, Falckner now gave up his days of celibacy in the community, settled down to married life and perhaps to agriculture. Since his power of attorney from Benjamin Furly was not thoroughly recognized, the latter sent him a fresh one in August, 1702.

A part of the Company's goods had been turned over by Pastorius to Falckner, but Falckner found great difficulty

[137] "That the founder of Germantown may have had some cause for his enmity towards some of the Theosophical enthusiasts who established themselves upon the borders of his bailiwick may be assumed, as upon the very day of their arrival they commenced regular church services in opposition to the gatherings patterned after the Quaker meetings and presided over by Pastorius.

"Then followed the bitter controversy between Köster and the Friends, wherein Pastorius acted as champion for the latter. Now, even before the wounds had healed that were inflicted upon him by the bold and impetuous Köster, Falckner returns to America, and without any preliminary notice to Pastorius supersedes him as agent for the Frankfort Company, and asks him to account unto him for his stewardship.

"The old strife between Pastorius and the Mystics on the Wissahickon was now renewed with all its acrimony on the part of the former, and as Kelpius refused to be drawn into the controversy, Pastorius aimed the darts of his fiery temper at Daniel Falckner who, however, like his fellow-mystic Köster, was equal to his opponent." (Sachse, in *German Pietists.*)

in securing possession of any of the property. In June, 1702, he requested in writing the consent of the Germantown Court "for to call or summon this Companie's tennants in the Companie's houses, there to make up their accounts and pay. But this Court thought it needless to give such consent." His determined efforts as attorney to obtain the lands and rights of the Frankfort Land Company, and to collect rents probably made him unpopular in the community and led to his defeat in the next election for bailiff. In the year 1703 both Daniel and Justus Falckner appear in Court a number of times in reference to patents for tracts of lands ranging from nineteen hundred acres to small lots, in size. In April, 1704, Daniel Falckner was chosen burgess in place of Peter Keiser. In October, 1704, he was fined six shillings for having bad fences, probably a partisan suit brought from animosity. The one damaging record against him is that of November, 1704, where he was charged with drunkenness and unbecoming language,[138] though even here without further

[138] "The 28th day of November, 1704. Daniel Falckner coming into this Court behaved himself very ill, like one that was last night drunk, and not yet having recovered his witts. He railed most grievously on the Recorder, Simon Andrews, and the Bailiff, Aret Klincken, as persons not fit to sit in a Court; he challenged Peter Shoemaker, one of the Judges on the bench, to come forth, and more like enormities. The Sheriff, William de Wees, telling him that he would not do so at Philadelphia, the said Falckner himself, answered no, not for a hundred pounds; and after abundance of foul language, when the Court bid the said Sheriff and the Constable bring him out, he went himself, crying you are all fools! But afterwards coming again, the Court ordered him to pay his fine for having of late been extreme drunk, and convicted before Hans Gerry Meels, a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace, as also to find security for his appearance and answering for the many abuses offered to this Court. He said he would pay the said fine before going out of the house, but concerning security, the Frankfort Company was security enough for him, offering also paper of his to this Court, which the clerk begun to read, but the Court having heard a few lines of it was not willing to hear it all over, and committed him, the said Daniel Falckner, to appear at the next Court of Record to be held for this corporation and answer for the abuses above expressed." (Quoted from the *Collections of the Historical Society* for 1853, p. 256, in *German Pietists.*)

facts in the case one cannot get at the truth. A Court interested in being rid of a party to a suit, and a Court that would throw Falckner into jail innocently, is not a competent witness without corroboration. It should not be forgotten that Pastorius himself knew how to drink a pint of wine with a friend, to give brandy to Indian visitors, and that he selected as a motto for his town-seal, "*Vinum, Linum, et Textrinum.*"

Thus the time passed between 1700 and 1708. Early in 1705 Falckner and Jawert had again made the attempt to secure the Frankfort Company's property from Pastorius, while Pastorius made an unsuccessful effort through the bailiff and burgesses of the town to have the Frankfort Company dismiss Falckner and restore himself to office.

Meantime the lands were rapidly increasing in value, and envious eyes were being cast upon them by unscrupulous men. A conspiracy to defraud the Company of its properties came to the surface in 1708 and 1709. Falckner became its victim and was imprisoned and forced to surrender the lands to the conspirators.[139] Falckner himself was left utterly impoverished. An investigation followed, the report of which to Governor Gookin has been unearthed, and which sets the relation of Pastorius and Falckner to the land matter in a true light:

"I have waited on Francis Daniel Pastorius, Severall times but he's Apprehensive of his own ill Administration, and others have forbid him whose Circumstances are as bad as his, I have herewith sent an Exemplification of 22,377 acres in Mannatanny with the survey of it from the surveyor General's office, also an exemplification. (Here follows a list of the company's property.) But by Dan'l Falkner was this day informed that Pastorius sold all that (land) but gave no titles, the said Faulkner further saith that he sold [this should read surrendered, as Falkner received no consideration whatever for the transfer of the property] the 22,377 acres of land to Sprogell by force being sued and in goal, and many years after Jawert and Kelpius had renoun'd acting and that he knew himself weak and of no power to sell but was poor and forced to do it by David Lloyd and Tho' Clark, Sprogell's Attorney * * *" [140]

[139] *German Pietists*, pp. 314–319.

[140] *Archives*, S. P. G. Letter-book, xiii, Penna. Letters, folio 281.

Broken down in spirit, reputation and estate, in his efforts to secure for the rightful owners the lands that belonged to them in the colony of Pennsylvania, Daniel Falckner probably at this time heartily welcomed the ministerial call from his brother Justus, of New York, to serve the German congregations on the Raritan in New Jersey which forever took him out of Pennsylvania, to the spot where we first become acquainted with his later life in detail and where he shines as a pious and faithful pastor of the Lutheran Church.

Turning now to the second part of the life of Falckner we shall record what can be known of his organization of the congregation at Falckner's Swamp and his ministrations to the same probably from the years 1704 at least to the year 1708 or later.

On the return trip to Pennsylvania in 1700 Daniel Falckner is supposed to have brought over with him the Germans who located in the Swamp and constituted the first permanent Lutheran congregation in the Province. These Germans must have left England on May 25, 1700, and arrived in Philadelphia during the first days of August. They settled on the tract of the Frankfort Land Company [141] in that same year. The Swedes had settled on land further up the Schuylkill a few years earlier still, perhaps in 1697, and on October 20, 1701, Pastor Andreas Rudman and several other Swedes received an authorization to take possession of 1,000 acres of land at a yearly rental of a bushel of wheat for every hundred acres of land.[142] This parcel of land consisted essentially of the present Amity

[141] The tract was 22,000 acres, and its title was confirmed, October 25, 1701.

[142] This act was executed at Molatton and was legally acknowledged by acts of Penn's government in the years 1703 and 1704.

Township, Berks County, and probably in 1697 [143] a settlement was begun in the vicinity of the present Douglasville in that township. It was named Molatton.[144]

Now it is well known that both Daniel Falckner and his brother Justus shortly after their arrival in America were greatly exercised as to the spiritual condition of the Germans here, and that they turned to the Swedish Lutheran Church for help in the hope that their fellow Germans might receive the spiritual care of the Lutheran Church. A year after his arrival here, Justus Falckner sent a missive to Germany giving an account "*Concerning the Condition of the Church in America.*" In this heretofore unknown letter, he presents a pitiable description of the spiritual condition of the Germans in Pennsylvania.

He says: "The local Protestants * * * are either of the Evangelical Lutheran, or of the Presbyterian and Calvinistic Church. And as the Protestant Church is here also divided into three nations, so there are here an English Protestant Church and a Swedish Protestant Lutheran Church; and also persons of the German nation of the Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

"The Germans, however, I have spoken of not without cause as merely several Evangelical Lutheran Germans, and not the German Evangelical Lutheran Church: those who are destitute of altar and priest forsooth roam about in this desert: a deplorable condition indeed. Moreover,

[143] In no case could the settlement have been later than 1702. In 1720 the Swedes residing here reminded the Wicacoa Church in Philadelphia that they did their part in paying toward the erection of the Wicacoa Church, and that they should now be helped by the latter to secure a resident pastor. Now subscriptions for the Wicacoa Church were gathered in 1697, the building was begun in 1698 and the dedication took place on July 2, 1702.

[144] Acrelius calls it Manathanim, Muhlenberg Molotton, Handshuh Molatten, Rev. Alex. Murray Molatton, and the Swedish pastor of the place, J. A. Lidenius, Morlatton. (*Hall. Nachr.*, pp. 441–442.)

Abdruck Eines Schreibens An Tit. Herrn D. Henr. Muhlen/

Aus Germanton / in der Americanischen Province Pensylvania, sonst Nova Suecia, den ersten Augusti, im Jahr unsers Heyls eintausend siebenhundert und eins,

Den Zustand der Kirchen in America betreffend.

M DCC II.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF THE MISSIVE OF JUSTUS FALCKNER OF GERMANTOWN CONCERNING THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF PENNSYLVANIA IN 1701.

The Missive of Justus Falckner, concerning the Religious Condition of Pennsylvania in the year 1701, addressed to Rev. Heinrich Muhlen, in Holstein, Germany, a single copy of which was found by J. F. Sachse in the University of Rostock, tells of the religious affairs at Philadelphia and Germantown at the beginning of the century. It says, "The Aborigines, from lack of sufficient good instruction, remain in their blindness and barbarity, and moreover are angered at the bad living of the Christians. * * The local Christian minority, however, is divided into almost innumerable sects, as Quakers, Anabaptists, Naturalists, Rationalists, Independents, Sabbatarians, and many others, who are all united in the principle: Do away with good order, and live for yourself! The Quakers are the most numerous because the governor favors this sect. By transgressing their own principles [they] show in plain daylight the kind of spirit that moves them, and become Ishmaels of all well regulated church institutions."

there is here a large number of Germans who, however, have partly crawled in among the different sects who use the English tongue. * * * A number are Quakers and Anabaptists; a portion are Free-thinkers and assimilate with no one. They also allow their children to grow up in the same manner. In short, there are Germans here, and perhaps the majority, who scorn God's Word, and shun all proper outward forms of worship; they even publicly abuse and blaspheme the Sacraments.

"Now I recommend for your mature consideration * * * whether some establishment of an Evangelical Church Assembly could be made in America, since the Germans are now increasing rapidly.

"Both myself and my brother keep ourselves to the Swedish Church, although we understand little or nothing of their language. We have also been the means of influencing divers Germans by our example, so that they now and then come to assemblies, even though they do now know the language. Still they are gradually being redeemed from barbarism, and becoming accustomed to an orderly outward service.

"Above all, one of the Swedish pastors, Magister Rudman, has offered, regardless of the difficulty, to assume the German dialect, * * * now and then to deliver a German address in the Swedish Church, until the Germans can have a church of their own, together with the necessary establishment. Accordingly, the Germans who still love the Evangelical truth, and a proper outward church order, much prefer to attend the Swedish Churches here until they can also have their divine worship in their own language as a people."

Another evidence of this intimacy between the Falckners and the Swedish Lutherans was the ordination of

Justus Falckner in the latter's church at this time (1703).

It is natural therefore to suppose, in view of the new Swedish settlement at Molatton, and of the fact that Daniel Falckner controlled the Manatawny tract[145] between Molatton and Philadelphia, that Falckner would settle his Germans on the latter, and that he would not neglect their spiritual interests. It is quite possible, moreover, that some Germans were already settled here before 1700 and that the Swedish pastors in attending to their own people discovered them and brought them to Falckner's attention.[146] With Rudman, whose ecclesiastical dominion as Provost extended to Douglasville, trying to learn German,[147] and the Falckners attending Swedish service to set a good example to the Germans, and with the two new tracts contiguous, it is natural that Daniel Falckner should at once busy himself to organize a congregation in his own settlement.[148] This congregation of New Hanover, or Falckner's Swamp—the name the whole region has continued to bear after its founder—is the oldest Lutheran one in Pennsylvania of which we have any definite record, and is still in active existence. There are certainly indelible traces of an organization in Daniel Falckner's time. When a church was built is not known. But the Frankfort Company received its title on October 25, 1701, and the

[145] Daniel and Justus Falckner were the legal representatives of Benjamin Furly, the agent of William Penn in Amsterdam, for the sale of Penn's land. Daniel Falckner was the legal representative of the Frankfort Land Company, to whom Penn had sold the Manatawny district of 22,000 acres, in which New Hanover lay. *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 36.

[146] Dr. W. J. M. in annotations to *Hall. Nachr.*

[147] For life of Rudman and interesting Lutheran matter connected with both his and Sandel's pastorates, see *German Pietists*, pp. 475-481.

[148] The need of a pastor here has usually been taken as the moving occasion for the ordination of Justus Falckner in 1703. But it is now pretty well established that Justus Falckner never served the congregation.

transfer of the tract to Sprogel is dated December 16, 1708.[149] The activity of Daniel Falckner as organizer and as pastor must have been between these limits. That Daniel Falckner was regarded as the pastor of the region is shown by the statement in Tob. C. Björck's "*De plantatione*" which was published in 1731 to the effect that the Manatawny region was named after "Pastor Falckner," a view which Acrelius shares.[150] The *Gemeindschaftliches Schreiben* of 1754[151] mentions Falckner, with Henkel and Stoever, as pastors who had been active in Pennsylvania in the period under their discussion.[152] This tradition must have referred to Daniel Falckner and to his work at Falckner's Swamp. It is only within the last few years, since the discovery of Justus Falckner's activity and records in the New York church, and subsequent to the issue of the last edition of the Halle Reports, that the confusion between the work of the two brothers has been cleared and that the ordination and unquestioned exercise of the pastorial office by Daniel Falckner through a long period of his life have been established.[153]

That Falckner was conscientious in his appreciation of the office of the holy ministry is seen from the fact that years afterward, in spite of the pressing need of ministers for the Lutherans, he refused ordination to at least two young men who presented themselves to him as can-

[149] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 36.

[150] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 36.

[151] *Hall. Nachr.*, II., p. 196.

[152] This is the period between 1720 and 1730; but in the vague state of the knowledge of Falckner, who had left the Pennsylvania colony never to return, and which is shown to exist both in the *Halle Reports* and also in the annotations of the same, where Justus and Daniel Falckner are confused, because it was not known that Daniel himself was an ordained clergyman, this latitude in years might very readily occur.

[153] For the question of the ordination of Daniel Falckner see the Ancestry and Life of Falckner in footnote on page 104.

didates. The one of these was John Casper Stoever, to whom he refused it after hearing the young man's sermon, for reasons unknown to us. The other was John Bernard von Dieren, a tailor from Königsberg, who said that Court Chaplain Boehme in London had aided him to emigrate to America. Falckner, finding that Von Dieren was untruthful, spoke so earnestly to him that the latter was completely broken down and in agony asked Falckner for forgiveness.[154]

Thus, shrouded in singular mystery, with clear glimpses of the truth shining here and there through the cloudy stretches of years, do we behold these two Falckners, pioneers, weary and broken, of sturdy Germanic honesty in affairs of state; and in religion precursors of a great form of Protestantism which should take deep root and spring up mightily in the as yet almost unbroken territory of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, and develop into the two great sister ministeriums of the Lutheran Church now already venerable with age; each Falckner the pastor of

[154] Er hat sich vielfältig bemüht, die Ordination irgendwo zu erschleichen, aber nirgends zur derselben gelangen können. Dem seligen Herrn Falckner hat er mit vielen scheinheiligen Reden und Missbrauch des Namens gottes ersuchet, ihm die Ordination zu ertheilen, indessen aber Andern vorgeschwatzet, er wäre von einem alten pfälzischen Prediger ordiniret und zwar mit solcher Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass Herr Falckner selbst vermeinet, es wäre geschehen. Hierauf hat Herr Falckner ihm zu Gemüthe geführet, mit was Gewissen er sich nochmals ordiniren lassen wollen, da er denn bei dem verlogenen Vorgeben, er hätte die Ordination erhalten, verharret, aber ihm um des Blutes Christi willen gebeten, es ihm zu vergeben, sagende, der Teufel hätte ihn verblendet, er könnte blutige Thränen darüber weinen, dass er es gegen ihn, der ihm Liebe erwiesen, gethan hätte. (*Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. I., p. 474.)

Er konnte sich rühmen, dass er den seligen Pastor Falckner gekannt und mit ihm verkehrt habe, obschon die Art dieses Verkehrs nicht eben zu seinem Ruhme gereichte; denn Falckner hatte zumuthung, ihm die Ordination zu ertheilen, von der Hand gewiesen und ihm, da er ihn auf Lügen ertappt hatte, so ernst ins gewissen geredet, dass er ganz zerknirscht wehmüthig um Verzeihung gebeten hatte. (Gräbner, *Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in America.*)

the oldest Lutheran congregation (excluding the other) still in existence on this continent; and both forerunners from the fountains of Pietism at Erfurth and Halle, from which later on in the century the streams would flow that would cause the wilderness of a scattered, thirsty, barren and struggling church to blossom and bloom as the rose.



CHAPTER VI.

The Lutheran Church at Falckner Swamp.



IT is a large, hill-sheltered and well-watered lowland, fertile as any English meadow, and constituting an extensive section of Montgomery County, that bears the name of Daniel Falckner as a perpetual memorial to the Lutheran minister who two centuries ago opened this tract for settlement and civilization, and who at that time founded on this spot the oldest still existing German Lutheran church in the land.[155]

[155] Tob. E. Björck, son of Erik Björck, says in his *De plantatione Eccl. Sevecanal in America*, that the region was named after Pastor Falckner, a view to which Acrelius agrees. See *Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. I., p. 36.

History, failing to note the neglect and unfaithfulness of Pastorius toward the interests with whose care he was entrusted, has also failed to recognize the credit that is due to Falckner in gaining this Manatawny tract from the Quakers for the Frankfort Company. Penn sold the land to the Frankfort Company before 1682. The Frankfort Company gave a letter to Pastorius to administer the same on April 2, 1683. On Feb. 3, 1689, the Proprietary's Commissioners of Property at the instance of Pastorius, confirmed 2,675 acres (the land on which Germantown was laid out) as part of the Frankfort property. Subsequently warrants were granted by Penn for 300 acres in the Liberties of the City of Philadelphia. But Pastorius failed to get any more land for his Frankfort Company. For years the Company's interests had been neglected. At last,

Set five miles inland from the Schuylkill, thirty-six and twenty-one miles respectively between Philadelphia and Reading, and bounded on the north by a range of hills which in the early days the Indians made their main thoroughfare, Falckner Swamp rests in the heart of a rich country like a secluded paradise. On the north of the great hollow meadow rise the South Mountains. To the east we see the ridge on the bank of the Sciota Creek. On the south run the Stone Hills and on the west Fox Hills. Approaching this little rural world from the west, one follows the ancient pathway to what is called the *Schwammer Thor*. This is a narrow passage "guarded by two hills of unusual height for this neighborhood, between which a road runs, flanked on either side by fragments of huge rocks."[156] As one gazes from this *Thor* across the rich lowlands of the Swamp, one sees the Swamp Creek running in winding course through the valley, with Sciota Creek, Goshenhoppen Run, Spack Run, Schlegel's Run, and the Pfarrer's Bach as tributaries to the central stream. It is "a goodly land indeed! Comfortable farm-houses, fat Pennsylvania barns, mills, wav-

when Daniel Falckner had been appointed in his place, on July 26, 1701, the Proprietary issued a warrant for 22,025 acres of land in completion of the tract. At the instance and request of Daniel Falckner and Johannes Jawert the survey was made Oct. 13, 1701. The patent is dated Oct. 25, 1701. It is to be noted that though the purchase was made before 1686, the patent was not issued for, fourteen years, *i. e.*, while Pastorius ruled, but it was only in 1701 that it was gotten through the efforts of Daniel Falckner.

The tract is named in the deeds of the early times, the German tract, the Manatawny tract, the Frankfort Company's land, and the Great Tract of 22,367 acres.

The patent expressly states that it was at the instance and request of Daniel Falckner and Johannes Jawert that Penn granted his warrant "for the surveying of the 22,025 acres unto the company as the full residue of their five and twenty thousand acres aforesaid." For the full text of the patent see Dotterer's *Perkiomen Region*, Vol. II., pp. 98–101.

[156] H. S. Dotterer.

ing corn fields promising prodigious crops, bright green pastures, and the lush growth of grass fringing the creeks, complete the picture."[157]

In the center of this idyllic scene, on a cross roads, is established the ancient little hamlet of New Hanover.[158] In winding course, through a gentle upland meadow, bordered with a tall row of trees, spanned by substantial bridges on the main roads, and rustic structures, almost hidden in beds of living green, runs the Pfarrer's Bach to meet the main stream of the Swamp meadows. Upon opposite sides of the Bach rise two churches, the one Lutheran and the other Reformed.

The Lutheran church is reached by a picturesque walk along the high banks of the meadow, and comes to vision on the brow of a gentle eminence. It was erected in 1767.[159] Bidding defiance to storm and wind, and having all the appearance of a modern structure in its warm and cheerful exterior, this most venerable and substantial building stands to-day as strong as when it was first put up. The courses of its masonry are marked by lines of white mortar with beautiful regularity. The colonial style of architecture, simple, columnar and effective, with round arches, is executed in light and not in massive form. The walls are of sandstone and brownstone, and the buttresses of hewn sandstone, of a light buff nineteenth-century color. These stones, with the plan, render the exterior atmosphere of this venerable building youthful and gracious. There

[157] Henry S. Dotterer in his excellent little historical tract "*Falckner Swamp*," Schwenksville, 1879.

[158] The settlement may have been named New Hanover by the immigrants secured by Falckner during his visit to Europe.

[159] This new building had only been erected for seven or eight years when the war of the Revolution broke out. Washington at Valley Forge was but twenty-five miles away, and the Church was turned into a hospital. "Many a patriot of '76, who breathed his last within these consecrated walls, now sleeps in the adjoining cemetery."—Rev. L. Groh, D.D.

is nothing heavy or squatty, nor any tendency to crumble, about it. The sandstone is said to have been transported by wagons for many miles. It came from formations found on the other side of the Schuylkill River. In line with the broad side of the structure, which is 66 feet in length and a little distance farther east, still on the brow of the hill, there has been reared a large brick building for the use of the sexton. The church faces to the east and over the main doorway there is a stone which tells us that it was erected in 1767 with

> Adam Wardman,
> Jacob Ebli,
> Matias Reigert
> Als
> BA/HERN.[160]

Originally the bases of the windows were as high as five or six feet from the ground, and the interior constituted a spacious room of one story. But when the church was remodeled and a lower story was placed in the building, the windows were cut down, and the lines of new and old masonry are still discernible to the eye on a careful examination of the wall. For many years the floor of the interior was brick. It was not until 1825 that worshipers could rest their frosted feet upon a wooden floor. Originally there were no stoves. "One good old mother in Israel, of the last century, told me many things of these sturdy times. She and her sisters, when young girls, used to walk to church. Torrid summers and frigid winters never daunted them. They reverently sat for two hours,

[160] The minutes of May 29, 1765, witnessed to by Heinrich Mühlenberg, tell us that the Building Committee was composed of Matthias Hallebach, Adam Wartman, Matthias Reichardt, and Tobias Jürger.

feet on the brick floor, atmosphere quite below freezing, then cheerily waded through the snow to their home. She vividly recalled the first agitation connected with the first introduction of stoves, and the protests of conservative veterans against such effeminacy."[161]

Immediately south of the town, on the brow of another hill, rising from the slope of the Pfarrer's Bach, and at some distance from the church (which is north of the town), is a second large brick building, somewhat similar to the sexton's house. This is the ancient historic "Pfarrhouse." It is a substantial brick building, from whose front porch a view of the whole town may be had. It has been much enlarged and internally renovated since it was built. As early as 1749, Thomas Preston, an Englishman, donated 49 acres of land to Senior Muhlenberg in trust for the Swamp Church. "This land became the glebe upon which the parsonage was built. Here the Rev. F. W. Geissenhainer, D.D., was born; his father, the Rev. Frederick Geissenhainer, having been pastor here about twelve years and closing his work in 1809. Rev. Prof. George F. Miller was also born here, and within these venerable walls the writer had his home during the first four years of his pastorate."[162]

Such are the locality and the building, which constitute the oldest historic landmark of the German church, still preserved, in America, and whose congregation is the earliest German Lutheran church in the State.

Already "in 1703 the Swedes from the Delaware and the Schuylkill ordained a pastor at the Swamp for the Ger-

[161] The Rev. Leonard Groh, D.D., pastor of the church in 1866.
[162] The Rev. Leonard Groh, D.D.

man Church there."[163] Whether this pastor, ordained (installed?) by the Swedes in 1703 for the church at Falckner Swamp, was Daniel Falckner or not, we do not know. We do know that the congregation during the first quarter of the century was closely connected with the Swedish pastors of the Lutheran congregation at Molatton, whose founding antedates by several years at least (1697) the founding of the church in Falckner Swamp.

"The earliest direct evidence of Falckner Swamp congregation known to the writer," says Mr. J. F. Sachse,[164] "is a Swedish account of a visit made to Manatawney by Pastor Sandel in company with Daniel Falckner in the autumn of 1704, wherein it is stated that the former assisted Falckner at the church services on Sunday, October 15th (corroborative evidence appears in Sandel's diary). One of the first things he [Daniel Falckner] did in the new settlement was to organize a congregation, build a church, and hold services according to the Lutheran ritual.

"This humble structure, a mere rude log-cabin, without any attempt at ornamentation or architectural beauty, with its sparse congregation[165] and enthusiastic preacher, has

[163] The Rev. Leonard Groh, D.D., states that this fact, taken from evidence in existence in 1867, was read at the centennial of the church at that time, and published in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift.* The papers constituting this evidence were prior to the records begun by Mühlenberg, which latter have been preserved and handsomely and substantially bound in red leather by order of Governor Hartranft and are now in the custody of the present pastor, the Rev. J. J. Kline, Ph.D.

[164] *German Pietists*, p. 319.

[165] That the congregation actually existed and a church was built at this early date is also the conclusion reached by Drs. Mann and Schmucker in their annotations to the *Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. I., p. 36. They say, "undoubtedly the congregation had in Falckner's time the indelible traces of an organization. When the first church was built is not to be discovered. The Frankfort Company received its title October 25, 1701. The assignment to Sprogell is dated September 16, 1708. In 1719 Joh. H. Sprogell presented the congregation 50 acres of land for a church and school. *But perhaps this already stood there when the title came to be legally cleared.* In 1721 a log church was built there, *which possibly had already been preceded by another.*"

the distinction of being the first regular *German* Lutheran church and organized congregation in the Western World. It served the congregation until 1721, when a more pretentious building was erected, also of logs."

It is a mistake to assume that the first settlements in the Swamp did not take place until 1718 or 1719. It is true that it was only in these years that land was paid for, that surveys were instituted, and deeds were made out. The land of the Falckner's Swamp Church itself was surveyed and donated for the first time in 1719. But in the back regions of the interior of Pennsylvania the taking up and possession of lands in individual parcels nearly always preceded its ownership, its survey and the securing of its legal title. It also preceded the laying out of roads and making of public improvements by a period of years. It is the writer's conviction that the lands of the first settlers at Falckner's Swamp were no exception to this rule. As early as 1690—that is, nearly a generation before the period of which we are speaking—Henry Baker, of Bucks County, recognized the fertility and value of the lands in "the Great Swamp" and made application to the Board of Property to purchase a hundred acres there.[166] Hendrick Pannebecker, the surveyor, removed from Germantown to Skippack Creek as early as 1702. Falckner returned from Europe, perhaps bringing immigrants for this tract, in 1700. The tract was secured, the survey made and the patent issued in 1701. Sprogell saw the value of the land and, with the lawyers in the Province, had wrested it from Falckner by 1708–9. As early as the spring of 1709 there was a petition sent in to the Phila-

[166] "Minutes of the Board of Property, 20 of 7, 1690. Henry Baker having to purchase 100 acres Desires that he may have it at the Great Swamp about a mile from his own house in Bucks County."

delphia Court for a road from Perkiomen Bridge to Pottstown by John Henry Sprogell and Mons Jones. It was signed by no less than fourteen persons and the petitioners state that they have plantations lying very remote in the country and that they needed the road because it was difficult for them to pass and repass to their said plantations. The Skippack road was laid out in consequence of a petition to the Court dated June, 1713. The writer does not know how early the great road leading from Manatawny to Philadelphia was laid out, but already in 1722 the present road between Norristown and Phœnixville was laid out "to the Indian ford on Schuylkill," and in 1725 there was a road built from Thomas Rutter's iron works to the road to Philadelphia.

Mühlenberg,[167] in his historical résumé of the several periods of immigration, states that in the "second period," which he places between the years 1708 and 1720, "not a few of the Palatine Germans came to Pennsylvania" and settled, it is fair to presume, in the region where and of which he was writing.

Who the oldest settlers were in the period between 1703 and the time when legal documents came into being in 1718 or 1719, and how many of those who bought land in these latter years had already been settled upon it for a decade or more, we have no means of knowing. Peter Conrad owned land as early as 1718, near the present Lutheran church. He was a Lutheran and an officer of the church before the time of Mühlenberg, remaining such until he died on March 5, 1765, in his seventy-eighth year. He was one of the signers of the agreement on behalf of the congregation to accept Mühlenberg as pastor. He was the father of nine children.

[167] *Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. II., p. 194.

One of the earliest inhabitants of the Swamp and members of the Lutheran church there was Martin Zundler, who died in March, 1751. Mühlenberg says of him: "He belonged to the first inhabitants of the said spot, who in the beginning suffered in the wild forest and were obliged to toil painfully before they could gain their bodily needs, and under God's blessing enjoy the fruits of their labor. He had experienced and noticed various changes, namely, how things had gone at the beginning, in the middle period, or in the final period. In the beginning people were scattered and poor, but at the same time were truthful, aided each other, sober, meek, and diligent in their calling. According as they had received more or less instruction in the foundations of the Christian religion in the Fatherland, they sought to believe the same here, and to maintain the small light and life with the prayers they had learned in their youth and the books they had brought over with them. When in their loneliness they were visited now and then by a Swedish clergyman, or by Pastor Henkel, and were served with God's Word and the Holy Sacrament, they regarded that as a great blessing. The native Indians at the beginning lived among them in part and went about admiring their labor and song, and profiting from their bread and milk, and whatever else was given to them from fear or love.[168]

In the middle period the settlers increased, coming in from all sides. The raising of cattle was added to the former pursuits, and the cultivated fields bore fruit still more bountifully. But in place of a spirit of thankfulness, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life began to be powerful. The sins of drunkenness and luxuriousness particu-

[168] This is Zundler's division of the Falckner Swamp region into periods and not Mühlenberg's own division of Pennsylvania into periods, for which see Chapter IX.

larly began to rule so grossly that the place, on account of its evil deeds, became notorious in the whole land and was called a "sauf und mortgrube."

The precise spot where the original log cabin church of 1704 was built is unknown, but the foundations of a later church building have been discovered on the brow of the hill to the west of the present building and of the old cemetery, and adjoining the latter.

Immediately to the left of the present church building on the brow of the hill, stretching westward, there extends the old cemetery, where lie resposing in peace the ashes of the fathers of this congregation. A whole row of high marble stones, inscribed with beautiful, clear-cut letters, tell the story of the Reichert family.[169] One of the old stones, in good preservation, tells us that Jacob Geiger was born in 1694 and died in 1772. Another tells us that Andrew Geiger was born in 1700 and died in 1766. Still another, of sandstone, stout and strong, with a clambering green vine almost hiding the legible inscription from sight, tell us that Johann Benedictus Muntz was born in 1694 and died in 1764. The oldest tombstone thus far found in the old graveyard is that of a Kräps child, 1740.

A new era for the few humble Lutherans at Falckner Swamp began in the year 1717. It was ushered in by the arrival in this region of an ordained Lutheran minister from Germany, who had come hither expressly for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to his scattered countrymen in the New World.[170] It was the Rev. Gerhard Henkel. Pastor Henkel arrived with his family, including particularly his

[169] These are the ancestors of Dr. John Richards and his sons, Prof. Matthias Richards and H. M. M. Richards, Esq., prominent members of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

[170] *American Lutheran Biographies*, p. 339.



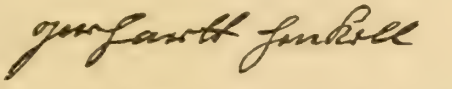


F. SACHSE PHOTO

THE NEW HANOVER LUTHERAN CHURCH.

THE PEARRER'S BACH AND ROAD LEADING TO THE CHURCH.

son-in-law, Valentine Geiger, who was a substantial addition to the little congregation at the Swamp.[171] Mühlenberg, speaking shortly after the death of Geiger, tells us that he was the elder of the Swamp congregation, and the "Erste Anbauer des Amtes," as well as the member who was the oldest in years. Geiger was a man who had been well instructed in the foundations of the Lutheran religion in his youth, who could read and write, was sober, of good morals, friendly in intercourse, not grasping in earthly affairs, and contented with whatever Providence placed in his way. It is quite possible that pastor Henkel made Geiger's home his headquarters. At all events he went forth as a circuit preacher into distant parts of the wilderness in southeastern Pennsylvania,[172] and held services, as Mühlenberg tells us,[173] among the beginners of the Swamp colony for a number of years. That he was still in charge at Falckner Swamp during a large part of the second decade of the century is to be inferred not only from the remark of Mühlenberg in connection with the third period of early Pennsylvania history (1720–1730), in which Pastor Henkel is cited with Stoever and others,[174] but also from his



signature on a remarkable petition of the frontier inhabitants of the County of Philadelphia, in connection with other residents of Falckner Swamp, to the Governor, praying for relief against the alarms arising from incursions of hostile Indians, to the great discomfort and danger of the frontier

[171] Account from 1754–1765. *Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. II., p. 352.
[172] *Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. II., p. 107.
[173] Account from 1754–1765. *Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. II., 352.
[174] *Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. II., p. 196.

residents. This petition is dated 1728.[175] In the same year another petition was forwarded to the same Governor, stating that the Indians had fallen upon the "Back Inhabitors of Falckner Swamp and New Goshahopin." These petitions together with the earlier "Petition of the Dutch inhabitants in Faulkner's Swamp" of 1723, which also bears the signature of Gerhard Henkel, Friedrich Reichert, Elias Aff, Daniel Schoener and other Lutherans of the Swamp, seem to prove conclusively that Rev. Henkel was a resident in the Swamp, not merely upon his first arrival, but up to and including the year 1728. In fact, when the statement of the Zänger pamphlet of 1728, printed in New York, viz: that "one by the name of Henkel exercises the authority of office at Manatawney," is considered, we may well say that few things are so completely proven by independent historical documentary evidence as the residence and pastorate of Gerhard Henkel at the Falckner Swamp Church, between 1719 and 1728. Family tradition seems to indicate that Rev. Henkel spent a part of his life in Germantown, and that he met his death by being thrown from his horse near Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, where he was also buried.[176] It is known that he visited the Lutherans in the Tulpehocken at an early date.[177] He was dead before the advent of Pastor Schulze in 1732.[178]

[175] Gerhard Henkel's name appears in this petition in company with those of Martin Bitting, George Geiger, Henry Bitting, Michael Schmidt, George Hollenberg, Anthony Henkel, and several Geigers whose first names are not legible. Of the seventy odd names on the petition over forty are in German handwriting and include the signature of Gerhard Henkel.

[176] *American Lutheran Biographies*, p. 339.

[177] *Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. I., p. 303.

[178] Rev. Gerhard Henkel was a descendant of Count Henkel, of Poeltzig, who was instrumental in sending Rev. Mühlenberg to America. Count Henkel was a descendant of Johann Henkel, D.D., LL.D., born in Leutschau, Hungary, and was Father Confessor to Queen Maria about 1530. He sympathized with Protestantism, and maintained friendly relations with Melanchthon, Erasmus,

Among the Lutherans who were here after the arrival of Pastor Henkel, was Elias Affe, of Augsburg, who on May 24, 1720, bought 150 acres of land in the Swamp from John Henry Sprogell, part of the great tract. Killian Kehle was another early Lutheran, and bought his land May 24, 1720. Daniel Schoener, one of the three members of the Lutheran Church, sent to Europe in 1733 by the United Congregations of Swamp, New Providence, and Philadelphia, was also here at this time. John

Spalatin, and others who were engaged in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. (*See History of the Ev. Luth. Tennessee Synod* by Socrates Henkel, D.D.)

According to tradition Rev. Gerhard Henkel was preacher at the court of a petty prince in the vicinity of Frankfort-on-the-Main. He himself states in connection with the Van Dieren controversy that he was ordained in Germany in the month of February, 1692. Tradition says that in a sermon against immoral principles introduced into his German master's court from France, Henkel declared from his pulpit that he would give up his position. He did so, and came at once with his family, including his son-in-law, Valentine Geiger, to Pennsylvania. This was in 1717. Family tradition says that he pledged the family silver of his wife for the payment of the expenses of a little church building. According to the account of a supposed Gerhard Henkel diary, published by Rattenberger, Pastor Henkel is said to have arrived in America in the year 1717 in Virginia with colony De Graffenrid. (*Deutsche Pionier*, 1880, pp. 65, 93, 136. The editor of the *German Pionier* states that Henkel lived in Virginia until 1735 and then removed to North Carolina. But, as Dr. Mann, *Halle Nachr.*, Vol. I., 577, states, the said editor is in error, for Henkel really remained in Pennsylvania during his life in America and also died in Pennsylvania.) He resided in the Falckner Swamp and perhaps also during part of his life at Chestnut Hill or Germantown.

Henkel's ordination of the worthless clerical impostor Van Dieren gave rise to a bitter controversy (W. Chr. Berkenmeyer versus Van Dieren, *Halle Nachr.*, pp., 475, 478); and a pamphlet published by John Peter Zänger in New York, in 1728, wherein it is stated that "one by the name of Henkel, who exercises the authority of office at Manatawney, some time ago permitted himself to be moved to assert that he had ordained Van Dieren," is confirmatory of our conclusion that Gerhard Henkel resided at or near his son-in-law's estate at the Swamp.

He was the founder of a stalwart race of theologians, pastors and missionaries in the Lutheran church. His descendants established the first Lutheran Publication House in America, in the English language, translated and printed the first English version of the Lutheran Book of Concord, organized the Tennessee Synod, and have ever been conspicuous for their defense of sound Lutheran doctrine.

Frederick Reichert, the ancestor of the Richards family, was here probably even before Pastor Henkel arrived. He was born in 1679 in Augsburg, Germany, and was the son of an officer in the German army. He was a member of the Building committee of the second Swamp Church. He died in 1748 and was buried in the Swamp cemetery, where his brother Casper also lies. Affe, Schoener, Reichert and others, with Gerhard Henkel, were signers of the Petition of the Dutch inhabitants of Faulkner's Swamp in 1723 for the laying out of a road from Oley to Limerick (see Chap. IX.). John Benner, the tanner, also probably was one of these early Lutherans. His brother was located on the stream near the Lutheran Church.[179] In 1749 his three daughters were baptized, Mrs. Mühlenberg herself being sponsor. He had nine children.

The arrival of Pastor Henkel, the holding of regular services once again, and the dilapidation of the original Falckner Church-hut of 1704,[180] led to new activity in this settlement in the wilderness. It was seen already at this time that a school, for the education of the children, as well as a church would be necessary. In 1719 John H. Sprogell presented the congregation with 50 acres of land for church and school purposes. It is probable that this was the land already in possession of and built upon by the congregation[181] and that the presentation on the part of the successor of Falckner as controller of the whole tract was simply to insure continuance of possession.

In 1719 "John Henry Sprogell requested Henry Panne-

[179] In 1748 he subscribed two shillings toward the cost of a bell.

[180] These original log church structures quickly went into decay wherever they were erected. Their average tenure of existence was from ten to twenty years. Mühlenberg himself writes this fact to Germany, stating that wood decays very rapidly in America.

[181] *Hall. Nachr.*, p. 36.

becker to lay out and survey fifty acres for the purpose, which survey was completed April 17th, 1719, and George Boone to prepare a deed, but through some neglect this important paper was never executed. The Lutherans entered into possession, raised a contribution among themselves, built a church and a school house, and had them completely finished in 1721. About the same year, becoming more numerous, and the congregation being too large for the building, they raised another contribution and erected a larger church and school house ' far preferable to the former.' "[182]

The missionary activities of Pastor Henkel probably led him to be absent from Falckner Swamp for long periods of time, and services here were held only irregularly. But at the beginning of the second decade there arrived a Lutheran pastor in the same region who also did his share toward upbuilding the struggling young congregation. In March, 1720, the Falckner Swamp congregation began to be served by a third pastor in the person of Rev. Samuel Hesselius, who was the Swedish resident pastor at Molatton.[183] The ministrations of Rev. Hesselius were continued until October, 1723.

Moreover, during the same year, 1720, there arrived in Pennsylvania that indefatigable faithful and praiseworthy Reformed schoolmaster, Rev. John Philip Boehm, who against great odds organized the earliest German Reformed congregations in the Province and ministered faithfully to them for a period of many years, and who in the neighborhood of the Swamp, shortly after his arrival in 1720, established a religious meeting among the Reformed

[182] Henry S. Dotterer in the *Perkiomen Region, Past and Present*, Vol. I., pp. 4-5.

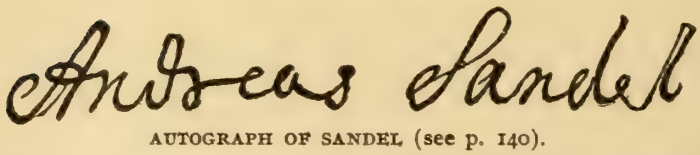
[183] *Halle Nachr.*, I., 36.

members of the settlement as a lay reader, and finally at the urgent request of his people assumed the responsibilities of the ministerial office, celebrating the Lord's Supper for the first time at Falckner Swamp on the 15th of October, 1725, and thus organizing the first German Reformed congregation in Pennsylvania.[184]

Quite probably the period of renewed activity in the Lutheran flock under the leadership of Pastor Henkel, caused the members of the Reformed Church to see the necessity of beginning a congregation, and stimulated



AUTOGRAPH OF SPROGELL (see pp. 141–142).



AUTOGRAPH OF SANDEL (see p. 140).

schoolmaster Boehm to his gathering the Reformed flock together. With a thoroughness in matters of outward organization, which has always characterized the Reformed Church (as over against the Lutheran Church, which often seems satisfied with the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments), Pastor Boehm united, crystallized, and organized his congregations most faith-

[184] See Professor William J. Hinke in *Reformed Church Messenger*, January 4, 1900. Unlimited credit for research in connection with the early Reformed Church history in the Perkiomen Region, and particularly in rescuing the life of the Rev. John Philip Boehm from obscurity, is due to Henry S. Dotterer, of Philadelphia, who has written a valuable life of Boehm (Philadelphia, 1890), and whose enthusiastic researches led to the discovery of the documents in Holland, relating to the early history of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, which have been brought to light in detail by the researches of Professor Hinke.

fully. He gathered the heads of families in his three churches to the number of fifty, he erected a system of church government, approved by his consistories, and read before the congregations, and subscribed to by the individual members, and he reported to the ecclesiastical authorities in Europe facts and figures which are of great service to the Reformed Church in America to-day.

When the Rev. John Caspar Stoever arrived in Pennsylvania in 1728, he undoubtedly preached to the Lutheran congregation in the Swamp. Among his earliest baptisms, before he was ordained, are those of the children of Valentine Kuehler, on October 24, 1731; of Adam Wartman, on January 12, 1733, of Michael Schmidt, on January 24th of the same year, and of Christopher Wittman, on September 3d of the same year.

The congregation was strengthened in September, 1732, by the arrival of Martin Keblinger. He was married in June, 1732, to Catrina Schneider, of the Swamp. Both husband and wife were Lutherans, and members of the Swamp church. They had seven children. Keblinger was one of the officers who signed the acceptance of Mühlenberg in behalf of the Swamp church.[185]

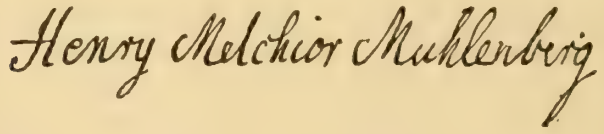
There is no further record of the pastorate until we learn that in the fall of 1732, John Christian Schulze assumed that office. In October of the following year we find the congregation at New Hanover joining with that of Philadelphia and New Providence under the name of the United Congregations, and Schulze going to Europe to seek help for them. After Schulze failed to return, between 1735 and 1742, Pastor Gabriel Falk, of Molatton, ministered to the congregation. In 1741 a new log church

[185] In 1748 he contributed 2s. 6d. to the cost of a bell.

was begun, but was not yet finished in 1742, when Mühlenberg arrived.

The history of the church from 1733 to the arrival of Mühlenberg in 1742 will again be referred to in a later chapter in connection with the history of the United Congregations, of which the Swamp church was one.

One of the first things that Mühlenberg heard about his prospective charge, shortly after he had stepped off the ship in Philadelphia and had entered the English inn in that city, was that the Lutherans at Falckner Swamp had "hired" a man by the name of N. Schmidt as a preacher, who was by profession a quack doctor and a dentist. That same night Mühlenberg set out on horseback with a resident in Falckner Swamp, named Philip Brandt, and rode



ten miles toward the Swamp. Continuing the journey the next morning, the two crossed the Skippack and the Perkiomen, though the latter stream was so swollen that Mühlenberg's small horse sank in up to the breast. It grew to be night again and the travelers rode ten miles farther in darkness until they reached Brandt's house in the Swamp.

The next morning Mühlenberg went still farther into the country to the house of one of the deacons. In the afternoon four elders and two deacons of the Swamp Church held a meeting. Brandt read to this church council the letter of Chaplain Ziegenhagen, of London, which Mühlenberg had brought with him. The church council was at a loss as to what to do. They did not know whether they could get rid of Schmidt. It was Saturday,



Henry Melchior Muhlenberg

and Mühlenberg asked permission to preach on the following day, the first Sunday in Advent. He closed the meeting with prayer.

At nine o'clock on Sunday morning Mühlenberg rode to the new log church building, whose interior was not yet finished. Men and women arrived on horseback. Schmidt also came and took his seat with Mühlenberg. Mühlenberg told him that he intended to preach an inaugural sermon. Schmidt replied that he did not intend to offer any objections. Mühlenberg's text of this first sermon at Falckner's Swamp was, II. Cor. 5 : 19–20.

After the service Mühlenberg read the call and instructions that he had received from Ziegenhagen to the assembled congregation. During the afternoon he spoke with a number of members who came in to see him as visitors. Some hoped that the congregation would now be brought into good order. Others thought that it would not be proper to discharge Schmidt altogether, though he was not ordained and sometimes was given to drink. Still others would not commit themselves. Some had taken offense at the fact that £40 sterling were stipulated in Mühlenberg's call as a yearly salary. Next day Muhlenberg left for Philadelphia.

It was Monday, December 20th, before he was able to return to the Swamp with one of the officers of the congregation who had come all the way to Philadelphia to bring him back. He reached the Swamp in time to celebrate Christmas with his new people and preached on that day to a large assembly, holding preparatory service, confession, and absolution, and administering the Lord's Supper to a hundred or more communicants.

That evening the elders and deacons of the Swamp and New Providence congregations met and signed the following agreement:

"We, the elders and deacons of the Protestant Lutheran congregations at New Hanover and Providence, do testify and affirm by subscription that we have accepted with a thankful heart the Rev. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg as a lawfully called and ordained minister of the gospel, and through our supplications sent by the Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, His Majesty's German Chaplain and member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and promise to provide our minister with the necessaries required for his living in his lawful vocation, and to assist him in every good disposition and direction which he gives for our and our children's spiritual welfare, etc., Dec. 25th, 1742. Deacons and elders of New Hanover: Christopher Withmann, Matthias Ringer, Peter Conrad, Valentine Geiger, Jacob Aister, Martin Keblinger, George Jürger; deacons and elders of Providence: John Nicol. Groessmann, Frederick Marsteller, John George Benter, Nicolaus Bittel, Geo. Groessman, Jacob Müller, John Geo. Groessmann, the saddler."

"In his diary Mühlenberg says that in the document then and there subscribed to, there was also a section wherein these representatives of the congregations promised that they would permit no man who could not show a regular call and ordination, according to Article XIV. of the Augsburg Confession, publicly to preach or to administer the sacraments in their congregations."

The day after Christmas was Sunday and he preached to a large assembly in a barn during a great storm, and left on the same day on his return to Philadelphia.

On January 9th he was again in New Hanover and at once he found it necessary to turn his attention to the question of the education of the young people. He, himself, says: "Sunday, January 9th, I preached at New Hanover to a large assembly; had also to baptize before the congregation after preaching. Since ignorance among the youth is great in this country, and good schoolmasters are very rarely found, I had to take this matter also into my hands. Those who might possibly teach the children to read are lazy and given to drink, use all sorts of books to make their sermons, waste their time, preach and administer the Lord's Supper merely to get cash in hand. It is a shocking sin and shame. I requested the congrega-

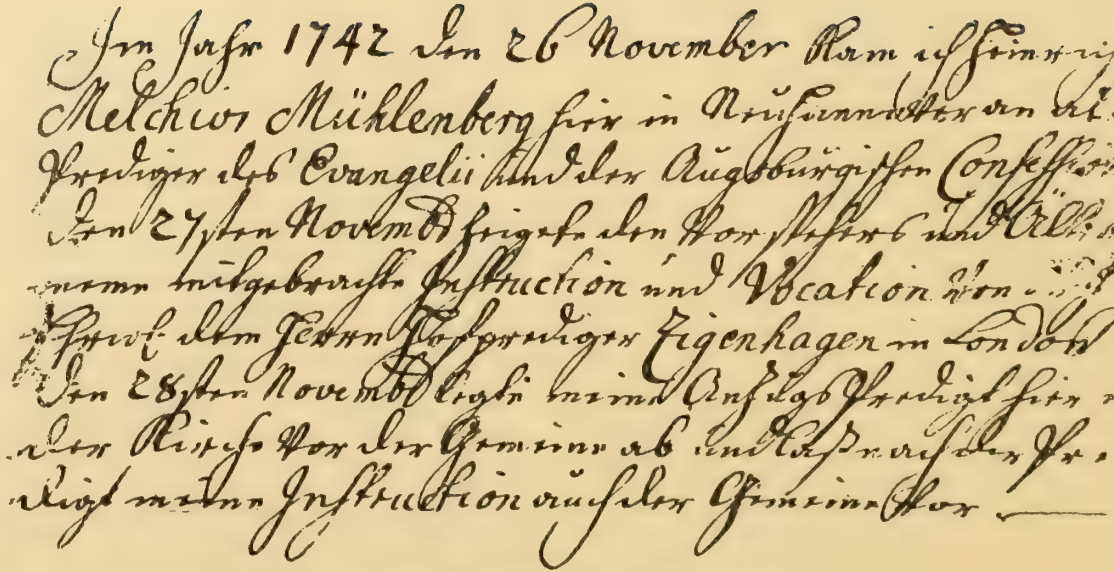
tion to send me first the older children, as I intended to go about among the three congregations, remaining in each successively one week. On the following day, Monday, January 10th, the parents brought me some of their children. It does not look very promising to see youths of seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty years of age appear with the A B C book. Yet I rejoice in finding the desire to learn something. Singing also has totally died out among the young people.

"Some young fellows came to the school who wished to learn the English. This also affords me an opportunity to do some good. I read with them the New Testament in English."

On the 4th of February, Mühlenberg again arrived at the Swamp and the next day held a meeting with the vestry and the congregation which he opened and closed with prayer. There was difficulty in the congregation. Some wished to build a school-house and parsonage under the same roof. Others wished to erect simply a school-house and later to build a parsonage and buy a piece of ground for the benefit of the pastor. Mühlenberg succeeded in harmonizing the difficulty, and a contract with a carpenter was entered into in a few hours. The building of the school-house was to be begun in the following spring. The meeting adjourned in peace, joy and harmony. The officers presented their accounts at this meeting and the congregation requested Mühlenberg hereafter to have an oversight over the account books.

The next day, Sunday, he preached [186] to a large assembly gathered in and outside of the church on the Parable

[186] On the first of February he held his first funeral at the Swamp congregation, of a person who died suddenly, leaving five children, not one of whom had been confirmed. At the funeral the people put him on a wild colt, and he came very near having a mishap.



FIRST RECORD OF REV. MÜHLENBERG.

of the Sower. He instructed his first catechumen in the English language and confirmed her in several weeks.

He had opened his record book already on the 26th of November, 1742. At the head of this ancient and venerable document he makes an opening statement as follows:

"I, Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, arrived at New Hanover, as preacher of the Gospel and the Augsburg Confession. On November 27 I laid before the elders and deacons my instructions and vocation, which I had brought with me from the Right Reverend, the court preacher Ziegenhagen, in London. On the 28th delivered my introductory sermon in the church at this place. After the sermon I read my instruction to the congregation also."

He also wrote in his own hand the first constitution for the Swamp church in which he says: "It shall be the pastor's duty on Sundays, festivals, funerals, and other occasions of solemnity, to preach God's Word according to the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession. He must do this publicly, plainly, purely, concisely, thoroughly, edifyingly. And he shall have liberty on week days and evenings as needed and his strength permits to hold meetings for edification, exhortation and prayer. He shall richly disseminate the Word as a living seed, insist on true repentance, a living faith, and the power of godliness."

The first catechetical class recorded in the church book is that of 1743. The names of those confirmed at this time are as follows:

Michael Schlonecker—Michael Schlonecker's son.
Hans Jürg Rothermel.
Johann Daniel Rothermel.
Christoph Rothermel.
Daniel Schoener's son Daniel.
Christopher Witman—Christopher Witman's son.
Abraham Wartman—Adam Wartman's son.

Jacob Äppele } Jürg Beck's step-sons.
Johannes Äppele }
Johann Nichol Gauger.
Johannes Hill.
Magdalena Kurtzin } Adam Hillebart's step-daughters.
Barbara Kurtzin (Hillebartin) }
Catharina Elizabeth Sauermilchin † tod.
Maria Appellonia Sauermilchin.
Gretha Barbara Schlägelin.
Maria Barbara Moserin—daughter of widow Moserin.
Anna Maria Schmidin—Siegmund Schmid's daughter.

In this year the congregation had 250 communicants. Some of these came from a great distance. "It is still remembered of one brother, Ritter by name, whose descendants are numerous in that neighborhood, that he used to go to church from a distance of forty miles. Though he had many horses, he generally walked. About 10 p. m. on Saturday he started; by 10 a. m. on Sunday, he was at church. About two hours he worshipped in the sanctuary."[187]

The earliest baptisms recorded by the new pastor Mühlenberg are of the year 1744. We present the first five of these:

On Feb. 5th, a son of Valentine Albo was baptized, named John Frederick. Sponsors, John Frederick Stengel and wife. The child was born Nov. 7th, 1743.

March 5th, a son of John Jürg Mill was baptized, named John Henry. Sponsors were John Henry Schmidt and his wife. Born Feb. 26th, 1744.

March 5th, a son of Henry Schlamfer was baptized, named Sylvester. Sponsors, Sylvester Otto and (Miss) Catharine Reimar. (Ledigen standes.) Born Feb. 15th, 1744.

On March 11th, a son of Jürg Michael Schweinhart was baptized, named John Matthias. Sponsors, John Michael Krumrein and John Philip Staufer. This child was born of Leonora Magdalena Schweinhart Feb. 17th, 1744.

On March 26th, a daughter of Benedict Kebner was baptized, named Johanna. Sponsors were John Klein and Johanna Weichart.

The earliest wedding recorded in the record book is the following:

[187] The Rev. Leonard Groh, D.D.—who states that in a wide sense there was only one generation between his pastorate and that of Mühlenberg, and that he had members of 80 years of age who easily remembered some of the persons who were living in 1781, Mühlenberg's last year as pastor.

"On May 28, 1745, John Andrew Jürger, Veit Jürger's second son, and Catharine ———, daughter of Peter ———, were given to each other in the name of the Lord in this church after a marriage sermon had been held."

Pastor Mühlenberg apparently not only had oversight of the financial accounts in his congregation but he even appointed the members of the church council, and in real estate transactions he himself was the actual purchaser of the property, having the deed made to himself and then selling and conveying the same "unto the Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, His Majesty's Secunda of Great Britain, German Minister at St. James' in London, and the Rev. Dr. and Prof. Gotthilf August Francke at Halle and their assigns forever in fee, in trust nevertheless for the use, possession, profit and enjoyment of Protestant Evangelical ministers and schoolmasters who are already sent and hereafter from time to time may be called, chosen, instructed, appointed, sent, licensed, and authorized by the aforesaid Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen and Gotthilf August Francke to preach the Law and Gospel, to administer the Holy Sacraments and to instruct children according to the sound and saving doctrines of Christ for the already established and as hereafter to be established church government, liturgie, and discipline of the Rev. Michael Ziegenhagen, Gotthilf Francke and other assigns or attorneys." In the name of the Halle authorities he then appointed overseers of the property to see, *e. g.*, in the case of the Hanover property, that "the land is well improved, the timber preserved and the buildings thereon be kept in repair, and that hereafter nothing be done in hurt or prejudice of the owners or their institutions."

These overseers were "our honest brethren Messrs. George George, Andrew Kepner, George Beck and John George, freeholders of New Hanover Township, in the County of Philadelphia." The Thomas Preston, of Lon-

don, who sold or donated the tract for the consideration of £82 10s. Pennsylvania currency, "which sum of money the aforesaid Henry Mühlenberg applied for buying the said lands and for building the buildings on the land as the receipt certifies in the Book of Record" (on record at Philadelphia in Book G, Vol. XII., p. 717), was the owner of 7,500 acres of land at New Hanover, which he bought from the Soam's heirs, who got it from Sprogell.[188]

In closing this document Mühlenberg says, "In witness whereof, I have hereunto put my hand and common seal in our united Congregation, the eighteenth day of October, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and forty-three.

HENRY MUHLENBERG.

SEAL

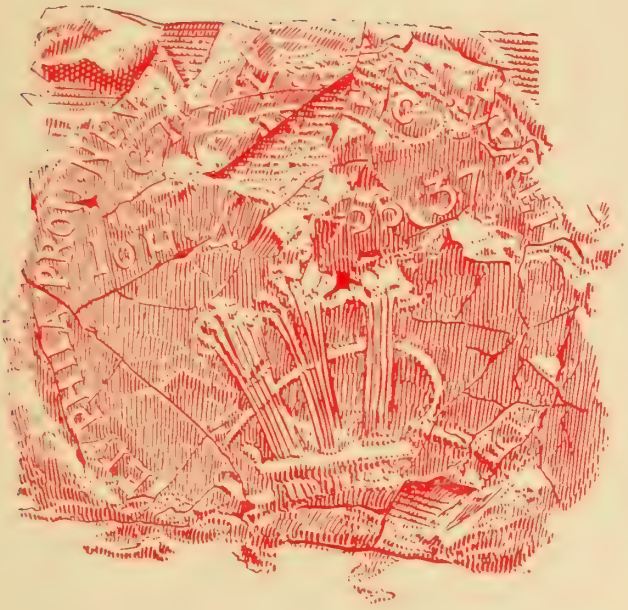
Signed, sealed and delivered in the
presence of us,
PETER BRUNNHOLZ,
JOHN FREDERICK HANDSCHUH,
JOHN DIETERICH,
MATTHIAS HEINZLMAN."

Thus it appears that the united congregations of 1743, through their pastor, Mühlenberg, possessed and used a regular ecclesiastical seal.

This seal is of the most curious of all recent Mühlenberg discoveries. It was found in an examination of the old documents of the Swamp congregation by Mr. J. F. Sachse and the writer. On the original Declaration of Trust there is affixed a large stamp in red wax, which upon examination proved to be, not of a legal character, but an

[188] The Declaration of Trust concerning the above tract though acknowledged by Mühlenberg before Henry Pawling in 1753, was not recorded until 1845, when it was put on record at Norristown, Montgomery County.





ECCLESIASTICAL SEAL OF THE UNITED CONGREGATIONS OF PHILADELPHIA, PROVIDENCE AND NEW HANOVER.

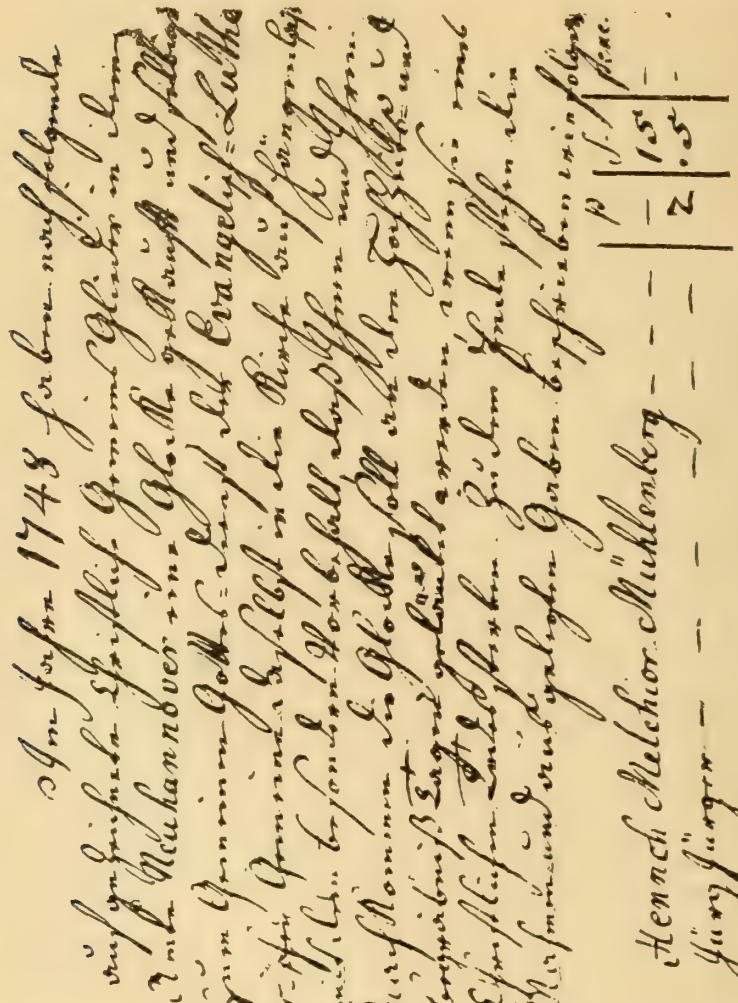
USED BY MUHLENBERG

ecclesiastical seal affixed by Mühlenberg to his signature as the officer of the United Congregations of New Hanover, New Providence and Philadelphia. As far as the writer knows this is the only instance in which this seal is known to have been used. Around its outer rim is the official name of the three congregations. In the center are three sheaves of wheat enclosed by the sharp edge of a sickle. Above the sheaves is the inscription "Joh. 4: 35–37." The seal is still in a tolerably good state of preservation and a facsimile is given herewith.

Although Mühlenberg's call was very specific in its salary requirement, he himself had no financial object in view in his labors. In the first year he only received £11 from the Swamp congregation, to buy a horse. In Philadelphia he did not receive enough to pay his house rent. At Providence he did not receive any money at all. Yet the people were kind to him. "One man brings me a sausage, another a piece of meat, a third a chicken, a fourth a loaf of bread, a fifth some pigeons, a sixth a rabbit, a seventh some eggs, an eighth some tea and sugar, a ninth some honey, a tenth some apples, an eleventh some partridges, etc." Three lodging places and incessant travel ran up his expenses, and at the end of the second year he was £60 in debt. When £200 came from Germany, though his salary had been unpaid, after having taken £40 for his debts, he gave the Philadelphia church £100; Providence for its new building, £60; and the Swamp church £50 for its new schoolhouse—£20 in cash and £30 as a debt. "My salary had gone to the Philadelphians, who cannot repay it, yet these £30 must be paid." "And paid they were," remarks his biographer.

The church and schoolhouse at the Swamp had finally been completed, and in 1748 the congregation purchased

a bell. This bell was to be rung for all who subscribed to it, in the case of weddings and funerals, provided that the persons died in the Christian faith. Doubtless a very large part of the congregation is to be found on the subscription

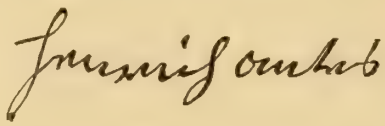


list for this bell which we herewith reproduce, together with a facsimile reproduction of the original heading to the subscription:

	£	s.	d.
Henrich Melchior Mühlenberg		15	
Jurg Jurger	2	15	
Andreas Kebner		17	
Valentine Geiger		7	6
Matthias Ringer		5	
Peter Conrad		4	6
Martin Keplinger		2	6
Michael Schweinhard		5	
Adam Wartman		5	
Carl Rayer	1		
Jurg Beck		10	
Paul Linsenbiegler		4	
Veit Jurger		5	
Heinrich Krebs		5	
John Campbel	1		
Johannes Schimmel	2		
Michael Kugler		3	
Michael Joachim		2	
Heinrich Stetler		10	
Martin Zendler		2	
Conrad Boehm		4	
Zucharias Setzler		5	
Martin Bullinger		3	
Jacob Geiger, senior		5	
Matthias Reichard		6	
Jurg Stoltz		4	
Ludewig Detterer		5	
Johannes Boehner		5	
Friederich Schafer		1	6
Friederich Stempel		5	
Christoph Rothermel		5	
Michael Noll		5	
Nicolaus Ickes		5	
Mr Fedele's wife and children		7	6
Johann Jurg Weichard		5	
Johann Nicol Pick		2	6
Philip Bayer		7	6
Melchior Schoener		5	
Johannes Schultz		1	6
Jacob Meyers' widow, now Buttebinder's wife		2	
Burchard Hofman		2	
Valentin Vogt		2	6
Friederich Meyer		3	
Margretha Moser, widow		3	
Simon Peltz		2	6
Adam Kurtz		2	6
Jurg Burchard		6	
Michael Schlanecker		5	
Heinrich Handwerck		10	
Heinrich Kuntzman		4	
Anna Elizabeth Hoppin Sprogel	4	2	6
Johanna Christina and children	1	7	
Michael Krumrein		3	
Jurge Kehle		3	
Simon Graf		6	
Thomas Jurger		8	
Andreas Jurger		5	
Michael Kuhn		5	
Johann Nicol Muller		5	
Martin Jurger		2	
Johann Peter Marsteller		2	
Nicolaus Grabiler		2	
Hannes Jurg Bingman		2	
Johannes Muller, AN DER METTE		2	
Jacob Beideman		2	
Jacob Bauman		5	
Peter Lober		2	
Daniel Christman		5	
Johannes Schlagel		4	
Heinrich Heilig		5	
Michael Weichel		5	
Philip Anthony		2	
Albert Hillebart		5	
Johannes Reifschneider		5	
Caspar Reichard		4	
Jurg Gansert		5	
Michael Kurtz		2	
Widow Diel		1	
Matthias Hollebach	1		
Jurg Schoener	1		
Caspar Singer		5	
Johannes Seidel	1		
Valentin Rupert		2	
Michael Walter		1	
Widow Schunk		2	6
Widow Hollebach		1	
Paul Moser		1	6
Carl Witz		4	
Widow Meyer		2	
Andreas Bastian		3	
Johannes Seidel, in work	1		
	29	5	0

Mühlenberg's insistence on educating the young people of the Swamp, as the most important practical task of the congregation, had borne fruit. A schoolhouse and schoolmasters were kept busy. But when, in 1754, the London Society inaugurated the project of the German Charity Schools, with the coöperation of Mühlenberg and of Michael Schlatter, on August 1st the Lutheran Church Council at the Swamp sent a petition to the Pennsylvania trustees of the London Society, urging the opening of a school in that vicinity, and offered the use of their new schoolhouse, conveniently situated in the middle of the township.

The request of the Lutheran congregation was also supported by a petition from the "ministers, elders and chief men" of the Reformed Church at the Swamp, dated October 28, 1754, and urging the opening of this school.



To this petition Henry Mühlenberg and Henry Antes were the witnesses. However, the Charity School project, as we shall see later, met with great opposition on the part of the German population, and came to an end in 1763.

The further history of the New Hanover congregation is given in the accompanying footnote.[189]

Before we enter upon a general view of the eighteenth century, whose greatest phenomenon from now on down to the middle of the century was the so-called Palatine emigra-

[189] *History of New Hanover Congregation From the Arrival of Mühlenberg to the Present Day.* Mühlenberg's first work was to finish the log church. In 1743 a parochial schoolhouse was erected with a residence for the teacher, and was used in 1744 by Herr Vigera and afterwards by Nicholas Kurtz. In 1743 the congregation had two hundred and fifty communicants and in 1748 as many as three hundred, though many of them came from a large distance and

tion,[190] let us take advantage of the pause of the historical current at this point of transition to study the religious characteristics of the Pennsylvania-German Lutheran and Reformed people upon whose history we are entering; and also to take a look at the affairs of the Lutheran church in London and in Halle, the two places from which the formative influences proceeded in the development of the Lutheran Church in this Western World.

many formed *nuclei* of other congregations (*Halle Reports*, p. 37). In 1746, after the death of Sprogel, who had given them their land in 1719, the congregation discovered that "owing to the Sloath and Neglect of the Elders and Church wardens" they had no title except as it was shown by Sprogel's conveyance of other lands described as adjoining those of the church. The heirs of Sprogel, February 10, 1746, united in a certificate of these facts, and, appearing before John Potts, one of his Majesty's justices, declared they were "Real Truth" (Henry S. Dotterer in the *Perkiomen Region, Past and Present*, Vol. I., pp. 4-5). Rev. Mühlenberg was pastor of the New Hanover congregation from November, 1742, to October, 1762, but he had as assistants there several catechetes, who taught school and read sermons in his absence at the Sunday service. One of these was Nicholas Kurtz, who lived in the schoolhouse, in the year 1745-46; another was John Albert Weygandt in the year 1745. In 1752 Frederick Schultz was assigned to New Hanover and moved thither, remaining there until 1754, at the same time serving in the congregation in New Goshenhoppen and Indian Field. In 1754 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania met in New Hanover. In 1757 William Kurtz was there for one year. In the same year, John Heller Shaum was called to New Hanover every four weeks although he also served Pikestown, Oley and Upper Dublin. In 1762 Jacob Van Buskirk became assistant pastor, and on the 12th of October, 1763, was ordained as pastor of the congregation, remaining there until 1765, when John Ludwig Voigt was called as pastor, who also served in Providence and Pikestown, residing in the latter place. Rev. Voigt remained pastor probably until 1766. In 1788 Frederick Augustus Mühlenberg became pastor, but was elected to Congress in 1779. From 1779 to 1780 Henry Melchior Mühlenberg served as pastor. From July, 1782, to July, 1785, Christian Streit served as pastor. From 1790 to 1795 the pastor was John Frederick Weinland, under whom difficulties arose, which were finally brought before the Synod. From 1796 to 1808 the congregation was served by Dr. F. W. Geissenhainer. From 1809 to 1829 Dr. Jacob Miller became pastor. From 1829 to 1852 the pastor was Conrad Miller; 1852 to 1857 the pastor was Nathan Jäger; from 1858 to 1864, H. Wendt; from 1865 to 1866, A. H. Groh; from 1866 to —— Leonard Groh.

[190] In this immigration all the emigrants from the whole of South Germany, not merely those from the Palatinate, were known as "Palatines."



CHAPTER VII.

Characteristics of Reformed and Lutheran Settlers as Bearing on their Church Affairs.



THE condition of religious affairs in Pennsylvania during its period of existence as a province will be better understood if several sets of general relations and circumstances are borne in mind.

One of these is that a very large portion of the new settlers were connected with the State Churches of Europe, and came into this Province as members of the State Churches. The three European State Churches to which such emigrants belonged were the Lutheran, the Reformed and the English Established Churches. The case of the Lutherans is particularly marked in this respect as two State Churches were involved, that of Sweden and that of Germany. Any benefits resultant from the coöperation of these Lutheran offshoots of two diverse nationalities were very slow in appearing because the spirit of fraternity

arising from a common Confession of faith was obliged to contend with the political antipathy which just at this period existed between the Swede and the German.

Another fact to be noted is that all the State Churches, particularly the Swedish Lutheran, the German Lutheran and the English Established Church, resembled each other in a number of points of liturgical and other outward form[191] and of ways of looking at religious truth. This resemblance appeared much stronger, because of certain governmental circumstances prevailing at the time. The House of Hanover, reigning in England was Lutheran; and Lutheran service was held in the German Court Chapel in London. The many German emigrants that came to Pennsylvania *via* England, would readily look on the difference between the Anglical Established or Episcopal Church and the German Established or Lutheran (or Reformed) Church, as being chiefly one of government and of language; and would consider it very natural in this country, where the English Government and the English language prevailed, to believe that the English State religion was the fitting form for them to embrace and that they were not in any wise changing their faith, but only adapting themselves to English external circumstances by entering the Episcopal fold.

Another still more marked and more general fact was the close intimacy and association of the two German state religions, the Reformed and the Lutheran, together with their clear distinction and the utter absence of any tendency in them to coalesce or amalgamate.

But the most striking fact in the religious planting and development of the community was that the State Churches

[191] See Chapter VIII. of this book; also Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England*, Philadelphia, 1890.

were neither the most prominent nor the most aggressive forms of religion in the community. The increase among them, on the German side at least, came in spite of a lack of aggressiveness and not because of it. The growth was through sheer preponderance of numbers in the bulk of immigration, and through a natural increase, and not at first because of any very active or successful measures taken to increase or husband the membership. The losses in both communions, both to a purely worldly spirit and to other denominations were enormous. The very fact that the immigrants had been trained under the paternalism of a State Church which was now in a distant hemisphere, and which as a part of the State had no interest in their removal but was opposed to the same, left them exceedingly helpless in the organization of religious matters here in the Province. This fact has been almost entirely overlooked in its proper connection in discussing the backwardness of the development of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, in spite of the existence in the Province of an enormous quantity of material.

The smaller and more perfectly organized communities of sects that had come over because of some bitter persecutions in the Fatherland, were naturally better trained to depend on their own spiritual resources here and to proceed more rapidly with their development.

This leads us to another great fact in the same connection, viz., that in Pennsylvania the religion of the State Churches was not governmentally the most prominent or typical form. As the Quakers were sectarians in the English Established Church, so were the Mennonites, Anabaptists, Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, and Sabbatarians sectarians in the German Churches; and here these people found a refuge from that mistaken principle in civil gov-

ernment, "*Cujus regio ejus religio.*" Here was a commonwealth which not only was positively Christian in form of government, but which definitely undertook to afford liberty to the individual conscience. "Pennsylvania, we believe," says Dr. Jacobs,[192] "became a favorite of German emigrants because of the religious principles embodied in its laws. These were, first, the clear recognition of Christianity as the basis of the government,[193] and, secondly, the toleration granted, within certain limits for various forms of Christianity. The fact that the German emigration proceeded in clearly-marked waves, according to diverse denomination and sects, beginning with those most persecuted in Europe, and thence proceeding to those where the religious restraints in the mother country were more a matter of annoyance than of persecution, supports this opinion."

It should also be remembered in connection with these German Lutheran and Reformed emigrants who had been brought up to have their churches and pastors furnished them by the State, that though they came over into this country with a personal and family equipment of Bibles and hymn and other devotional books, they came and for years remained here without *religious leadership*. The Halle Reports point out how easy it would have been for these original occupants of the soil to have set aside sufficient land for church and educational purposes, but it seems to be a universal experience in all emigrations that where the movement is an individual one and is not a community organized for religious purposes, prop-

[192] *German Emigration to America*, p. 141.

[193] The first law in the Petition of Rights of 1682, makes it one of the qualifications of members of the Assembly and of those who have the right to vote for members, that they "shall be such as profess and declare that they believe in Jesus Christ to be Son of God, the Saviour of the world."—Jacobs.

erty for religious purposes is one of the last things to be thought of or secured—unless there happen to be in the community one of those far-seeing clerical or lay religious leaders bent on the future advancement of the interests of the church, who particularly were lacking in the German emigrations.

Again these German emigrations were almost devoid of the natural proportion of persons of the professional classes.[194] Humble tenants of the soil, fairly well educated, trained and civilized for their own special sphere, cautious



in action, not wide in vision, unaccustomed to the expenditure of energy in any large manner, or for any general and ideal or spiritual purpose, it was a long time, and after they were driven by actual and bitter experience, before they came to see the necessity of organized, progressive and providing action in the religious sphere. The whole history of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches

[194] Their woful helplessness in the sphere of political and business management is seen best in connection with the *Massen-Auswanderung* to England, and in the manner in which they were duped by the agents of the companies for promoting emigration, who traveled up and down Germany to deceive the unwary.

in this State is one continuous proof of the prominent operation of this Pennsylvania German characteristic of failing to see the necessity of large, progressive and general provision for spiritual and higher intellectual and educational matters until it is very late in the day to make such provision.

One of the main causes of this backward attitude in public and religious affairs, was the extreme poverty of the bulk of these emigrants, many of whom, as we know, were obliged to serve as laborers for years to pay their own passage to this country, and many more of whom had barely enough for the purchase of lands. Even those who could pay for lands and first improvements found their ability taxed to the utmost for many years to gain such improvements in property and stock as would bring their land-culture to a sufficient degree of efficiency.

But in addition to this powerful hindrance of poverty, the hereditary training of these people to rigid and penurious habits of economy in all matters of luxury—and as such were included any that involved more than the most meagre outlay for objects of intellectual, educational and even religious furtherance—was a great barrier to church development. The contest between Dr. Ziegenhagen and the Halle fathers on the one hand and the United Congregations in the Province, which was a main cause of the long delay in sending any German pastor here in answer to the Plea of the Pennsylvanian Lutherans, and the financial experiences of Mühlenberg after he did arrive, brings out this point clearly.

While the contention of the United Congregations was very true that a faithful pastor whose "trust is in the Lord" ought to be willing to come and minister to them without expecting "to enjoy himself in a magnificent parsonage, in

a life of luxury, and with large revenues," and ought to have faith enough to believe that he would receive "adequate support" in this land; yet the very fact that these congregations so persistently refused to bind themselves to any support whatsoever, and that when pastors did arrive, the support promised in a general way was not forthcoming, although a small contribution on the part of each of the numerous families concerned would have assured it, is evidence that the Halle fathers had at least some knowledge of the type of character with which they were dealing. The representatives wrote to Dr. Ziegenhagen:

"If your Reverence and Professor Francke could see with your own eyes the sad condition of the many poor people who are coming to this country every year and are put out to service among other sects—poor people who would be so glad to go, on Sunday, to a church of their own Confession—you would understand that, in case you continue to hold back and delay any longer, you will surely have a great responsibility before you in the presence of God on that great day of judgment, because you have not so much as permitted the collected funds to be applied to the objects to which benevolent hearts have given them, that is, the building of our churches and schools. The Lord reward all these benevolent friends a thousandfold, in every way; although you see proper to withhold it from us, under the pretext that we must first call a preacher whom you know and can trust, and must expressly promise and bind ourselves to give him a certain specified salary every year, all of which is directly contrary to the teachings of Christ (Matth. VI: 33), 'Seek ye first,' etc. So we believe and are convinced, that if a faithful pastor whose trust is in the Lord were to come to us, all these things would be added unto him, and he would have a rich abundance to help him through. But so far, the principle seems to be, provide for the body first, before the salvation of souls can be considered."

The comments of Dr. Jacobs[195] on this letter are very just and forcible. He says: "Thus these Pennsylvania Germans, Henry Nilber, George Beck, Thomas Meyer, John N. Crössman, Matthew Ringer and Jacob Schrack, undertook to teach the doctors in London and at Halle theology. But it seems strange that fifteen hundred families, in the three congregations, could not have laid

[195] *History of the Lutheran Church in the United States*, p. 195.

the same text to heart so as to have gathered together the few hundred dollars needed, rather than to have remained for years without the regular preaching of the Word. There was fault undoubtedly on both sides."

Glancing at the religious complexion of the colony of Pennsylvania in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, we find it to be composed of the two English bodies, the Quakers and the Episcopalians; of the Welsh settlers, who were almost equally divided between the Quakers, the Episcopalians and the Baptists; of the Scotch-Irish, who were all Presbyterians; and of the Germans, the majority of whom belonged to the Reformed and Lutheran churches. In addition, as we have seen, there were many German sects, including the Mennonites, the Dunkers, the Schwenkfelders; and finally also there was a considerable sprinkling of sceptics.

The Lutheran Church possessed some degree of outward prominence on its Swedish side, particularly in consequence of the erection of the old brick Gloria Dei church in the extreme southeastern part of the city. It had been dedicated on the first Sunday after Trinity, 1700, and was one of the few buildings of character in the province. "When it was completed it was looked upon as a great masterpiece, and nothing was then equal to it in the town. The four other colonial buildings of importance, all of them later in date, were Christ Church, Independence Hall, the Pennsylvania Hospital and Carpenter's Hall, all of them built of red brick with black glazed headers."[196] Three Lutheran pastors from Sweden had arrived at the beginning of the century to give the Lutheran work new impetus.

But the Swedish Church was fading in the height of its

[196] *Encyclopedia Britannica*

glory, and the German churches were far behind the English denominations in their ecclesiastical organization. The Presbyterians formed the Presbytery of Philadelphia as early as 1706. In 1717 they held a Synod in Philadelphia composed of thirteen pastors and six elders. The Baptist congregations in the province formed an association also, about the year 1706. The Episcopal Church, depending on England, was not organized, but was doing mission work diligently. The Quakers were thoroughly organized with their system of monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings. The Mennonites and other sects formed congregations at an early date in Philadelphia and Chester counties and spread from the vicinity of Germantown gradually into the fertile valleys of Skippack, Perkiomen and Conestoga. New sects also sprang into existence, the most important of which were the Sabbatarians, who finally settled on the Cocalico and founded Ephrata, and at that time possessed the largest commercial and industrial establishment in North America.[197]

Among the Lutheran immigrants there were no clergymen and no schoolmasters and as a consequence no churches were founded during this period. As the population increased, and the Lutheran and Reformed Churches gained in strength, towards the close of the first quarter of the century, congregations began to be formed and churches and schoolhouses to be built. Each religious organization acted for itself independently of the rest. On the Lutheran side, there was neither ecclesiastical supervision nor discipline; the people were at the mercy of the renegade or clerical impostors who had come over from the continent to seek their fortune.

Rev. Dr. John Ludwig Schulze, in writing the preface

[197] J. F. Sachse in *Our Jubilee*, p. 10.

to the Halle Reports in 1781 says, "Good Pennsylvania has had the fortune from the beginning of the present century down and it is still so at the present time, to have become a resort of many who either have not studied at all, or who at least have not accomplished anything thorough in Christianity and in the sciences and who probably, if they have already held a spiritual office in Germany, have lost the same through evil conduct. These have ingratiated themselves into the favor of individual persons or congregations, and so have crept into the holy office of teaching."[198]

It is to the two European centers, London and Halle, that furnished Pennsylvania Lutherans with competent and devout pastors and that interested themselves in the spiritual welfare and scattered hosts of Lutheranism in this new world, that we now turn.

[198] *Halle Nachr.*, I., p. 2.





ARMS OF CITY OF LONDON.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lutherans in London and in Halle.



LUTHERANISM spread to England early. Before the sixteenth-century Church of England had been severed from Rome and enjoyed a separate existence of its own, before the translation of the English Bible and the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer, England was full of Lutheran books.[199] The teaching of Luther gained an immediate and its deepest hold in the two English universities.

At Oxford Lutheranism had spread so extensively by 1521 that Cardinal Wolsey was appealed to, to institute an examination into the heretical movement and bring to light not only Luther's own works, but the writings of the men that adhered to Luther.[200] At the University of Cambridge

[199] As early as 1520, Polydore Vergil mentions the importation into England of a great number of "Lutheran books."

[200] "I am enformyd that diverse of that Universitie be infectyd with the *heresyes of Luther* and others of that sorte, havying theym a grete nombre of books of the saide perverse doctrine. * * * It is a sorrowful thing to see how gredyly inconstaunt men, and specyally inexpert youthe, falleth to newe doctrynes be they never so pestilent. * * * Pytie it were that through the lewd-

there was a Society of Lutherans as early as 1528, and "the house where these first English Lutherans met was called Germany."[201] The names of twenty-seven of these Cambridge students have been preserved, and among them were Bilney, Stafford, Robert Barnes, Hugh Latimer, Miles Coverdale, who was to gain distinction later on as a translator of the English Bible, and of Luther's hymns, Heynes, who baptized Edward VI., Thomas Allen, the son of the Lord Mayor of London, and Nicholas Ridley, the future martyr bishop. From Cambridge in turn a colony of these Lutherans located in Oxford and "Lutheranism increased daily in the University at Oxford."[202] Among this latter group of Lutheran students was Richard Cox, afterward tutor to Edward VI. and one of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, and Richard Taverner, the translator of the Bible and of the Augsburg Confession. The entire party was arrested and imprisoned and some were exiled. "The last message of Cardinal Wolsey to his sovereign, sent from his death-bed, was to 'have a vigilant eye on the new sect, the Lutherans, that it do not increase through your negligence in such sort as you be at

ness of on or two cankered members, * * * the hole Universitie shuld run infamy of soo haynouse a cryme, the heryng whereof shuld be right delectable and plesant to open *Lutheranes* beyond the see. * * * If all the hole nombyr of yong scolers suspectyd in this cause (which as the Universitie writeth to me be marvelouse sory and repentaunt that ever they had any such books or redde or herde any of Luther's opynyon) shulde be callyd up to London, yt shuld engendre grete obloquy and sclandre to the Universite, bothe behyther the see and beyond * * * the said Universite hath desyred me to move Your Grace, to be so good and gracyouse unto theym, to gyve in commission to some sadd father which was up in the Universitie of Oxford to syt ther, and examyne, not the hedds but the novicyes which be not yet thoroughly cankered in the said errors. * * * Item, the said Universite hath desieryd me to move your good Grace to note out, besyde *werks of Luther* condemyd alredy, the names all other suche writers, *Luther's adherents and fautors.*" (Ellis, *Original Letters, First Series*, I., p. 239 sqq.)

[201] Curteis, *Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England*, p. 56.

[202] Ellis, *Original Letters, Third Series*, I., p. 246.

length compelled to put harness on your back to subdue them.' "[203]

Thus Lutheran principles were very active in the beginning of the Reformation, and the Episcopalian Confession, the Book of Common Prayer, with its Psalms and Services, together with our Authorized Version of the English Bible, came to be so deeply indebted to Lutheran sources.[204] There was even a movement on hand in the early days of Henry VIII. to unite the Lutheran and Anglican churches into one great Protestant Communion.[205] But after the reign of Edward VI. had terminated, Calvinistic influences and scholarship predominated so largely in Anglican circles, and the Anglican Church itself entered so fully into a period of separate development, that English Lutheran scholarship sank into comparative insignificance.

A full century after the Reformation, Lutheranism gained a practical and permanent hold on English soil, and this time it reached London, not through institutions of learning but in the course of commercial dealings and as a

[203] Jacobs' *The Lutheran Movement in England*, p. 12.

[204] As a brief illustration of this dependence of the English Book of Common Prayer on Lutheran sources, we present a parallel, taken from the Marriage Service:

Luther's Traubüchlein, 1529.	*Book of Common Prayer, 1549.*
Weil dann Hans N. und Greta N. einander zur Ehe begehre, auch die Ehe Einander versprochen, und solches hie öffentlich für Gott und seinen Gemein bekennet, darauf die hände und Trauringe einander gegeben haben, so spreche ich sie ehelich zusammen, im Namen Gottes des Vaters, und des Sohnes, und des Heiligen Geistes. Amen.	Forasmuch as N. and N. have consented together in holy wedlock, and have witnessed the same here before God and this company; and thereto have given and pledged their troth either to other, and have declared the same by giving and receiving gold and silver, and by joining of hands, I pronounce that they be man and wife together; In the Name, etc.

(From *The Lutheran Movement in England*, p. 272.)

[205] This whole subject has been very ably treated by Prof. H. E. Jacobs in his work, *The Lutheran Movement in England*, Philadelphia, 1890.

practical religious agency.[206] It was, in fact, the Hanseatic League and its powerful commercial hold on London that brought about the establishment of the first German Lutheran congregation in London in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The membership of this Church consisted largely of merchants and employees of the factory



FACTORY OF THE GERMAN HANSA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

of the German Hansa at London. In 1618 it secured the use of a small church building in Trinity Lane which had been occupied by the Swedes. This first Lutheran congregation was known as the old Hamburg Church, since it was directed by the Church authorities of the Lutheran city of Hamburg, one of the leading members of the Hanseatic League. When the power of the League came to

[206] *Lutheranism in London*, J. G. Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte der Deutschen Gemeinden in London*, Tübingen (1798).

decline, the Church also fell into decadence. This was in the end of the seventeenth century.

But at this very time a new and vigorous offshoot of the old Hamburg church was established [207] in the Savoy district and obtained the use of the Savoy chapel of London. This chapel was consecrated to the Lutheran worship with due ceremony in 1694—the very year in which Lutheran doctrines were proclaimed in the German language for the first time in the far-off wilds of Pennsylvania—and henceforth this second Lutheran church in London became known as St. Mary's of Savoy.[208]



And here we reach the point of connection with Pennsylvania. For St. Mary's of Savoy came to exercise the widest influence over Lutheranism in Pennsylvania. As we shall see, it was her second pastor, the Rev. George Andreas Ruperti, who interested himself so indefatigably in the poor Palatines who arrived in such large numbers from Germany in the great exodus, 1708–1710. St. Mary's was the spiritual home of thousands of these German Lutheran emigrants while they tarried in London. Here they brought their children to be baptized,

[207] By members who lived west of Temple Bar. The Savoy chapel received from King William had been an old Jesuit chapel, which stood on ground originally belonging to the Duke of Savoy. The chapel was remodelled at this time. A new church was built at St. Mary's in 1768.

[208] Although the church was dedicated in 1694, the congregational organization was not entirely perfected until the fall of the following year (September 9, 1695), when Magister Irenaeus Crusius was called as Pastor Primus, and the following members were chosen as *Vorsteher:*

Jonas Peterson	Joh : Esaias Sommer	Jacob Hassenius
Christianus Bauer	Johann Friedrich Schmidt	Nicolaus Fryes
Josias Ibach	Gerret Borrey	Wilh : Barlemeyer
Matthias Schute	Johann Titts	August Christian Bornemann.

(*The Lutheran Church Review*, 1897, p. 62.)

here many of them were married and here quite a multitude who died on English soil now rest within the consecrated God's Acre of Savoy. "Such as started for the shores of the western world," says Mr. Sachse, "almost without exception, asked God's blessing upon their undertaking within the walls of St. Mary's before embarking upon their perilous voyage."[209] And finally, the liturgy of St. Mary's, based on that of the great Lutheran church at Amsterdam, was, as we shall see, the one used in the public service of the New York and Pennsylvania Germans and the one on which Mühlenberg based the first Pennsylvania German Lutheran liturgy.

The great prominence of the spiritual leaders of the Lutheran Church in London in the work of caring for the scattered German Lutherans destined to settle, or already resident in the Province of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century has never been adequately set forth in connected manner. The first point to recall in this connection is the fact that the husband of Queen Anne of England was Lutheran and that later on the Hanoverian kings of England were both Lutherans and churchmen, the former as private personages, and the latter as officers of state. Therefore the Lutheran Church became a Court Church in England just about the time that the emigration to Pennsylvania began. Very naturally German Lutheran clergy of the Court in London, finding their own countrymen emigrating to provinces under the control of England, and in great spiritual destitution, would feel a weighty responsibility in the matter. The emigrants were their German countrymen, subjects of their English masters, and members of their own German religious communion.

Now the Royal German St. James Chapel was founded

[209] *The Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. XVI., p. 67.

by the husband of Queen Anne. Its pastors were the chaplains of the Court and it contained a special seat for the German Ambassador.[210]

Only a few years after Lutheranism thus became firmly seated in the British court, the poor Palatine immigrants disembarked in England *en route* to Pennsylvania. Who was to care for them as they lay encamped there in the Savoy district of the city? And what arrangement could be made for their future welfare in America? The Rev. Anton Wilhelm Böhme, Court Chaplain at St. James and pastor of the Royal German Chapel, was the man who interested himself in the answering of these questions. And from his day on, the German Court Chaplains at St. James took an earnest part in providing for the spiritual necessities of these immigrants and in securing pastors from Germany for the scattered Lutherans in the Province of Pennsylvania. Pastor Böhme, who was influential both with Queen Anne and with her husband, whose spiritual adviser he was, rose to the emergency that confronted him and accomplished great things in behalf of his fellow countrymen in general and of his fellow Lutherans in particular.[211]

[210] The Royal German Chapel is still flourishing and has a baptized membership of one thousand souls.

The largest Lutheran congregation in London is St. George's, organized in 1763. It numbers two thousand souls and is located in White Chapel.

[211] Böhme was the most important link between the German churches and the Church of England. It was by his intervention that the society for the "Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" adopted and supported the Lutheran missions in East India, after the country passed from the Danish to the English government; through his intercession Anne endowed a "Free Table" in the Orphan House at Halle.

In the very serious project for a union between the Church of England and German Protestantism, that was then the subject of negotiation, with the powerful support of the Queen, and that ceased only with her death, Böhme was probably one of the most important factors. (H. E. Jacobs' *The German Immigration to America*, 1709-1740, p. 46.)

Dr. Jacobs in his *German Immigration* says of Böhme "From the arrival of the immigrants in England and through all their trials in America, until his death in 1722, they always had in him 'a friend in court.'"[212] That his reputation as such was wide-spread among Lutherans in America is shown by the fact that the impostor Van Dieren in New York,[213] and the impostor Leutbecker in Pennsylvania[214] claimed within a dozen years after his death to have received the right of ordination at his hands.

When in 1719 the Palatines in New York sent dispatches by John Conrad Weiser, Wilhelm Scheff, and a man named Wallrath, after the two latter had sailed from Philadelphia, and fallen into hands of pirates, and had been shamefully pestered and robbed, and had finally arrived at London via Boston, entirely helpless and there were thrown into prison for debt, it was Pastor Böhme and Pastor Ruperti who did their best to secure for them a hearing before the court.[215] Rev. George Andrew Ruperti and Rev. John Tribekko were directed and assisted by Böhme in their detail work at Savoy and all three, as we shall see, had their hands more than full in aiding the destitute Palatines in London.[216]

It was through Böhme's intercession that Queen Anne

[212] *The German Immigration to America*, 1709–1740, p. 46.

[213] *Hall. Nachr*, I., p. 474.

[214] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 303.

[215] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 614.

[216] Anton Wilhelm Böhme was born about 1673. He was the pupil of Francke and an alumnus of Halle where he had been instructor. He became Court Chaplain in 1705. He was a writer of considerable literary ability and quite prolific. He was the author of *History of the Reformation in England* and *Admonition to the Scattered Palatines in Pennsylvania, New York, Carolina and Other Provinces* and he translated Arndt's *True Christianity*, *Paradise Garden*, and the *Halle Mission Reports*, into English. His complete works were issued in three volumes by the well-known Halle director and hymn writer, John Jacob Rambach (*Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 308). For bibliography of Böhme see footnote of Jacob's *German Immigration to America*, pp. 46 and 47.

made provision for the Palatines in England in 1708 and for the settlement of the three thousand in New York. When the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal wrote pamphlets depreciating Pennsylvania and encouraging Germans to go to

Das verlangte / nicht erlangte Canaan
bey den Lust-Gräbern;
Oder
Ausführliche Beschreibung
Von der unglücklichen Reise derer jüngsthin aus Teutschland nach dem Engelländischen in America gelegenen
Carolina und Pensylvanien
wallenden Pilgrim / absonderlich dem einseitigen übelgegründeten
Kochenthalerischen Bericht
wohlbedächtig entgegen gesetzt
In
I. Einem Beantwortungs-Schreiben etlicher diese Sach angehenden Fragen; nebst einer Vorrede Moritz Wilhelm Höens.
II. Ermahnungs-Schreiben an die bereits dahin verreißte Teutsche / Anthon Wilhelm Böhmens.
III. Der Berg-Predigt Christi / und Gebettern vor die noch dahin auf dem Weg begriffenen ꝛc.
IV. Königl. Englischen deswegen nach Teutschland erlassenen Abmahnung.
V. Kurtzen Relation, jener dabey erlittenen Elendes und Schicksals.
VI. Noch einer andern Relation davon.
VII. Einem Stück der Warnungs-Predigt von Hn. Johann Tribecko / ꝛc. den zurückreisenden in London gehalten.
Alles aus Liebe zur Wahrheit und patriotischem Wohlmeinen zusammen verfasset.
Franckfurt und Leipzig / M DCC XI.

South Carolina, Böhme replied to his depreciation of Pennsylvania, and naturally from his troublesome experiences discouraged immigration in general. Of Böhme's successor at St. James, Dr. Ziegenhagen, who became Court Chaplain in 1722, and who concerned himself even more


Antoni, Guilielm, Boehmius
Serenissimi, Magnæ
Britanniæ Regis quondam
Concionator Aulicus.

fully through a long lifetime for the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, we shall speak later on.

However influential the St. James Chapel was in the cause of American Lutheranism, as a matter of fact it was the Savoy Church that was found in close practical contact with the multitude of immigrating Palatines and in its liturgy and constitution came to influence the whole Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania. "This church from the outset," says Mr. Sachse, "became the spiritual home for nearly



ARMS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

all German Lutherans in London, rich and poor, permanent, transient and resident, they all looked towards the Savoy Chapel as the representative church of the Fatherland, which is founded on the 'Unaltered Augsburg Confession.'"

From its very start this church had adopted a distinct Lutheran order of worship, in which they followed the

"*Gebrauchliche Kirchen Ordnung*"[217] of the Amsterdam church in Holland, which was then the largest and most influential Lutheran congregation in the world.[218] The form of worship bore resemblance in many respects to the English Book of Common Prayer. The congregation assembled on Sundays and holy days in the morning at ten o'clock. Services were begun by the custos, who read a chapter from the Old Testament, after which he gave a hymn publicly suited for the day. Then followed a short prelude and the regular service proceeded as follows: A hymn of praise, the Credo, the hymn "Liebster Jesu Wir Sind Hier," sermon, a hymn suitable to the sermon, the collects, benediction, hymn of praise. This Liturgy was the one used by the Palatine immigrants in their worship and prayer in the different colonies in America.[219]

"There is not a shade of doubt," says Mr. Sachse, "that it was this order of worship, which was used by

[217] "As the Almighty and Merciful God, by special grace, hath delivered us from the darkness of the Papacy, and we, by the service of that beloved man of God, Dr. Martin Luther, of blessed memory, have for a considerable time in our own dear fatherland of the German nation been brought to the true conception of Jesus Christ, we acknowledge the fact cheerfully with continual thanks to the good Father in Heaven.

"We have, therefore, ordained that our pastor and deputed *Vorsteher* do translate into High German the order of church service now in use by our fellow-believers in Holland. They are to make no changes, of anything found useful or practicable, without weighty reasons, so that our unity may be even more manifest." (*The Lutheran Church Review*, 1897, pp. 62-63.)

[218] For the Constitution of the Amsterdam Church, 1597, and also changes of 1614 and 1682, see "Geschiedenis der Amsterdamsche Luthersche Gemencnte, door F. J. Domela Nieuwenhuis, Amsterdam, 1876, 8vo., pp. 298, 124." Appendix, pp. 32-62. See also B. M. Schmucker's résumé of this constitution and of its influence on American congregations. (*The Lutheran Church Review*, 1887, p. 197, ff.)

[219] Additional interest is imparted to this book when it is known that it contains the very services used by "Justus Falckner" and Pastor Andreas Rudmann in their Dutch services in the colonies of New York and East Jersey. All these, it will be recollected, with the exception of the German congregations in New Jersey, were truly under the patronage of the Amsterdam congregation or Consistorium (*The Lutheran Church Review*, XVI., p. 67).

Der Erſte Theil

Der Kirchen-Ordnung,

Das I. Haupt-Stück,

Von der Lehre, welche in dieſer Gemeinde ſoll geprediget werden, als dem Fundament unſerer Kirchen.

Der 1. Articul.

DIE beruffene Prediger dieſer Gemeinde ſollen alle ihre Predigten und Lehre reguliren und einrichten nach der Regul des Göttlichen Worts, und Bibliſchen, Prophetiſchen und Apoſtoliſchen Schrifften.

2.

Darbenebenſt ſollen ſie nach unſern Symboliſchen Büchern, nemlich der ungeänderten Augſpurgiſchen Confeſſion, ſo Käyſar *Carolo* V. Anno 1530. überliefert worden; derer Apologia, Schmalkaldiſchen Articuln, und Formula Concordiæ, als mithin nach den beyden Catechiſmis *Lutheri*, &c. gänzlich und durchgehends, nichts aber wider dieſelbe, es ſey

FACSIMILE PAGE OF THE FIRST TWO ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SAVOY CHAPEL, SHOWING ITS STRICTLY LUTHERAN CHARACTER.

Kocherthal and his fellow-pilgrims when they came to New York, nor that it was already identical with the book sent to Pennsylvania in reply to Köster's appeal to the Bishops of London."

It was this Liturgy which was taken by Mühlenburg as a basis for that of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania.

KIRCHEN-ORDNUNG,

DerChriſtlichen und der ungeänderten
Augſpurgiſchen Confeſſion
Zugethanen
Gemeinde in LONDON,
Welche,
Durch Gottliche Verleyhung,
Im 1694. Jahre,
Am 19ten Sonntage nach dem Feſt der Heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit,
Solenniter Eingeweyhet und Eingeſegnet worden,
In St. Mary's Savoy.

Ep. 1. Cor. 14. v. 33. 40.
GOTT iſt nicht ein GOTT der Unordnung, ſondern des Friedens, wie in allen Gemeinen der Heiligen. Laſſe es alles ehrlich und ordentlich zugehen.
Rom. 15. v. 33.
Der GOTT des Friedens ſey mit euch allen! Amen.

FACSIMILE TITLE PAGE OF THE SAVOY LITURGY.

In the year 1748 he says in his diary: "April 28th we held a conference at Providence and deliberated about a suitable Liturgy [Agende] to be used by us and introduced into our congregations. Thus far we had used a small formulary, but it had never been definite, nor in all its parts harmonious, since we thought it best to wait for the arrival of more laborers and acquire a better knowledge of the conditions and needs in this country. To adopt the Swedish Liturgy did not appear to be advantageous or necessary, since most of the members of our congregation from the districts of the Rhine and the Main considered the singing of the collects as papal. Neither could we select a Liturgy according to the forms to which every individual had been accustomed since almost every country town or village had its own. For this reason we took the Liturgy of the Savoy congregation of London as the basis,[220] abbreviated it or made additions to it as after due consideration of the circumstances in which we are here placed, appeared advisable to us and calculated to edify, and adopted it tentatively until we had a better understanding of the matter and determined to use it with a view of introducing into our congregations the same ceremonies, forms and words."[221]

Among the newly arrived Germans in London, quartered in barns and large warehouses, in a multitude of tents, and now on the hands of a government which knew not what to do with them, the ministers of Savoy Chapel were exceedingly busy. The Church of Savoy became their spiritual center and home.

[220] See B. M. Schmucker for relation of Savoy constitution to Amsterdam, *Lutheran Church Review*, 1887, pp. 202 ff., and 197.

[221] Mann's *Life and Times of Henry Melchior Mühlenburg*, p. 184.

The London Board of Trade, which was the governmental body that looked into this Palatine immigration affair, and which met nearly every day in the Palace of Whitehall, seems to have depended almost entirely upon these Lutheran ministers for information and for the execution of their orders. In the journal of the proceedings of "Her Majesty's" Commissioners for promoting the trade of this kingdom and for inspecting and improving her plantations in America and elsewhere, in Vol. XXI., under date of May 4, 1709, we read:

"A letter from the Earl of Sunderland of Yesterday's Date, signed that some more German Protestants are lately come, and that more are coming from the Palatinate to this Kingdom, and directing this Board to consider of a method for settling the said Germans in some part of this Kingdom, was read. Whereupon the order that some of the Lutheran Ministers of the Savoy have notice to attend the Board to-morrow morning."

The record of the next day states, May 5, 1709:

"One of the Lutheran ministers attending as directed Yesterday, and being asked several questions in relation to the Poor German Protestants Mentioned Yesterday's Minutes. He said that 300 men, women and children were already come over * * * he added that there were 700 more of the said Poor Germans now at Rotterdam who are expected over. And he promised to make a further Enquiry into the Circumstances of these Poor People and give their Lordship an answer thereof in Writing as soon as Possible."

On May 6th another letter from the Earl of Sunderland asked the Board to make full inquiry, and directions given to write to the Lutheran minister in the Savoy.[222]

On May 12th, Rev. Tribekko and Rev. Ruperti,[223] two of the Lutheran ministers, were present at the meeting of the Commissioners and presented memorials setting forth the calamitous condition of the poor Germans, together with an account of their number, 852 persons, and their several

[222] *German Exodus*, p. 361.

[223] A portrait of this noble minister has lately been found in London, and will be introduced in the next volume. No portrait of Tribekko is known to exist.

trades and occupations.[224] The ministers made a statement of the needs of these immigrants and, on being asked, they made a calculation that 16 pounds per day might be allowed for the 852 persons for their sustenance.[225]

On May 17th, the two Lutheran ministers were notified to attend a meeting next day. On the 18th, they secured to the Commissioners a list of such of the immigrants as were able to work. On the 23d these Lutheran ministers presented a list of the sick, and also gave the Board the unpleasant information that 1,300 more of these Germans were come to the country but were still on shipboard, as no place could be found to lodge them. They also informed their Lordships that Her Majesty had been pleased to allow, on the first 852, £20 per day, instead of £16. On May 25, Rev. Mr. Tribekko presented a new list to the Board containing the names of such as were and were not able to work. On June 7th, Rev. Mr. Tribekko informed their Lordships that 2,000 more Poor People had arrived from the Palatinate in Germany and he was informed that it would be proper to present a memorial to the Secretary of State, which he promised to do.[226] On June 23d, Rev. Mr. Tribekko presented a memorial to the Board to the effect that there had been a great increase in the number of the Palatines, and they could not be taken care of without greater assistance.

A German account of these Germans, translated by Mr. Diffenderffer (*German Exodus to England, 1709*) states: "It would be hard to say how much the great preacher, now an instructor at Magdeburg, John Tribekko, spent in behalf of the Germans."[227]

[224] *German Exodus*, p. 361.
[225] *German Exodus*, App. B, pp. 360–361.
[226] *German Exodus*, p. 365.
[227] "A Short Account of those Germans Who Sailed," etc., *German Exodus*, p. 395.

The religious nature of these immigrants, and the part which the Savoy church played in ministering to them, appears in an account quoted by Mr. Diffenderffer.[228]

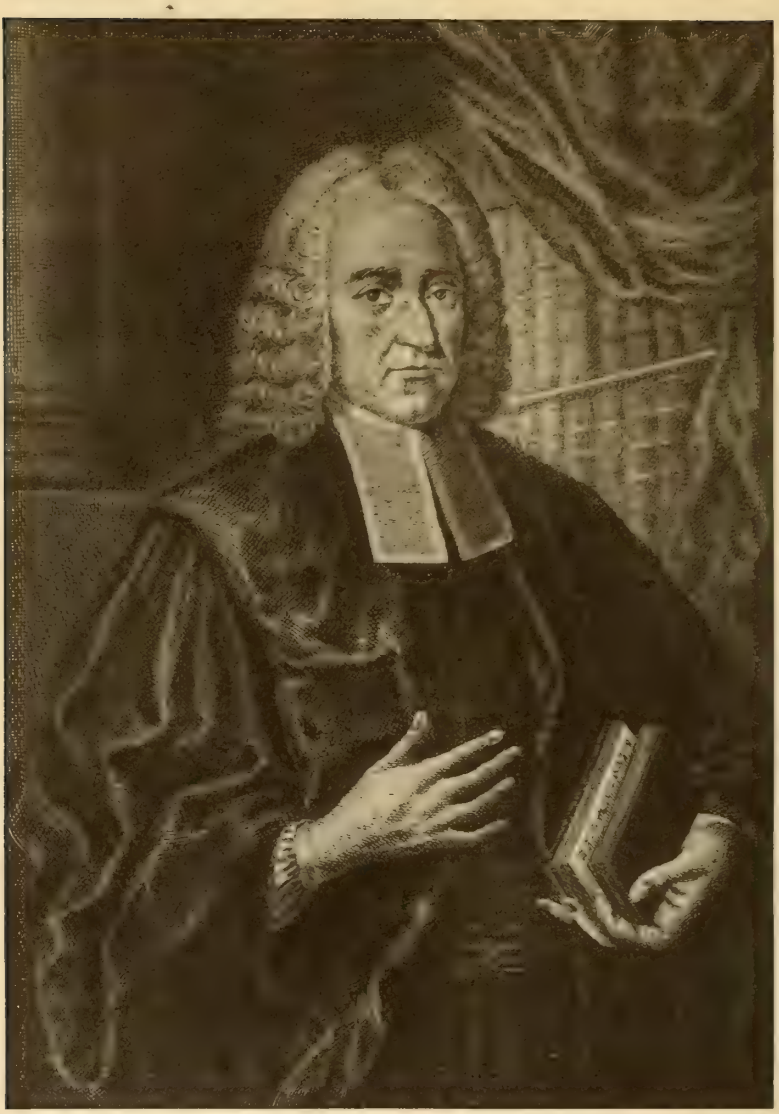
"They spent their time very advantageously and industriously, having prayers morning and evening with singing of Psalms, and preaching every Sunday, where both old and young appeared very devout and serious. Some employ themselves in making toys of small value, which they sell to the multitudes that come daily to see then. They are contented with very ordinary food, their bread being brown and their meat of the coarsest, and cheapest sort, which with a few roots and herbs, they eat with much cheerfulness and thankfulness. Great numbers of them go every Sunday to their church in the Savoy and receive the Sacrament of their own ministers. Many of the younger are married every week ; the women wear rosemary and the men laurel in their hair at the time of marriage, adultery and fornication being much abhorred by them. When any are buried, all the attendants go singing after the corpse, and when they come to the grave the coffin is opened for all to see the body. After it is laid in the ground, they all sigh for some time and then depart. They carry grown people upon a bier, and children upon their heads. On the whole they appear to be an innocent, laborious, peaceful, healthy and ingenious people, and may be rather regarded a blessing than a burden to any nation where they shall settle."



PALATINES WORSHIPING IN ST. MARY'S, SAVOY.

Thus were the Palatines cared for in soul and body by these faithful London pastors, and when they finally set sail for America they were supplied with Bibles, hymn-books, and German works of devotion, which they brought with them to this land. Böhme remained preacher at the Court

[228] *German Exodus*, p. 319.



Fried: Mich: Bergenhagen.
Hofprediger an der Königl. Hofkirche,
Cagnet in London
den 28ten Aug. 1744.

of St. James until 1722, and was greatly interested in all kinds of mission work to the end of his days.

On Böhme's death his place as Court Preacher at St. James was filled by the Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen,[229] who, even more than any of his predecessors, was a mighty influence for more than a half century in the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania. He should almost be regarded as a sort of German bishop over the scattered and helpless Lutherans in Philadelphia and in the country districts. They wrote to him for pastors and for spiritual ministrations, and messages and ambassadors from Pennsylvania Lutherans went to Germany, and ministers came to Pennsylvania Lutherans from Germany, by way of Ziegenhagen in London. His appeal in 1734 in behalf of the spiritual interests of the Pennsylvania Germans was widely circulated throughout Germany. To him the United congregations in Pennsylvania sent their call, and he presented it to Francke and thus secured the life-services of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg for the Church.

One of the striking facts connected with Mühlenberg's call, a fact on which the latter ever laid stress in his dealing with sectarians, or with irregular or self-styled Lu-

[229] Ziegenhagen was born in the eventful year 1694, in Pomerania and, like Böhme, was a disciple of the Halle Pietistic school. He was intended as a missionary to the East Indies, but was called to the St. James Chapel, London, as the successor of Böhme, through the influence of A. H. Francke. Ziegenhagen was well versed in the writings of Spener and was very zealous in advancing the mission work in East India and North America, and left his estate as a bequest to the cause of missions. He secured the aid of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in finding a home for the Salzburgers in America, and these latter, in their worship, sang hymns composed by him. He published an *Explanation of the Lord's Prayer* and *Tables* to be used in connection with the catechism. He stood in constant intercourse with a large circle of prominent persons and learned men in many lands. In 1772 he celebrated the anniversary of his fiftieth year in the ministry, and died on the 24th of January, 1776, in the eighty-third year of his age. "It was through his efforts that Mühlenberg was sent to this country, and he remained a lifelong friend and spiritual father of the American congregations" (H. E. J.).

theran clergymen, in his efforts to effect a proper organization of the Lutheran Church in this country, was that his official call, commission and papers came from Dr. Ziegenhagen, the Court preacher and highest German ecclesiastical authority of the Queen in whose dominion Pennsylvania lay and that therefore he had the support of the highest civil authority in organizing and in some sense governing the Lutheranism of the Queen's German subjects in Pennsylvania, in addition to the more purely spiritual authority which flowed to him through direct connection with the missionary center at Halle. When, therefore, the reports of the congregations in Pennsylvania were sent by Mühlenberg to Europe, they were forwarded first to Court Preacher Ziegenhagen and through him to Francke at Halle.



SYMBOL OF HALLE INSTITUTION.

AFTER this extended glance at London, which in its efforts for the Lutherans in America was nevertheless but a station by the way, we now come to the real source and fountain-head of all Lutheran missionary ac-

tivity and spiritual care for souls in Pennsylvania in that vigorous center of European Lutheran Pietism, Halle, and in its various institutions. From the departure of Köster in 1694, down to the nineteenth century, the influence of Halle can be traced in America. The two Falckners, the London Court preachers, Mühlenberg and the whole line of American clergy that followed him, down to and including Helmuth,[230] were in connection with Halle. With the exception of the work of Stoever, the beginnings of sound ecclesiastical organization, the supply of pastors, the type of piety and the mode of worship, were of Halle's moulding.

We are here led to the remark that the whole Christian Church in America, with the exception of the sectarians and a few other cases, is indebted for its original establishment in this land to European *missionaries*. The Episcopal Church was planted in this country by missionaries who were supported by church and missionary societies in England. They came here and took charge of the spiritual culture of the settlers and gathered them into congregations which only gradually attained to independence and the ability to support themselves. The same was the case in the ecclesiastical establishment of the Presbyterians, who arrived from Scotland, and of the Reformed, who came from Holland. Only gradually did they reach the stage of self-support and independent organization.

Candidates for the holy office in the Episcopal Church were obliged to journey to England for ordination until at last, in the year 1787, the Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated three presbyters of the Episcopal Church in the United States as Bishops. In the foundation of Methodism

[230] As late as 1784, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania requested Halle to send it two more ministers, and one was sent in 1785 (*Hall. Nachr.*, I., 3).

in the New World, in addition to others, John Whitfield, together with John Wesley, was active in seven visits to the provinces long before Methodism had formally separated itself from the Episcopal Church. Among the German Reformed in the last century men labored, who were supported as missionaries from Holland and from Switzerland. In the Roman Catholic Church such missionary activity and support are always to be found in connection with new fields, and as early as the seventeenth century a band of Roman missionaries from France had been sent over here and labored with great sacrifice for the conversion of the Indians.[231]

"To this plan of operation the Lutheran Church in America has been no exception. Lutheran consistories in the Netherlands, the Bishops of Sweden and men like Frederich M. Ziegenhagen, court-chaplain and pastor of St. James' chapel in London, Dr. Gotthilf August Francke, of Halle, Senior Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburg, and other eminent Lutherans in Europe took a lively and active interest in behalf of their scattered and spiritually destitute brethren in America, and supplied them with faithful pastors, to care for the spiritual welfare of the people, and forwarded considerable sums of money to build churches

[231] For these statements see Mann and Schmucker's Preface to the *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 111: "As the Christianization of the world, as far as it has been accomplished, has from Apostolic times been the result of missionary activity, in accordance with the word, will and spirit of the Founder of Christianity, so, very clearly, was the planting of the Christian Church, with its diverse phases of development, in the New World. The missionaries who were specially called and sent here by the Protestant societies of Europe have almost exclusively laid the foundations of the existing communions. The first settlers, many of whom, in order to escape oppression and bitter persecution, had emigrated from their native lands, scattered in the various provinces of America, were cared for by the churches in Europe until they became sufficiently strong and numerous to support themselves, build their own churches and institutions, and raise up a native ministry."—Dr. S. E. Ochsenford, *Luth. Ch. Rev.*, Vol. VII., p. 123.

and schoolhouses. To these men, under God, Lutherans in all the provinces along the Atlantic coast, from Maine to Georgia, owe their first supplies of pastors and the ex-



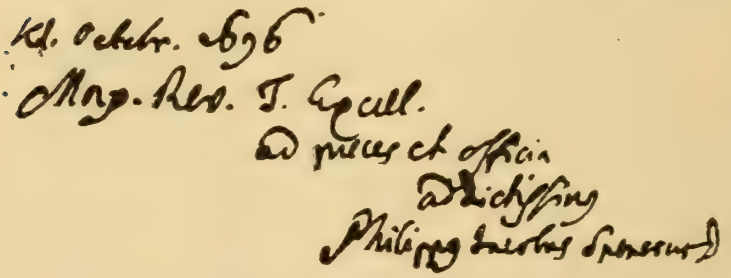
AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE.

istence of churches. This help began with the arrival of Rev. Torkillus, in 1638, and was continued until the beginning of the present century, when the church had become

firmly established and began to take prominent rank among the Protestant churches of the country." [232]

It is to the Lutheranism of Halle, in particular, which ever bore in mind the motto, *Ecclesia non plantata, sed plantanda*, that the Lutherans in Pennsylvania are indebted for leadership, organization and aid in the early days; and from the deterioration and absorption that threatened them on every side.[233]

The founder and the perpetuator of the Halle institu-



AUTOGRAPH OF PHILIP JACOB SPENER.

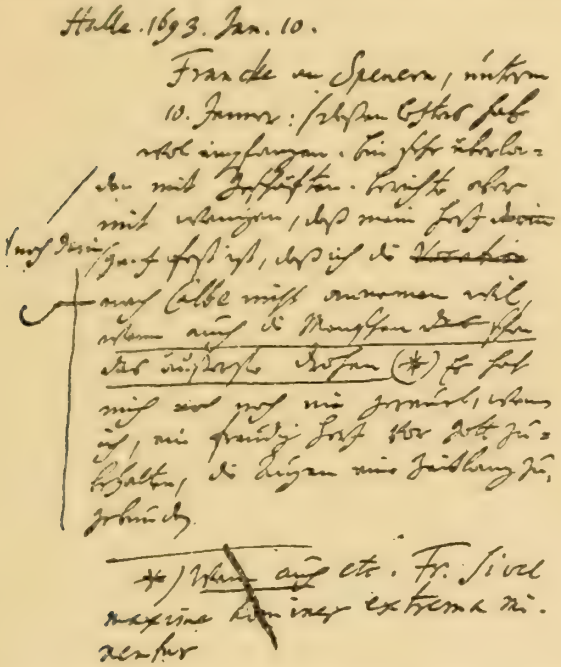
tions of beneficence were the two Franckes, father and son. Let us turn briefly to the activity of the father:

As a "privat-docent" at the University of Leipzig and a popular lecturer on Biblical Interpretation, August Hermann Francke originated the *collegium philobiblicum*, at

[232] Dr. S. E. Ochsenford in *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. VII., p. 123.

[233] "As Pennsylvania was the great objective point for almost all German emigrants, so the Province also became the center of religious activity, whence emanated almost every religious movement, both orthodox and sectarian, of the Germans during the colonial period, and thence spread to every colony in which Germans had settled. It was chiefly due to the actions and teachings of the Halle institutions and the leaders there that the tide of sectarianism was checked in the western world, and that regularly ordained clergymen of the Lutheran Church were sent here to organize congregations, and to minister to the Germans and their offspring, who, on account of the lack of such teachers, were fast verging towards rationalism."—J. F. Sachse, *The Influence of the Halle Pietism in the Provincial Development of Pennsylvania, in Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI., p. 170.

which a number of his friends were accustomed to meet for the systematic study of the Bible. This was in 1687. In 1688 he spent two months with Spener at Dresden, and here received that impetus toward a spiritual and practical piety which bore great fruit throughout his life. In 1689 he returned as professor to Leipzig, but was compelled to



DRAFT OF LETTER BY FRANCKE TO SPENER. FROM AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION OF FRED. J. DREER, ESQ., PHILADELPHIA.

leave because of his alleged pietism. In 1690, as pastor at Erfurt, his evangelical and fervent sermons drew such multitudes to his church that finally he was banished from the town by the civil authorities after a ministry of fifteen months. Therefore he accepted a call in December, 1691,

to the professorship of Greek and the Oriental languages in the newly founded University of Halle.

Here he soon became popular, both for his sound scholarship and for his deep practical piety. Throughout his life he acted as professor in the University and as pastor of a small village on the outskirts of the city. It was while trying to uplift his ignorant parishioners from their degraded condition by instructing the young, by feeding the poor, and by raising the fallen, that the Halle institutions took their rise. He opened a school for the poor in a single room. In 1695 he began the erection of the Orphan House. In rapid succession building followed building, until a whole community of educational and benevolent institutions had been established, including a department for the training of ministers who should spread the Gospel in foreign parts. From here Ziegenbalg, Plütschau, Schwartz and many other missionaries went forth to East India. Francke became professor of Theology in the new pietistic Lutheran University in Halle in 1698, and had been in touch with the early pietistic spirits that migrated to America in those years. He died in 1727,[234] leaving his son to take his place in the university and as director of the Halle institutions.

It is to the son, Gotthilf August Francke, that the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania is indebted for sending out Mühlenberg and his successors to America. Halle now became a center for the cause of the orphan, for elementary and higher education on Christian principles, for missions in various parts of the world and for the spreading of the Bible among the common people. The splendid educational training of the men sent to the church in this

[234] The first church built in America by Pastor Mühlenberg, which is still standing, at the Trappe, in Montgomery County, was named the "Augustus church," in honor of August Hermann Francke.

country was due largely to Francke. In his American work he associated with himself Dr. Ziegenhagen, of London. In all, Halle sent twenty-four missionaries and leaders over to the Lutheran Church in our Province.[235]

These missionaries regarded the fathers at Halle as their spiritual heads. From them they had received their vocation. Halle cared for their preparation, secured the means[236] for the expense of their journeys, gathered offerings for the building of churches and schools and though without any legal ecclesiastical authority, retained a strong and even commanding grasp on the development of American ecclesiastical affairs.

Too great an emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that the men sent to Pennsylvania by Halle were men of large and mature views, with a thorough university education, conspicuous for their ability in linguistics, of great piety

[235] The following is a list of them: Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, Nicolaus Kurz, Sr., Wilhelm Kurz, Jr., Ludwig Voigt, Joh. Andreas Krug, Christoph Immanuel Schulze, Georg Bager, Just. Christian Heinrich Helmuth, Joh. Fried. Schmidt, Joh. Christoph Kunze, M. Heinrich Mühlenberg, Jr., Carl Friederick Wildbahn, Jacob U. Busskirk, Joh. Friderici, Christian Streit, Joh. Georg Yung, Conrad Röller, Jac. Göring, Daniel Schröter, Daniel Lehmann, Heinrich Möller, Friedrick Ernst, Friedrich Valentine Melsheimer, and Daniel Kurz.

[236] Some part of the revenues out of which the support of the Halle missionaries and of the institution itself was derived, was secured by the sale of the so-called Halle medicines. "Prior to the Revolution these remedies were sent to America in large quantities, and were disposed of to the Germans and others by the resident Lutheran clergymen. In Philadelphia the main supply was stored in one of the side porches of St. Michael's Church, corner Fifth and Appletree Alley. By many persons these remedies were supposed to have magical or supernatural properties, against which neither Satan nor disease could prevail." The prescriptions according to which these medicines were compounded originally belonged to one of the members of the Collegium Pietatis in Erfurth, Burgstaller by name. He was an alchemist and chemist and on his death bequeathed his medical secrets to Francke. The chief medicine was the celebrated goldtinctur. It was also known as the Essentia dulcis. The maximum income to the Halle institution from this source (in 1761) amounted to more than $20,000 a year. (From Sachse's *German Pietists*, pp. 57-58.)

and with such devotion to their work that no sacrifice was too great for them to make.

A further debt of gratitude is owing by the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania to the Halle fathers for the devotion which they implanted in all their missionaries to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and to a sound and yet truly Lutheran spirituality. In Pennsylvania the Lutheran Church was developed free from the formalism of a mere external orthodoxy on the one hand and yet soundly established on the Confessions of the Church on the other hand.

"A careful study of our history shows that the Lutheran Church has been planted here on the Confessions of the Lutheran Church. The Swedes on the banks of the Delaware were originally Lutherans of the purest kind, and their congregations were organized in accordance with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other Symbols of the Church. All their pastors were compelled to subscribe the entire body of Symbols. The early Lutheran congregations in New York and New Jersey demanded of their pastors that they must adhere to, and preach in accordance with, the 'unalterable' (unaltered) Augsburg Confession and the other 'Symbolic Books of the Lutheran Church.' The Salzburgers in Georgia and German Lutherans in the Carolinas were adherents of the same Confession. And Henry Melchior Mühlenberg and his co-laborers came behind none in their firm adherence to all the Symbols of the Lutheran Church. 'Dr. Mühlenberg,' says Dr. Mann, whose statements are confirmed in the *Hallische Nachrichten*, 'provided a form of constitution for congregations, squarely based on the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and this form was extensively adopted by Lutheran congregations in

Pennsylvania and many others in the various settlements throughout the country.'" [237]

Throughout the period of the lifetime of Mühlenberg, Halle never lost sight of her daughter in Pennsylvania. The intimacy and closeness of the connection between the

Nachrichten
von den vereinigten
Deutſchen
Evangeliſch-Lutheriſchen
Gemeinen
in Nord-America,
abſonderlich in Penſylvanien.
Erſter Band.
Mit einer Vorrede
von
D. Johann Ludewig Schulze,
ordentlichem Profeſſor der Theologie und Philoſophie auf der Königlich-Preußiſchen Friedrichs-Univerſität, wie auch Directer des Waiſenhauſes und Königlichen Pädagogii.

HALLE,
In Verlegung des Waiſenhauſes.
1787.

TITLE PAGE OF ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE HALLISCHE NACHRICHTEN.

mother institution and her missionary church were remarkable. No important occurrence escaped her eye, and in the mapping out of every line of policy she was the leading participant.

The Halle missionaries in Pennsylvania were instructed to keep exact diaries of their ministerial acts and their pas-

[237] S. E. Ochsenford, D.D., in *Luth. Church Review*, Vol. VII., p. 123.

toral experiences;[238] to seek advice from the Halle fathers in all more important cases and to live in close intellectual and spiritual communion with Halle through correspondence. This feeling of affinity was constantly strengthened in the Pennsylvania field of labor by the arrival of new missionaries sent from Halle. The missionaries here forwarded their diaries and other documents to Halle and there these were not merely preserved in the archives, but minutes of the proceedings regarding the Pennsylvania field were kept, and extracts from the numerous communications of the missionaries were printed and distributed gratuitously to the patrons of Halle. Sixteen such communications appeared in print, between the years 1744 to 1786, under the title *Kurtze Nachrichten von einigen Evangelischen Gemeinen in America, absonderlich in Pennsylvanien*. They awakened much interest, especially as the new world of Pennsylvania was the chief center of German emigration and as the attention of Europe was being drawn to its rapid commercial and political development. These communications were reprinted in the year 1787 in a single volume in Halle and, becoming known under the name *Hallische Nachrichten*, have to this day remained a leading source for the history of the founding of the Lutheran Church in America.[239]

[238] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. vii.

[239] They were edited in the year 1886 by W. J. Mann and B. M. Schmucker, both historical scholars of the highest rank in the Lutheran Church of America, with the coöperation of Dr. W. Germann, of Halle, who searched the archives there and discovered a multitude of papers and letters that had never appeared in print in the original Halle Reports. This new edition, with its great wealth of historical and scholarly matter, indispensable in the investigation of historical or religious matters in German localities in Pennsylvania was published in 1886, at personal loss, by the firm of Brobst, Diehl & Company. The plates were subsequently purchased in the interest of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the work is now handled by the General Council Lutheran Publication House, 1522 Arch St., Philadelphia.

We have seen that the home center, Halle, maintained its power in the Province of Penn by sending ministers to the latter, by providing means, by the maintenance of correspondence, and by the issuing of direction and advice. But there was another mode through which influence on the religious development of Pennsylvania was great. This was the cheap issue of the celebrated Halle Bible. Karl Hildebrandt, Freiherr von Canstein, weary of court life, joined the German army where he became seriously ill. He then promised that if the Lord spared him, he would engage in His service through the remainder of his days. He kept his promise and became acquainted with Spener, and through him with A. H. Francke at Halle. In 1710 he published his plan for supplying poor people with the Word of God at a low price, by printing from types kept permanently standing, soldered together at the bottom. Two years later he organized the "Canstein Bible Institution."[240] He began issuing the New Testament in 1712, and in the sixteen following years, issued thirty-seven editions of the New Testament, thirty-five editions of the twelve-mo Bible, and twenty-one editions of the large octavo Bible. Most of these were sold under cost price. In 1735 the Bible Institute became formally connected with the Francke institutions at Halle. The influence of Halle among the Germans in America through this extensive publication of the Bible, is to be seen in the fact, says Mr. Sachse,[241] "that when Christopher Sauer and his sectarian associates in Germantown proposed to publish an American version of the Holy Writ in the German tongue, their prospectus distinctly stated that it would be an exact reprint of the 34th edition of the Halle version."

[240] This powerful organization is still in existence, and is to Germany what the "American Bible Society" is to America.

[241] *Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI., No. 2, p. 172.

Mr. Sachse draws attention to the political influence of the Halle institutions in America during the transition of the country from a colonial position to that of independence, through the education which it imparted not only to the original missionaries, but to their sons who were sent to Europe to receive a collegiate education. He says: "If the writer mistakes not, every clergyman sent out by Halle was loyal to the patriots, and espoused their cause during the revolutionary period. A claim that cannot be made by either the Episcopalian or German Reformed Churches."

"How even the military arm felt more or less of the Hallenser influence will be apparent when we recall the fact that General Peter Mühlenberg finished his education at the Francke Pedagogium. Then after the independence of the colonies was gained and a stable form of government assured, by the adoption of the federal constitution with George Washington as the first president, it was another graduate of the Francke orphanage, Frederick Augustus Mühlenberg, who became the first Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives. How much his rulings and political career were influenced by his early education at Halle can now well be surmised. Certain it is that the chief training for his famous life and career as statesman and pastor were the results of the teachings of the younger Francke and his successors."[242]

In closing this chapter we must also say that the later and subsequent course of Halle is a sad one from the Lutheran point of view.

The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania was planted in the best and soundest stage of development of Halle Pietism, and to all Lutherans it is a source of gratitude to realize that the Church had passed its period of tutelage

[242] Sachse, *Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI., No. 2, p. 173.

before the more narrow-minded, weaker and rationalistic elements arose in the teaching of Halle. A time came when the proverb was current, *Halam tendis, aut pietista aut atheista reversurus.* Wolff, the mathematical philosopher and professor at Halle, was injuring Christianity by his attempt at mathematical proofs. Semler, "the father of rationalism," and Gesenius and Wegschneider, the two famous rationalists, were also professors there. Schleiermacher, "the father of so-called modern theology," was professor there from 1804 to 1806. In the middle of the present century Julius Müller and Toluck, of Halle, were representatives of the mediating theology.[243]

After this extended view, embracing a full century, of the history of Halle and its influence upon Lutheranism in America, we must turn our eye backward once again to the beginning of the eighteenth century, to a time long before the arrival of Mühlenberg, in order to gain some grasp of the general religious condition of Lutheran immigrants in the Province in the first third of the eighteenth century.

[243] In the present faculty at Halle are Julius Koestlin, the standard historical writer on the life of Luther, and Beyschlag, Haupt, Kautzsch and Loofs, three representatives of the modern critical school. Halle still gathers one of the largest numbers of theological students among German universities.

CHAPTER IX.

Pioneer and Churchless Lutherans.

A General View of the Situation from 1700–1730.



BEFORE proceeding to look for the first beginnings of local congregational organizations in Pennsylvania, which constitutes the subject of the next chapter, we propose in this chapter to discuss the unorganized Lutherans in the Province during the first three decades of the century, with particular reference to the time of their advent, their numbers, their spiritual condition, and the general religious background of the settlements by which they were encompassed.

Among the particular points affording a field for study are the number of German Lutherans and Reformed in Pennsylvania between 1638 and 1701, and between 1701 and 1727; the spiritual condition of Reformed and Lutheran immigrants between 1702 and 1720, and later; the scant provision for Lutheran and Reformed services for

the first quarter of the century; and the religious ferments in the Province between 1710–1727 and between 1734–1742. It may not be out of place, in conclusion, to glance at the problem of the number of Lutheran and Reformed immigrants in Pennsylvania prior to the Revolutionary War.

The Number of German Lutherans and Reformed between 1638 and 1727.

THERE were Germans among the original Swedish settlers on the Delaware. An additional number of Germans came into the colony prior to the arrival of Penn in 1682. In 1684, we have the testimony of the following letter as to Lutheran and Reformed settlers in 1684:

"Brieff aus Germanton s. e. Teutschstadt in Pennsylvania date 1684 den 12. Feb.

"Zu Neuchastall sind einige aus den Viewarden gesellschafft. Man findet in Pennsylvania (auser halb uns) Lutherische u. Reformirte. Die ersten haben zwo Prediger ihre Früchte aber geben Zeugnüss, das sie Lehrer sind ohne Geist.—Zu Neu Castell wohnen meist Holländer. Die Reformirte haven aldo avitzo Keine Prediger, Die Papistin alda haben keine Versamlung."

From the date of the founding of the German colony by Pastorius, and through the closing decade of the seventeenth century, there was a somewhat continuous arrival of Germans.[244]

It has been customary to maintain that the number of

[244] "Shortly before the close of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, some Germans began to sail across the great Atlantic and to arrive in this western world. They settled here as residents and made use of the freedom in respect to the exercise of religion which it was possible to enjoy undisturbed, according to the principles of the first owner of the Province of Pennsylvania, William Penn, Esq." Thus reads the report sent by Mühlenberg to the Halle Fathers, in 1754 (*Hall. Nachr.*, II., 194).

Germans who arrived in the opening years of the eighteenth century was exceedingly small. Rupp believes that there were only about 200 German families in the Province in 1700. The latest discussion of the problem of numbers is found in Kuhns' *German Settlements*.[245]

None of the writers on this point has considered the explicit testimony of Justus Falckner, dated from Pennsylvania to Germany in 1701. Falckner says, "There is here a large number of Germans who, however, have partly crawled in among the different sects who use the English tongue."[246] Again, in speaking of the wretched condition of "the German Evangelical [this word here means Lutheran] communities," he asks for assistance from Germany to make "some establishment of an Evangelical [Lutheran] church assembly in America, *since the Germans are now increasing rapidly*."[247] This was in 1701, from the pen of an eye witness.



Kuhns maintains that there were no large arrivals between 1710–1717.[248] He quotes De Hoop Scheffer to the effect that the desire for immigration seemed to have lain dormant in Germany until 1726. "This authority, based

[245] Pp. 52–54.

[246] *The missive of Justus Falckner of Germantown, concerning the religious condition of Pennsylvania in 1701.*

[247] English translation, pp. 10–11.

[248] "We know that the increase up to 1710 was small, a few score at the most for every year. In 1708 Germantown was still a weak and struggling community. In 1710 came the Swiss of Lancaster County, some hundreds, possibly thousands, in number. Between that date and 1717 there seem to have been no large arrivals of Germans at Philadelphia." (*German Settlements*, Kuhns, p. 53.)

on documents in Holland, a country through which all German and Swiss immigrants had to pass on their way to America, would seem to be conclusive." Such a conclusion, viz., of an extremely small German immigration in the early years of the century, seems to be supported by the fact that even the early patents for land in the interior of the state were not taken out before the closing years of the second decade of the century.

But nevertheless the view thus held is not conclusive, and is probably a mistake.[249] In the case of the first settlers, the patents followed, often by many years, and did not precede the settlement of the land. We have no accurate means of knowing the number of arrivals through the port of Philadelphia in these years, and another fact in the history of this early immigration, viz., the close connection between the port of New York and the German colony in Pennsylvania, seems to have been overlooked. The lives of Rudman and Falckner at this very time show how open were travel and communication between New York and Pennsylvania. Bradford, the printer, on leaving Pennsylvania, quickly set up his press in New York. Governor Fletcher, of New York, wrote in 1693 that, "More families are daily removing for Pennsylvania and Connecticut to be eased from taxes and detachments."[250] Mr. Diffenderffer in his "German Immigration Through the Port of Philadelphia from 1700–1705," *Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, finds that the Rev. John Miller writes in 1696 that, "The burdens of the Province (N. Y.) have made two or three hundred families forsake it and remove to Pennsylvania and Maryland chiefly."[251] Still

[249] De Hoop Scheffer evidently knew nothing of the German emigrants who came by way of Hamburg and London.

[250] *Colonial History of New York*, Vol. IV., p. 55.

[251] *Ibidem*, Vol. IV., p. 183.

further, no account has been taken of possible immigration by the Chesapeake and by way of Newcastle, the old route so well known to the Swedes.

We have referred to the case of Henry Baker, who as early as 1690 desired to purchase land "at the great Swamp, about a mile from his own house in Bucks County." The Swedish Lutherans had gone as far west as Molatton, along the waterway of the Schuylkill before 1700. Dr. H. E. Jacobs[252] states that "even before this (1704–12), before and contemporaneously with the Palatine immigration to New York other of their countrymen, mostly Reformed and Lutheran, can be traced filling up the Oley region with its center in Berks." Dr. F. K. Levan, in his paper, "Maxatawny Prior to 1800,"[253] takes the position that his township was not settled, as Rupp and others commonly suppose in 1732, but twenty years earlier, that is in 1712. He states that Oley Township was certainly settled within the first ten years of the eighteenth century, and that an Indian path led across the hills, a distance of four miles, to Maxatawny. He shows that the massive mansion and the mill on his own ancestral property point beyond question to an earlier date of settlement.[254]

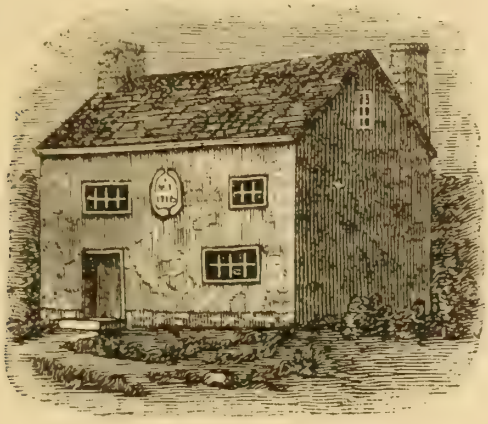
Morton L. Montgomery, of Berks County, points to the early settlement of the Manatawny and Oley districts as follows: "The first settlers began to establish themselves along the Schuylkill river, several miles westward from the Manatawny creek, between 1700 and 1705. This district of territory did not then have a name. It was identified by

[252] "German Immigration to America," p. 141, *Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. IX.

[253] *Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, I., pp. 17–90.

[254] He states that "in their religious confession the first settlers of Maxatawny were Reformed and Lutheran. There was hardly an exception to this single rule and so it continued through the eighteenth century."

being near the Manatawny. Now it is called Amity. It has been so called since 1720. In 1712 settlers began to locate in Oley. Then this district was so called. It included a large area of territory, at least sixty thousand acres. In Caernarvon, along the headwaters of the Conestoga, they began as early as 1720; along the Tulpehocken in 1726, and along the Maiden creek in 1733."[255]



A SWEDISH SETTLER'S HOME ON THE MANATAWNY.

We know that already in 1702 Hendrick Pannebecker removed to Skippack creek. In 1710 the Dutch Reformed were sufficiently numerous at Neshaminy, Germantown, etc., to organize Whitemarsh church under their pastor, Mr. Paulus Van Vlecq. The church, though small, was fully organized and continued in existence for at least two

[255] "First Families of Berks County," Morton L. Montgomery, *Historical Register*, I., pp. 19–20.

years.[256] From 1702 to 1708 there was at least a small stream of Reformed and Lutheran immigration coming into the Province. These immigrants settled in the valleys of the Skippack and Perkiomen, draining into the Schuylkill, and on the lands as far west as Falckner's Swamp, Oley, and Molatton.

Furthermore, from the tenor of the statements in the Halle Reports, from the local evidences of settlement in the various districts, and from many indirect indications, the writer of this volume believes that a larger stream of immigration began with the early part of the second decade; De Hoop Scheffer to the contrary notwithstanding. In 1754 the Lutheran pastors, Mühlenberg, Brunholtz, and Handschuh, report to Halle: "In the years 1708, 1709, 1710–1720, when there was a great movement from the Palatinate to England, and a large number of people were sent thence to New York, under Queen Anne, *not a few* came from the same source to Pennsylvania also."[257]

[256] "On the 20th of May, in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1710," says a contemporary record, "Mr. Paulus Van Vlecq was installed pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ at Shamminie, Bensalem, and Jermantown, and the neighboring villages. A congregation was organized by this minister on the 4th of June, 1710, under the name of the Whitemarsh church, with Hans Hendrick Meels as senior elder, Evert Ten Heuven junior elder, and Isaac Dilbeck senior deacon. The recorded members of the congregation in 1711 were: Hans Hendricks Meels, Isaac Dilbeck, Jan Aweeg, Antonie Geert Yerkes, Geertrinj Reinbergh, Marritje Blomerse, wife of Isaac Dilbeck, Catrina (Christina?) Meels, wife of William Dewees, Anchen Barents, wife of J. Pieterse, Maria Selle, wife of Gerret Ten Heuven, Evert Ten Heuven, Johannis Jodden, Johannis Revenstock, Geertrui Aweeg, Elizabeth Schipbouwer, wife of Evert Ten Heuven, Elsje Schol, Sibillae Revenstock, wife of Hendrick Tibben, Margaret Bon, wife of Kaspar Staels. The Pastor Van Vlecq's ministry apparently ended here in 1712." (Dotterer's *Church at Market Square*, p. 11.)

[257] Mühlenberg's division of the immigration into periods is worthy of receiving more consideration, study and weight than has hitherto been given it. It is found in *Hall. Nachr.*, II., p. 194. He says:

"In the first period, namely, from 1680–1708, some arrived by chance * * *

"In the second period, in the years 1708, 1709, 1710–1720, when the great

It is true that Germantown, a place where there was nothing by which to earn a living, and where the German Quakers,[258] the Mystics, the Mennonites and the few church



OLD GERMANTOWN LANDMARK.

Exodus out of the Palatinate to England occurred * * * not a few also came to Pennsylvania." He refers not only to the devotional literature which the immigrants of this period possessed, but also to the fact that they did not concern themselves regarding the perpetuation of the church and the sacraments. He states that toward the end of this period a multitude of High Germans appeared, nearly all Separatists.

"In the following third period, from about 1720 to 1730, the number of High German Evangelicals [Lutheran] out of the Palatinate, out of the Kingdom, out of Würtemburg, out of Darmstadt and other places increased. Many of the Palatine families also came from New York. They spread themselves in all parts of the Province. They did not allow the articles of Faith of our Confession to become obscure for themselves and their children, but they desired to perpetuate them.

"At the close of this and at the beginning of the following period a still greater number of Germans came into the land. These brought some schoolmasters with them, who first read sermons and then entered the ministerial office and administered the sacraments, but neglected the youth. Now the Province became more and more thickly populated, as by the English, the Scotch and the Irish, so also by the High German Lutherans and Reformed. No churches or schools were here, except some few wooden huts here and there which gradually fell in from the top or fell down to earth." The Word of God was scarce in the land.

"In the following fourth period, from about 1730 to 1742, things were almost the same as in the preceding period."

[258] "Francis Daniel Pastorius, though to all outward appearances in full fellowship with the Quakers and conformed to their usages, yet had his two sons baptized in the Lutheran Church. * * * That it was done is shown by the

people were in continuous agitation, did not grow,[259] and that the Lutheran preaching of Köster had made no permanent impression on the town for the Lutheran Church. But we must turn to the lands between the Skippack and the Oley region in Berks County to locate the incoming Lutherans. The Falckner brothers in Philadelphia and at the Swamp were doing their best to provide for the spiritual interests of these scattered Lutherans, and Justus Falckner already at this early date was writing to Germany in regard to their spiritual condition and with the desire of securing some "establishment" of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania in 1701. From the year 1710 on there was a Reformed minister at Germantown who may have preached to his Reformed brethren occasionally.[260]

published letter to his father dated June 1, 1693. 'Welches mein Eheweib mit Anno 1690 den 30, Martii ein Söhnlein namens Johann Samuel zur welt gebohren. Und dann Anno 1692 den 1, Aprilis das zweite, deme der name Heinrich bey der heiligen Tauffe gegeben worden. *Umständige Beschreibung*, p. 60.'" *German Sectarians*, I., p. 197.

[259] Compare Falkenstein's "The German Baptist Brethren or Dunkers," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. X., Chaps. III.–VIII.

[260] "In the year 1710 a strong character was added to Germantown's Reformed contingent. That year Samuel Guldin, a minister of the Reformed Church of Switzerland, came to Pennsylvania. He had been the minister of the three chief churches of Berne. His fervent presentation of Christian truth gave offence to his ecclesiastical superiors. He was accused of pietism, and in 1699 declared guilty of the charge. He was then relegated to the pastorate of an inferior and obscure congregation outside of Berne. On the 16th of January, 1710 (probably $17\frac{10}{11}$), then a resident of Roxborough township, he bought 275 acres of land located along Wissahickon Creek. Residing so near Germantown, and sometimes in the town, he became intimately acquainted with his Reformed brethren here, and as would be expected he preached to them occasionally. After his coming to Pennsylvania he issued three pamphlets. The first of these, dated 1718, entitled Kurtze Apologie, is a self-vindication of his course at Berne; the second, also in 1718, is a short guide with contrasts for the explanation and defence of Divine Truth; the third, in 1743, was an argument in opposition to the coalescence of the several religious denominations as proposed by Count Zinzendorf. Guldin was possessed of a considerable estate. He has been heretofore regarded as one of the original settlers of Oley, but recent investigation indicates that he never lived there, and that his



PRIMITIVE BLOCK HOUSE AND A PIONEER'S CLEARING AND LOG CABIN

FROM AN ORIGINAL SKETCH IN THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY

A letter to the Amsterdam Classis also tells us that from 1710 on "there came from time to time, here and there, widely separated from one another, some of the Reformed, from different parts of Germany and other places, as also from the neighboring Provinces of New York and New Jersey, etc. These, having in time grown to a number, in order not to fall into the errors of those among whom they dwelt, stirred up and encouraged each other to hold religious meetings on the Lord's Day, etc., according to the doctrine and order of the Reformed Church so far as it was known to us." This letter was dated July, 1728, and was written by the representatives of the Falckner Swamp, Skippack, and Whitemarsh congregations.[261] The Neshaminy Church record[262] contains a number of baptisms by Pastor Van Vlecq in families that were dwellers at Skippack, as early as May 29, 1710.

But it was not only north of the Schuylkill that these early settlements sprang up. Already in 1709 the Mennonites and Dunkers in Germantown and Philadelphia were hearing of the fertile valleys of the Pequea and the Conestoga and with the larger arrivals, commenced entering these valleys for settlement. By 1709 the first white men had pushed as far west as the present Lancaster County. By the beginning of the third decade this region had already become the chief center of the Mennonite settlement in Pennsylvania.

Moreover, probably before 1710, Germans had settled in the extreme northern part of Chester County, then

son was the Oley pioneer. The Rev. Samuel Guldin died in Philadelphia on the last day of the year 1745, aged eighty-five." (Dotterer's *The Church at Market Square*, p. 10.)

[261] Henry S. Dotterer in *Lansdale Reporter*, February 25, 1886, article on *The Skippack Reformed Church.*

[262] Now the record of the Dutch Reformed Church, Churchville, Bucks County, Pa.

known as Coventry, and adjoining the great Manatawny tract. The Schuylkill here was fordable at many places, and thus communication was opened with the German settlers north of the Schuylkill, who were locating on the Perkiomen and its tributaries.

The first Great Exodus of Germans out of the Palatinate, via England, began in the year 1708, continued in 1709, and increased in volume from 1710 to 1720. These were the multitudes of Lutheran and Reformed immigrants who had been taken in charge by Pastor Böhme of the Royal Chapel, London, and Pastors Ruperti and Tribekko of Savoy. Many of them reached Pennsylvania before the romantic arrival of the New York companies in the Tulpehocken region in 1723 and 1727.


Des Geist und Trostreichen Lehrers,
Herrn Johann Arndts,
Sämtliche Geistreiche Bücher
Vom Wahren
Christenthum,
Paradies-Gärtlein,
Gießen,

They were people of a religious character, and brought with them books of devotion, sermons (*Postillen*), Arndt's True Christianity and hymn-books. Queen Anne and Pastor Böhme, of London, as we have seen, had been active in supplying this religious literature to such of the immigrants as were in need of it. But many of them, perhaps, had their ponderous Bibles, with which we are so familiar, as heirlooms coming down from the Fathers, and in the winter evenings by the fireside, and on the Lord's Day, in multitudes of families, isolated in their forest homes from all other traces of kindred humanity, this armful of set-

tlers faithfully maintained their family prayers and religious worship.

In the year 1717 a very considerable number of Palatines and Swiss arrived, via London. John Dickinson said of these: "We are daily expecting ships from London, which bring over Palatines in numbers about six or seven thousand. We had a parcel who came five years ago, who purchased land about sixty miles west of us and proved quiet and industrious." Governor Keith also became alarmed in this year (1717) at the size of the German immigration. From 1718 to 1721 patents for land begin to be frequent. December 3, 1722, Hendrick Pannebecker laid out the road to the "Indian ford on Schuylkill."

At the session of the court held in March, 1723, a petition of the Dutch inhabitants in Falckner's Swamp for a road through the Swamp to Oley, and signed by more than thirty-five petitioners was presented and acted on.[263] On September 6, 1725, Pannebecker lays out a road from

[263] PETITION FOR A ROAD THROUGH FALCKNER SWAMP.

At the session of the Court, held in March, 1723, the following petition was presented and acted upon. A few of the names signed thereto are illegible and are omitted:

To his Majesties Justices of the Peace at the Court of Quarter Sessions held for The City and County of Philadelphia.

The Petition of the Dutch Inhabitants in Faulkners Swamp and the Inhabitants in the Neighbouring Townships

Humbly Sheweth

That wheras yo^{r} Petitioners as also the people of Oaley have not as yet had any Road on Record whereby we may without Trespass To our Respective Plantations

We Therefore humbly Pray That there may be a Road Laid out from Limerick Township to go by Jonathan Brooks's house Through the s^{d} Falkners Swamp & by Thomas Rutters Iron Mines & Thence to Oaley which we humbly conceive will be for the future most Beneficiall to Mr. John Penn's mannor and also be usefull to us your humble Petitioners as well as such who for the future shall adventure to settle in our Neighbourhood which Road if yo^{r} Wor-

Thomas Rutter's iron works to the great road leading from Manatawny to Philadelphia.

The roads and buildings erected in the interior of Pennsylvania, prior to the year 1727, show a very widespread immigration at this period. But it was especially after the year 1727 that immigrants, Lutheran and Reformed, arrived annually by the thousand and filled up the Province.

THE SPIRITUAL CONDITION OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRANTS, 1702–1720, AND LATER.

THE spiritual condition of these German immigrants was alarming. Daniel Falckner had left the Province as early as 1708 or early in 1709, and had become a pastor in New Jersey.

Montgomery, Philadelphia, northern Chester, southeastern Berks, and Lancaster Counties were settled in spots by Lutheran and Reformed from 1710 to 1727, and

ships please to Grant your Petitioners (as in Duty bound) shall ever Pray, &c

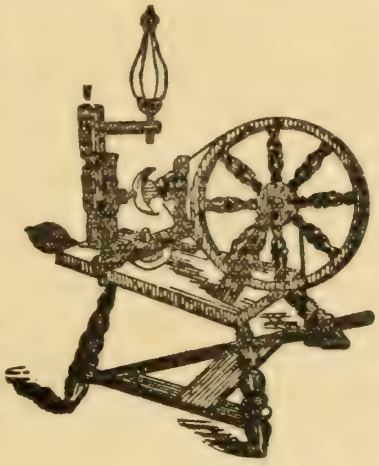
Anton Jacob Henkel	Jacob Eiyster
Christoff Witman	Jerg Eiyster
Jacob Fischer	Gerhard Henkel
Elias Aff	Christian Knopf
Caspar Kamb	Jacob Miller
Johan Christoff Witman	Friedrich Rcichert
Goerg Hollenbach	Mattheus Bender
Mattheus Ringer	Herman Fischer
Henrich Bitting	Jacob Eppeli
Martin Bitting	Andreas Wagner
Hans Adam Sauder	Hans Petter Cohnratt
Hans Jerg Nieth	Filb Ehrhart
Johannes Schneider	Philib Zittell
Jacob Frey	Adam Spengler
Daniel Schoener	Johan Gerg Wanner
Christopel Funk	Hans Yurg Arnolt
John Renberg	Jacob Herman
Johann Leonhardt Zentler	

An order was issued to have the road laid out.

H. S. D[OTTERER].

yet, except the Rev. Samuel Guldin, who evidently did not perform much service, up to 1717 at least, the Province was without a single other ordained clergyman of either the Reformed or Lutheran faith. It was the work of pastors Boehm and Stoever, a little later on, that saved the Reformed and Lutheran Churches.

The great majority of the earliest settlers had been pious. But those who understand human nature know how difficult it is to maintain proper habits of spiritual worship without the external support of church, pastor, or any of the ministering agencies of the Kingdom of God. After some years of solitary worship, many a family would find its home religious exercises neglected and interrupted. The new generation of children that was rising in the forests, without school and church training, were sons of nature and, as might be expected, were relatively indifferent in religious matters. Some of the original leaders from Germany, caring little for the preservation of the Church and the organization of good schools, allowed themselves, according to the *Hall. Nachr.*, to sell certain lands, the places originally intended for church and school buildings, for the benefit of their own individual posterity.[264]



[264] They permitted their children and grandchildren to grow up without the necessary instruction and without use of the means of grace. Many of the elders became wholly absorbed in the purchase of properties, the erection of houses, in planting and sowing, and in raising of large families of from five to twenty children in a worldly fashion.

In all the wide stretch of territory which we have had under view, there was no place, except Falckner's Swamp, where German Lutheran service was held, and there was neither a Lutheran schoolhouse nor a church, where the Word of God was taught in German. The settlers were widely separated from any of their brethren in the faith, and were so deeply engrossed with the clearing of their ground and the founding of their homes, as we have seen, that many of them naturally became lukewarm in the exercise of their religious duty.

The preceding description should not be taken to mean that there was no religious activity in the Province in the period 1710–1727. On the contrary, the Province was swarming with Quakers and Mennonites, Seventh Day Baptists, Inspirationists and Separatists, Hermits, Newborn and other sects. But side by side with the most intense spiritual activity, there was the grossest religious indifference. Bishop Spangenberg wrote that "many thousands of these people were so indifferent towards religion that it had become proverbial to say of a man who did not care for God or His Word, that he had *the Pennsylvania religion*" ; and it is an interesting survival of ancient tradition to note that to this day yet in Pennsylvania-German rural districts, when a man entirely outside of any church relationship and avowedly interested only "in the world" is questioned as to his ecclesiastical relationship he may reply, "Oh, I belong to the *big church!*"

In the city the Quakers effected very little with their religion among the common classes, and the Church of England not very much; but the Presbyterian and Baptist clergymen gathered in members.

Among the Germans in the backwoods districts, religious agitators appeared. Peter Becker's party, arriving in

1719, was divided in itself, and some of them went to Germantown, some to the Conestoga valley, and others northward to Oley. Matthias Bauman settled in Oley and began to preach his sectarian doctrines in 1719.[265]

Religious Ferments in the Province.—Lutheran and Reformed Immigrants, 1727–1742.—Lutheran Worship During this Period.

IN 1723 Beissel and Becker began their great revival, which extended all the way from Germantown through the Skippack and Perkiomen valley to the Conestoga valley.[266]

Becker thus founded the Dunkers. Bauman and Beissel were making some converts to their teaching.[267] It was the intense activity of these sectarian leaders in the second decade which first brought the church people (whether Reformed or Lutheran) together in self-defense and caused them to hold occasional orthodox services. Great credit

[265] He is said to have come to America in response to letters showing the neglected condition of settlers in the Province. He taught that his converts were free from all sin and therefore had no further use for Scripture except such as would support their doctrine; nor had they any use for the Sacraments. Matrimony also was discouraged. Several accounts belonging to these "Newborn" teachings are to be found in the Halle Reports. See *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 346; also pp. 147–148.

[266] In 1722 Beissel began a revival among the Mennonites, which extended throughout the Conestoga valley and thence into the Schuylkill valley as far as Falckner Swamp. Peter Becker began at the other end of the settled part of the Province, journeying through Germantown. In the fall of 1722 he traveled through Skippack and Perkiomen valleys, Falckner Swamp and Oley, thence across the Schuylkill to the Conestoga, and returning by way of Coventry and the settlements along the French creek. His journey resulted in beginning weekly services in the following year among the Dunkers, from which time their history dates.

[267] In the first years none were gathered from the Lutherans, and but few from the Reformed. Becker and Beissel gained at that time all their adherents from the non-orthodox sects (*German Sectarians*, p. 200).

must be given to the two Reformed lay-ministers, John Philip Boehm and Conrad Tempelmann, who in this second decade maintained the ministry of the Word among the Reformed in the Falckner Swamp and the Conestoga districts.[268]

The religious excitement in the Province rather increased than diminished in the third decade of the century, that is, between 1730 and 1740, and came to a climax in church circles in 1740–41 in the appearance of Count Zinzendorf and George Whitfield on Pennsylvania soil. Speaking of the years between 1730 to 1740, Henry S. Dotterer, in his life of John Philip Boehm, says:

"There was an intense religious agitation throughout the Province in this period. The very principle of religious toleration brought to Pennsylvania people with all kinds of religious doctrines, and doctrinal dissensions became violent and widespread. 'Pennsylvania is a complete Babel,' said one. The *Chronicon Ephratense*[269] says: 'About this time (1734) there were great disturbances in church circles in Pennsylvania, so that many were so confused that they no longer knew what to believe.'"

In an appeal from the Lutherans of Philadelphia to their brethren in the Fatherland, dated Jan., 1734, it is said:

[268] "Boehm, Weiss and Stoever," says Mr. Sachse in his *German Sectarians* (p. 208), "proved sturdy, faithful yeomen in their respective fields," but "Miller [Reformed clergyman], who was probably the most learned German in the Province, after a few years' labor in the orthodox bounds of the Reformed church, left his charges, threw his fortunes into the balance with Beissel and entered the Ephrata Community, where, after the *vorsteher's* death, he became the leading spirit. It is a curious coincidence," continues Mr. Sachse, "that nearly all the leading spirits of the mystic movement at Ephrata were recruited from the Reformed Church."

In the later investigations of the Reformed historians, particularly those of Professor Hinke, Rev. Weiss and his services to the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania are not spoken of in such favorable light. See articles by Professor Hinke in *Historical Notes relating to the Pennsylvania Reformed Church*, 1899–1900, and articles in *Reformed Church Messenger*, January, 1900.

[269] Translated from the original German by J. Max Hark, Lancaster; 1889, p. 70.

"We live in a land full of heresy and sects. We are in the utmost want and poverty of soul, and are unable to rescue ourselves by our own means. The great number of young people growing up are to be wept for; and, on account of the want of churches and schools, it is to be feared, if help does not soon come, most of them will be led into grievous ways of error." The patriarch Mühlenberg writes in 1743: "It seems as if now were the time in which God would visit us in Pennsylvania with His special grace. It is indeed high time. If it had remained thus a few years more, our poor Lutherans would have been wholly scattered and gone into heathenism."[270]

Between 1730 and 1742 and a little earlier a still larger multitude of Germans came into the country. These brought schoolmasters with them or at least accepted such schoolmasters as followed them, who then read sermons to them, and considered themselves to be fitted to preach and administer the Sacraments. In the meantime a large and passive multitude of neglected Lutherans, who had remained true to their faith, were at times oppressed, at times intimidated, and at times ridiculed.[271]

There were no buildings for worship and no schools, excepting some few wooden huts here and there, that were in a state of decay and about to fall together. This is the picture Mühlenberg presented in the *Hall. Nachr.*

[270] Again he writes: "There are not wanting here atheists, deists, naturalists and free-masons. In short there is not a sect in the world which is not cherished here. Whatsoever is not tolerated in Europe finds a place here. The most scandalous things are heard freely and publicly spoken against God and His Holy Word. In the whole land there are many thousands, who, according to their baptism, education and confirmation, should be Lutherans, but they are in part scattered. There is such a pitiable condition and ruin among our poor Lutheran people, that it cannot be sufficiently wept for with tears of blood. The parents have permitted their children to grow up, without baptism, without instruction and knowledge, and to go into heathenism."

[271] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., 196. Many examples of this kind could be given.

It will be noticed that new churches during this early colonial period were built on the same spot at frequent intervals, and the explanation of this fact (cf. Chapter VI., pp. 140–141) is that the first churches were merely rude structures of logs which in the course of two decades began to show such signs of decay as to be untenable.[272] The floors of the churches were composed of bare ground. Some rude logs served as seats and very probably a flat stump formed the pulpit. Indians were frequently met with on the way to service. An old tradition states that Rev. John Caspar Stoever always travelled with his gun and that he could tell from the look of the Indians whether they were friendly or hostile.

Church Statistics, 1727–1775.

We come, finally, to the question of church statistics. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to state with any exactness the number of those that belonged, either actually or nominally, to the Reformed or Lutheran Churches at various periods in the century under consid eration.

It is extremely difficult, in fact, to compute the number of German immigrants that arrived in Pennsylvania from the beginning of the last century to the Revolutionary War. We may say that there were twenty thousand Germans in Pennsylvania before 1727, the year in which the volume of immigration became extensive, and the year before John Caspar Stoever arrived. To this we may add eighteen thousand more up to 1742, when Mühlenberg

[272] Even the early log houses of the settlers do not seem to have withstood the ravages of time for any long period of years, and when later on through the proper use of masonry and plaster, and the covering of a good roof habitations were permanent, and barns were made durable, churches apparently were still being built in the old, temporary style.

arrived. Perhaps six thousand more arrived up to and including the year 1748, the year in which the Pennsylvania Ministerium was organized. Between 1749 and 1754 nearly thirty-two thousand arrived through the port of Philadelphia. Nine or ten thousand more arrived through the same port prior to the Revolution.

On the 27th of November, 1759, Dr. William Smith, subsequently the first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, wrote a very interesting letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Secker), to which we may have occasion to allude hereafter and which contains probably a more accurate and complete approximate religious census for the period at which it was written than we can hope to gain in any other manner. The total membership of all the church denominations and religious sects within the Province, enumerated in this census runs up to 250,000 souls. Of this a little more than one-fifth are classed as Germans. The following is the result of Dr. Smith's investigation in 1759:

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN PENNSYLVANIA IN 1759, ACCORDING TO REV. WM. SMITH, D.D.

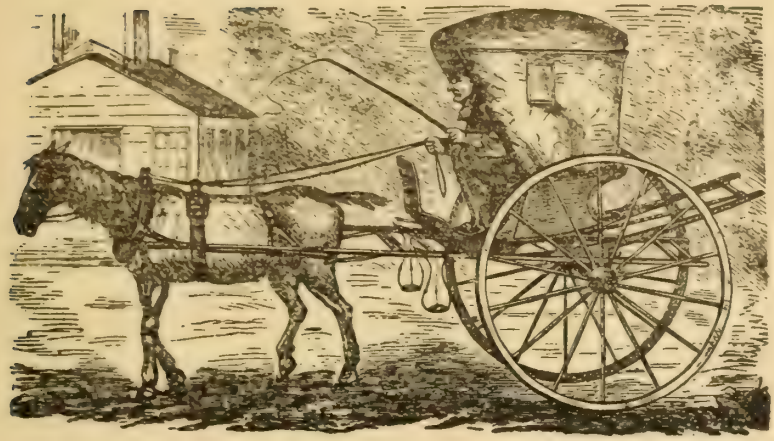
Members of the Episcopalian Church about	25,000
Members of the Quaker	50,000
Members of the English, Scotch and Irish Presbyterian Church	55,000
German Mennonites and the like	30,000
German Lutherans, who are altogether willing to become incorporated in the Church of England	35,000
Members of the Swedish Lutheran Church who make use of the Liturgy and church-discipline of the Church of England in most points	5,000
German Presbyterians or Calvinists, called Reformed	30,000
Roman Catholics, total	10,000
Moravians and Dunkers about	5,000

In 1728 Governor Thomas estimated the Germans as

constituting about three-fifths of the population. Prior to the Revolutionary War it is commonly supposed that the Germans constituted at least one-third of the entire population. On the one hand great exaggerations in round numbers, and on the other hand a failure to note that the lists of immigrants given by Rupp in the Pennsylvania archives by no means adequately represent the volume of German population, and to recall that the rate of increase in the good farming ground of these pioneer families was thirty, sixty and even a hundred fold, have induced inaccuracy in both directions. Nor has the proportion of church people to sectarians been ascertained as yet. And any positive statistics given for a single period are apt to be misleading. For instance, Professor Oswald Seidensticker,[273] quoted by Diffenderffer, *German Immigration through the Port of Philadelphia*, p. 99, states that the Lutherans in 1731 are supposed to have numbered about 17,000 and the German Reformed 15,000. The minutes of the Synodical Deputies of Holland, March 16, 1731, go still higher and state that the total baptized membership of the Reformed in Pennsylvania was thirty thousand; but on the other hand the Rev. John B. Rieger, in a letter dated Nov. 22, 1731, estimates the total baptized membership of the Reformed in Pennsylvania to be less than three thousand, while John Philip Boehm in his report of 1734 makes the actual number of Reformed communicants in the state to be only three hundred and eighty-six. The same discrepancy would appear in any comparison of figures in the Lutheran Church. The fact is that the communicant membership, the baptized membership and the merely hereditary or sympathetic membership are such very different entities that in the lack of figures based on any common under-

[273] *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvania*, S. 18.

standing, results are almost sure to be unreliable. But it is safe to say that a very large proportion of the population of Pennsylvania was German; and that the majority of the German population was affiliated with the two great Protestant churches of the German Reformation. It is to the first springing up of the individual congregations of the Lutheran church in this Pennsylvania territory that we now turn.



A COUNTRY PARSON IN HIS "SHAY" A CENTURY AGO.

CHAPTER X.

THE EARLIEST GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCHES AND THE REGIONS AND SETTLEMENTS IN WHICH THEY SPRANG UP.—THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AT MOLATTON.



IT was the beginning of the second quarter of the century that brought about a great religious change in the little settlements of the Pennsylvania forefathers. The drift into gross worldliness, ignorance and infidelity, was about to be stemmed. The generation that was growing into manhood without churches and schools was about to witness a new sight. The religious soil of the German wilderness was quietly preparing to blossom in scores of places. The old faith of the two great European Protestant churches was about to spring forth from a consciousness long dormant, and to embody itself in visible institutions.

John Caspar Stoever

On the Lutheran side there is a single pioneer laborer in the vineyard who deserves to be mentioned in this connection. He is the Rev. John Caspar Stoever. "Among

all the early clergy," says Mr. J. F. Sachse,[274] "who labored within the Province of Penn, none were so active in their ministrations or as organizers of congregations as Johann Caspar Stoever. He not only disputed the field with the various Separatists, but he entered their very strongholds and organized Lutheran congregations in their midst. It was Stoever's ceaseless activity which proved the greatest check to the spread of the rationalistic ideas among the Germans brought about by their intercourse with the Quakers, and subsequent abandonment of all regular church forms and discipline, to say nothing of such sporadic movements as that of the New Born and others. If it had not been for the zeal of Stoever and a few others in organizing and protecting the Germans from the inroads being made among them, it is more than probable that a majority of the German and Swiss settlers would have come under the baneful influence of the spiritual lethargy known in German as *Freigeisterey*.

"Of all the orthodox clergy then within the Province, Stoever, more than any other, foresaw this danger, and fortunately was prompt to act in the premises. It may be said that at almost every cross-road, wherever there were any number of Germans, Johann Caspar Stoever organized an Evangelical Lutheran congregation, and started a church-book for them; upon the title of which is found his autograph with the addition: '*dermahligen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Pfarrherrn daselbst.*' A reference to his record of ministerial acts shows that he organized congregations or ministered at the following places: Coventry, French Creek and Nantmill, in Chester County; Maxatawny, Oley, Manatawny, Conewago, Falckner Swamp (New Hanover), Trappe (New Providence), Schifenthal,

[274] *German Sectarians*, p. 211.

Schuylkill Valley, Colebrookdale, Merion, Wissahickon (on the Ridge), Skippack, Chestnut Hill, Germantown, Hosensack, Perkiomen, Leacock, Earltown, Lancaster, Cocalico, Tulpehocken, Macungie, Quitopahila (Lebanon), Philadelphia and elsewhere."

The organization of the earliest churches came in time to turn the tide of infidelity and to prevent the fathers and their children in the third decade of the century from drifting into spiritual anarchy.

Before proceeding to point out the first beginnings of these Lutheran organizations springing up in the German settlements of the Province between 1725 and 1750, we pause for a moment's survey of the regions in which the new churches were located.



A PIONEER GERMAN SETTLEMENT.

PENNSYLVANIA, topographically, is divisible into three parts. The Philadelphia region at the southeast corner is part of the plain that extends inward from the sea and that reaches to the South Mountain. The Kittatiny Valley stretches further inward from the South Mountain to the Blue Ridge. The third and largest part of the State to the west and north of the Blue Ridge, does not concern us here.

The open southeast plain, including Philadelphia, Delaware, Montgomery, Bucks, Chester and Lancaster Counties, and that part of Berks County which is southeast of the hills, had been settled first. In this lower open country, the Germans had been preceded by the Swedes, on their large tract, along the great river, in Delaware and Philadelphia Counties, and on their smaller tract, edging upward into Montgomery and Berks Counties along the waters of the Schuylkill. In this region the Germans, further, had been preceded by the Quakers and Welsh who practically had preëmpted Philadelphia, Delaware, southern Chester, eastern Montgomery, and nearly the whole of Bucks Counties. When, therefore, the Germans arrived they pushed to lands still unoccupied in this open plain, namely to western Montgomery, northern Chester, eastern Berks, and to the extremely fertile lands of Lancaster and York Counties. Here they settled in the valleys beside the smaller streams that ran into the Delaware, the Schuylkill with its tributaries, the Perkiomen, and the Skippack, and in the regions drained by the Cocalico, the Conestoga and the eastern tributaries of the Susquehanna.

Soon, however, they advanced beyond the open plain, to the north side of the South Mountain and into the great Kittatiny Valley, which stretches in a wide and gentle curve from east to south, and which includes Northampton, Lehigh, part of Berks, Lebanon, part of Dauphin, York and Adams Counties.[275] The extreme northern boundary of this Valley is the Blue Ridge. It was up to the Blue Ridge that the Germans had penetrated.[276] In this great

[275] This is part of the longest valley in the world extending from East Canada to the lowlands of the Gulf of Mexico. Nearly 150 miles of its length are in Pennsylvania, where its average width may be called 15 miles.

[276] The Indians retreated beyond the Blue Mountains in 1732, having then sold the territory south of the mountains lying between the Delaware and

Valley, first of all, Northampton and Lehigh Counties and the Berks region which includes the Saucons, Manatawny, Oley, and Moselim, were settled from the east. Later still the whole western part of Berks and the northeastern part of Lebanon were settled both from the east and from the west. From the east the Germans came up the Tulpehocken. From the west the New York Palatines came up the Swatara and the Little Swatara to the Tulpehocken. The southern part of Berks and Lebanon Counties was settled by Germans who pushed northward from the South Mountain through the borders of Lancaster.

IN these various portions of this Pennsylvania field, the Lutheran congregations begin to rise into vision gradually, now here, now there, one after the other, as, after twilight, stars begin to come out in the evening sky. It is wonderful to note this independent and gradual birth and springing up of congregations, without any outside stimulus or inspiration, here and there throughout the whole territory. The scattered seeds of Lutheran life had been blown rudely across the seas and into the wilderness of a new world. After a long period of dormancy, they slowly came to life here and there in single little groups. One after another they rise from infantile feebleness to a degree of useful strength. One after another they undertake, each in its own way, the necessities of organization, of the erection of buildings, and the great task of securing spiritual ministrations.

Surveying the whole Pennsylvania territory, we already have seen that the first ministrations to the Lutherans came

Susquehanna rivers, and in 1749 they left that portion of territory now included in Schuylkill County. Montgomery, Indians of Pennsylvania in *Historical Register*, 1883–84, p. 296.

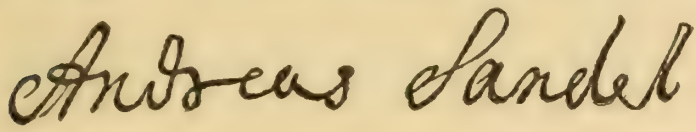
from the Swedes. The second came from Köster at Germantown and Philadelphia. The third came from the Falckner brothers and the Swedes in conjunction, who probably attempted to do all they could for the Germans at various points.

The Molatton Church.

The Swedes began Lutheran services at Molatton (Douglassville) as early as 1697, certainly not later than 1702. On October 2, 1701, Rev. Andreas Rudman was authorized

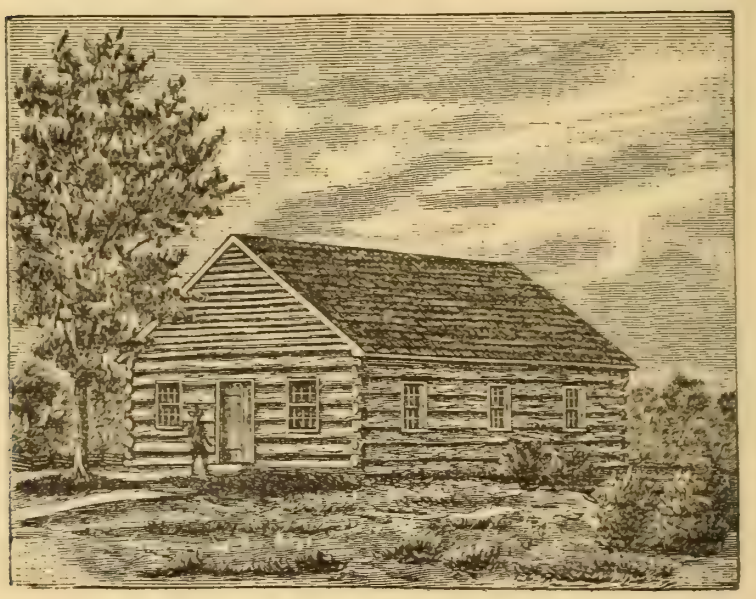


to take up 10,000 acres there, virtually the present Amity Township in Berks County. He held the legal title to this tract. The title was perfected in 1703 and 1704. "Rev. Andrew Sandel, Rudman's assistant, and afterwards his



successor, visited Molatton two or three times every year, from 1702 until 1719. As there is no account of the building of a church during this time, and as it is hardly possible that the Lutherans would or could have kept up the organization during all this period without a building in which to meet, we should say that, according to all the probabilities, the first church was built between 1701–05. In 1720 the Lutherans at Molatton secured the services of a resident pastor, Rev. Samuel Hesselius, who remained with them until October, 1723. For about ten years thereafter they seem to have been without a regular pastor.

They were supplied by Revs. Lidman and Eneberg. Then Rev. Gabriel Falk, in 1733, became pastor at Wicaco and at Molatton. In 1735 he removed to Molatton and officiated as pastor there during the better part of the next ten years."[277]



SWEDISH CHURCH AT MOLATTON.

Mühlenberg in his diary of September 1, 1753, tells us that he (Mühlenberg) served the little English, Swedish and German congregation at Molatton for a few years, with great difficulty and to the ruin of his bodily powers; but that he could not endure it longer and on the order of the Swedish Provost was relieved by Lidenius, "who has served the same faithfully up to this time." In June, 1754, he writes,[278] "In the region Molatton, or Oley, six-

[277] The Rev. J. W. Early, in *The Oldest Churches of Berks County*, p. 4.
[278] *Hall. Nachr.*, II., p. 187.

teen or eighteen miles from my residence, lying toward the northwest, beyond the Manatawny stream, there was a body of Swedes, English and Germans, whom I served a few years as a filial with great difficulty. As a preacher from the Swedish Ministerium has now become resident there, the Swedes and English people have been well provided for up to the present, but the Germans have been forsaken. Our German Lutherans have built a union school and assembly house with the Reformed, three miles from the Swedish church and are served every two or three weeks by an '*antodidacto*.' I have myself visited our little flock occasionally and have found several awakened souls there. It is to be regretted that it is not possible to get there more frequently."

Molatton quickly went over into Episcopal control. Only six years after the words quoted above were written, William Bird and others sent the following letter:

"To the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London:

"The said county is a very large and growing one and hath never yet had any English minister of any denomination settled in it.

"Praying you that you would be pleased to send over a missionary to reside in Reading, and to officiate also at Molatton, a place 15 miles distant, where a church has for many years been built by a Society of English and Swedes, who are desirous of having a Missionary of the Church of England.

1760. WILLIAM BIRD AND OTHERS."[279]

A missionary of the Anglican Church was soon at hand.

[279] *The Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, by William Stevens Perry, II., p. 289.

In 1763 he was able to write the following letter to London:

"READING, Apr. 9, 1763.

"In Molatton, there are 36 families of our church, consisting of 232 souls, whereof 65 are under 7 years of age; all of these are baptized to a very few, being chiefly of Swedish extract. At Molatton there is a ruinous kind of church built of Logs or rough Timber about 30 years ago by the Swedes, and as a great part of the Congregation consists of these and have been hitherto allowed the use of it. "ALEXANDER MURRAY."[280]

We are under the impression that the Anglican minister reported to London that this old church of the Swedes was in such a dilapidated condition and that it would cost almost as much to repair it as to build a new one. But two years later, in 1765, the Swedish and English people had funds in hand for the repair of the church, and a fully-fledged Episcopal Church organization reported to London that they are deeply grateful that the Episcopal Church has been established in that region. The letter is as follows:[281]

"MOLATTON, 17th June, 1765.

"The Petition of the Church Wardens and Vestry of the Episcopal congregation at Molatton in the county of Berks.

"Your petitioners do most heartily concur with their Brethren at Reading in presenting their humble and grateful acknowledgments for the benefit of the Mission appointed them: and as they are allowed £60 out of the

[280] Perry's *Historical Collections*, II., pp. 345-347.
[281] Perry's *Historical Collections*, II., pp. 383, 388, 389.

profits of a Lottery for repairing their church, they have engaged to raise £100 more [etc.]

John Kinlin, John Warren } Church Wardens

John Godfrey, George Douglas, Maurice Jones, Peter Jones, John Old } Vestrymen

From this correspondence it appears that already in 1760 it was stated that there was a church at Molatton which had been built for many years. In 1763 the church was stated to be a building of logs and rough timber in a ruinous condition, which had been erected early in the third decade of the century. Next to Reading, Molatton appears to have been the most important ecclesiastical charge found in Berks County, and though served by the Rev. Falk to 1745, and by a Swedish clergyman as late as 1754, a few years after it was ready to be turned over to the Anglican Church.

The earliest dates in connection with transactions of the Hill Church in Oley are not earlier than 1741 and 1747. These records were made by Rev. Lucas Rauss. He commenced the Baptismal records in 1754, so that it is evident that he got the facts for entry after he came there.

There also was a Swedish and German congregation at Neshaminy in 1719, and the Swedish pastors probably paid some early attention to Germantown.

In how far the Swedish pastor of Molatton ministered, when he was in that region, in the first three decades, to the contemporary and neighboring German church at Falckner's Swamp is not known; but we know that the early German Lutherans in Amity Township, for the most

part, held their membership in the Swamp Church ;[282] and it is quite possible that both Rudman and Sandel maintained alive the spiritual interests of their old friends, the Falckners, in the little church at the Swamp. The Rev.



MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA SETTLEMENTS CONTAINING EARLIEST LUTHERAN CHURCHES.

Gerhardt Henkel performed the same service for the Falckner Swamp congregation from 1718 on. Already before

[282] The Rev. J. W. Early, in *The Oldest Churches in Berks County*, p. 2.

1726 Rev. Henkel had preached to the Lutheran Germans at Germantown.

ALL the activity of the Lutherans up to this point was in the lower plain. But let us turn for a moment to the second reach of settlements, the curving Northampton, Lehigh, Berks region. There was a congregation far up in the northeastern corner of the Pennsylvania part of the Kittatiny Valley, near the forks of the Delaware, whose organization preceded that of Germantown. Doubtless among the customers of the Allans and the Wisters and other land speculators in Philadelphia who had holdings in Northampton County and who bought homes from these persons was a company of German Lutherans who settled in Petersburg, Northampton County, and who organized the church there, called the Emanuel Lutheran church as early as 1723.

Probably the next church organization to be effected was that of the Lutheran church on the Tulpehocken.[283] Of the thirty-three families of emigrants that had arrived in the spring of 1723, "it is said that the Lutherans came together and determined to erect a church as early as 1725." Some even claim that this meeting was held immediately after their arrival in 1723. But it is certain that their church must have been completed by or before 1727. For in that year they presented a petition to the court at Philadelphia for the laying out of a road "from their church at the Tulpehocken to the high road at the Quaker meeting house, near Boone's Mill, in Oley."[284]

To the year 1728, with the arrival of the Stoevers at Philadelphia, if not to Gerhard Henkel of earlier date, is probably to be credited the first beginnings of the Lutheran

[283] The Zion or Rieth's Lutheran church, about one-half mile east of Stouchsburg, on the north side of the Tulpehocken.

[284] The Rev. J. W. Early, in *The Oldest Churches of Berks County*, p. 4.

Church at Philadelphia and at New Providence. In 1729 there were the beginnings of the Lutheran Church at Lancaster, and in 1730 at Earltown. The little Zion church in Franconia township, in the Perkiomen district, is also said to have been established in 1730. In 1730 St. John's, in Nordkill (Bernville), was established. In 1731 Rev. Stoever began regular services and the congregation in the Oley Hills was organized.[285]

In 1732 the Old Goshenhoppen and the New Goshenhoppen churches in the Perkiomen district and the Conewago church in McAllistertown in Hanover, York County, across the Susquehanna were established.

In 1733 Stoever began the Muddy Creek congregation in Lancaster County, the Codorus in York County, the Swatara congregation near Jonestown in Lebanon County and the Hill church near the Quitopahila also in Lebanon County. In the same year also the Lutheran church at Dillingersville, Upper Milford, was formed, and not long afterward a log schoolhouse was built and a school established.

In 1734 the Zion church on the heights of Moselem, Berks County, was begun.

In 1737 the warrant for the land, on which the Old Blue church in upper Saucon Township stands, was drawn, the records of this church dating back to 1740.

In 1738 the Jordan church in Lehigh County was begun, and also the Christ church in Rockland Township, Berks County.

In 1739 St. Paul's, Pennsburg, took its start.

[285] In 1731 five baptisms of Stoever are credited to Oley; in 1732, 1 to Oley and 3 to Colebrookdale; in 1733, 5 to Oley Hills and 3 to Colebrookdale. The difference in dates would indicate that he had made four or five trips each year for the purpose of holding services. The Rev. J. W. Early, in *Historical Sketch of Church on Oley Hills.*

In 1740 St. John's on the Forks of the Delaware, now at Easton, arose. St. Paul's of Trexlertown and the Heidelberg church in Lehigh County also date their beginnings from this year.

In 1741 the Jerusalem church in Salisbury Township took its rise.

In 1743 Christ church on the Tulpehocken, Stouchsburg and Frieden's church in Tohickon Township, Bucks County, as well as Zion's church in Chester County, were organized.

In 1745 the old Macungie in Lehigh County, the Bindnagel in Londonderry Township, Lebanon County, the Christ church in Shaefferstown, Lebanon County, and the Bermudian in Adams County were organized.

In 1746 the Jerusalem congregation, Allemangel, Berks County, the Alsace in Muhlenberg Township, Berks County, the Schwarzwald congregation near Reading, the Brickerville congregation in Lancaster County, were organized.

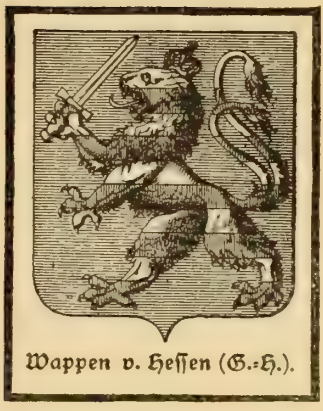
In 1747 the Paradise congregation in York County was organized and in 1748 Ziegel's congregation in Weissenberg, Lehigh County, sprang into life.

Before proceeding to a look at the birth and growth of Lutheranism in all these various spots of the German territory of Pennsylvania, it will be well to attempt the study of a life whose details have never before been brought together by the pen of a biographer, whose general character has been involved in great obscurity and uncertainty, but whose activities, deeds, and results, entitle him to the position of Founder of a majority of the early Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER XI.

The Organizer of Churches.

John Caspar Stoever.[286]



Wappen v. Heſſen (G.-H.).

FOR nearly a generation after the Great Exodus, there was no general attempt made to organize congregations among the multitude of Lutheran settlers in the Province. In fact there were no clergymen here to attend to such matters.[287] On Sept. 11, 1728,[288] the ship *James Goodwill*, David Crocket, master, from Rotterdam brought over a Lutheran clergyman, Johann Caspar Steffer, Sr., and a

[286] See *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. XVI., 1897, pp. 435–441. Jacob's *History of The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, pp. 181–191, 204, 224. Schmauk's *Old Salem in Lebanon*, Chap. 4 and Chap. 11. Mann's *Life and Times of Mühlenberg*, pp. 102, 112, 119, 127, 142, 144, 157, 174, 183, 188, 213, 241 sq., 351 sq. *Hall. Nachr.*, I., pp. 36 sq., 40, 42, 45, 49, 67, 118, 175 sq., 178, 191 sq., 197 sq., 422, 434, 563, 587, 633, 676. *Records of Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Baptismal and Marriage*, 1730–1779, translated by F. J. F. Schantz, Harrisburg, Pa., 1896.

[287] Several exceptions have already been noted.

[288] J. C. Stoever in the record of his own life gives this date as Sept. 29th. His memory may have been mistaken in his old age or he may perhaps have dated his arrival from a different point of time than the one given in the list of *Names of Foreigners who Took the Oath of Allegiance* published by the State.

Lutheran theological student, Johann Caspar Steffer, Jr. In an old record the two missionaries upon their arrival were designated as "S. S. Theol. Stud. and Missionair." It is commonly supposed though not really known that the two were father and son. They were near relatives of the two distinguished Lutheran Theologians, John Frederick and John Philip Fresenius. The latter of these two theologians took a deep interest in the founding of the Lutheran Church in this country and aided his two relatives here in their work as pioneer missionaries in various ways.[289]

The annotaters to the *Halle Reports* (Vol. I., page 563) add to the confusion existing in regard to the identity of the two Stoevers by giving the earlier data in the life of the elder Stoever as a part of the biography of the younger Stoever, though the date of birth given at the beginning of the sketch is that of the younger Stoever, and not of the elder. A comparison of the data in this life of the elder Stoever with the data given by the younger Stoever in his own biography under his private Record of Baptisms[290] establishes the fact almost beyond a question that the two were father[291] and son.

[289] John Philip Fresenius was a preacher and devotional writer born in the Palatinate in 1705. He studied at Strassburg. He was pastor at Giessen, Darmstadt, Frankfort-on-the-Main. He declined the general superintendency of Schleswig shortly before his death in 1761. At Darmstadt, 1736–1742, he founded an institution for proselytes. "His polemical writings against the Moravians were an episode of a life otherwise devoted to the cultivation of depth of spirituality, which he combined with loyalty to the Lutheran Confession. Besides his *Meditations on the Gospels of the Church Year*, and *Sermons on the Epistles*, his *Confession and Communion Book* [1746] is the most important of his writings."

[290] *Records of Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Baptismal and Marriage*, 1730–1779, Harrisburg, Pa., 1896, p. 3.

[291] Johann Caspar Stoever, the elder was born in 1685 at Frankenberg in Hesse. "His father, Dietrich Stoever, conducted a mercantile establishment. His mother Magdalena was the daughter of Andrew Eberwein, pastor at Frankenberg. One of his baptismal sponsors was John Christian Eberwein, pastor and head teacher in the Pedagogium at Giessen, which position was held

There is no definite record of any work having been done by the elder Stoever for the first five years after his arrival in Philadelphia, that is from 1728 to 1732.[292]

Inasmuch as we find a comparatively flourishing congregation in existence in Philadelphia in 1733, and as the younger Stoever does not seem to have performed any acts in Philadelphia prior to Oct. 15, 1733,[293] and as he is

for a long time after by a relative of the Stoevers, John Philip Fresenius, one of the most prominent and the warmest friends of the Lutheran Church in America. Already in youthful years Stoever was a teacher at Amweiler on the eastern slope of the Hardtberge, and received from there good testimonials of his descent and his character, which were prepared for him by the elders of the congregation. Here he had also attended to the playing of the organ, and probably engaged in theological studies. In the year 1728 he sailed with 90 Palatines on the ship *Good-will*, David Crocket, master, of Rotterdam, leaving Deal on the 15th of June and landed in Philadelphia on the 11th of Sept."—*Halle Reports*, Vol. I., p. 563.

[292] In 1732 he began to labor in Virginia where he ministered to the pastorless Germans who had settled in Spottsylvania. His salary was three thousand pounds of tobacco a year. His congregation here sent him, together with two laymen, Michael Holden and Michael Schmidt, in the fall of 1734, to Germany, to solicit funds for church purposes. They carried with them a certificate, signed by Gov. Gooch of Virginia, and dated Sept. 18, 1734. These commissioners were welcomed in London by Ziegenhagen and other London pastors, and they were recommended by them to Germany and Holland. In Hamburg the Lutherans gave them a large amount of money and a library of valuable theological books. In Danzig a young man, George Samuel Klug, was ordained to assist in the work in Virginia, and with the laymen returned to the latter place in 1736. Stoever remained in Germany for the purpose of completing the collection funds. In 1737 he published a pamphlet describing the condition of the German Lutherans in Virginia. "This pamphlet is exceedingly rare and consists of four pages, quarto." Pastor Stoever, with the home of John Philip Fresenius at Darmstadt as a center, continued his collections so successfully that the total amount of subscriptions, as shown by the original list, still in existence, amounted to £3,000 sterling. Of this one-third paid expenses of the trip, another third was devoted to the building of a frame chapel and the purchase of farm lands, and another third to the purchase of slaves for working the farm. In the spring of 1738 Pastor Stoever started on his return voyage to Spottsylvania in Virginia, but he died on shipboard and was buried in the sea.

[293] As is shown in his own Official Records of Acts. Of the Philadelphia Lutheran Register, Mr. Sachse (*Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. VII., p. 536) says: "A record (by Stoever) giving a list of baptisms was still in possession of the congregation at the time of its centennial celebration in 1843. This fact was substantiated by a memorandum by the father of the present writer, who was then in the corporation or vestry. This book cannot now be found, and does not appear to be in possession of the Zion congregation."

known to have been very busy in the country parts of the Province in these years, it seems reasonable to conclude that the elder Stoever perhaps organized the congregation of German Lutherans in Philadelphia in 1728, and certainly performed functions of his office there during the five years that he remained in Pennsylvania, while the younger, unordained Stoever, confined himself to organizing congregations in the interior until after his ordination in 1733.[294]

The further history of the Philadelphia congregation, that possibly was organized by the elder Stoever will be taken up and continued in a later chapter, while we here turn our attention to the younger Stoever, the theological student, who, as is shown by his official records, travelled from point to point among the German settlements in the province and wherever a group of scattered Lutherans was to be found, brought them together into a regular congregation.

JOHN CASPAR STOEVER was only twenty-one years of age when he arrived in this country in Sept., 1728.[295]

[294] "Just where these missionaries labored during the eighteen months that intervened from the time of their arrival to the time of the earliest entries in the Baptismal Record of New Providence (Trappe) in March 8, 1730, is an unsettled question. Whether they gathered together the straggling Lutherans in the Quaker City and formed them into a congregation with a regular church organization, or whether they labored among the Germans who had settled in the fertile valleys between the Delaware and the Susquehanna, will perhaps never be known to a certainty.

"It is difficult to separate these two missionaries, or even to assume definitely as to what particular communities they ministered, on account of the similarity of their handwriting. Even a carefully investigated comparison has failed to give any positive clue to show which of the two started such church registers at the Trappe and elsewhere, as are dated prior to 1733" (J. F. Sachse, in the *Lutheran Church Review*).

[295] Stoever appends a brief biography of himself, written at the age of nearly seventy-one years, to his own Personal Record of Baptisms and Mar-

He went to the neighborhood of the Trappe, and spent part of his first year there.[296] We know that in the year 1729 he officiated at some marriages and baptisms at Philadelphia and at Lancaster. He was not ordained. There was no one at hand who was capable of examining or ordaining, or even of administering the Holy Sacraments in Pennsylvania. Baptisms were administered in case of necessity by laymen. Under such circumstances Stoever, meeting the desire of the people, began the pastoral office in what are now Montgomery, Lancaster and Berks counties.

On March 8, 1730, he baptized a young child at the Trappe, daughter of John George Marsteller, and perhaps opened the earliest existing Lutheran Church Record in Pennsylvania. On the 18th of March, 1730, he solemnized

riages, immediately after the entries of births and baptisms of his own children. It reads as follows: "Johann Caspar Stoever, father of the children named above [in the record of baptisms], was born December 21, 1707, in a place named Luedorff, in Solinger Amt, Duchy Berg, in Unter Pfaltz. His parents were Johann Caspar Stoever (a native of Frankenburg in Hesse) and Gertraudt (family name not given), born in Amt Solingen. When he was six years of age he learned to read German perfectly in four weeks under his father's direction. After this he also commenced to study Latin under his father. Subsequently he received private instruction in Latin and Greek from four pastors successively, named H. Nicolaus Muentz, H. Samuel Bratschisch, H. Valentine Kraft and H. Antonius Pfaffman, and later in the languages named, as also in Hebrew and French, and likewise in theology from H. Knabel and finally from H. Special (Superintendent), Adolph Ruehfeld at Brumath, three hours (twelve miles), from Strassburg. Journeyed from Europe to America in 1728 on the Rhine and on an ocean vessel, preaching on Sundays. Arrived in Pennsylvania Sept. 29th and continued to preach; ordained on April 8, 1733, by Christopher Schultz, p. t. pastor in Philadelphia, and was married at the same time to Maria Catarina. They became the parents of the above named children (eleven named in record of baptisms). His wife was born May 14, 1715, at Lambesheim in Chur Pfaltz. Her sponsor was Catarina Ursula Schmidt. Her parents were Christian Merckling and his wife Catarina, nee Brucher.

"November 2d, 1778—Whilst I am writing this cursum vitae, my age is by the grace and help of God 70 years, 10 months, 1 week and five days."

[296] *Halle Reports*, I., p. 563.

a marriage, probably at New Providence. During this his second year in America, in May, 1730, Stoever removed to New Holland, Lancaster County.

As he travelled from settlement to settlement, he preached to the people, baptized young children, and married a large number of couples. Doubtless occasional objections to his ministrations were raised, from the fact that he was not yet ordained. In the summer of 1731 Stoever travelled to Raritan, N.J., and presented himself to Daniel Falckner[297] as a candidate for ordination.



"After hearing Stoever's trial sermon, Rev. Falckner refused to ordain him. Stoever returned to Pennsylvania. Whether Falckner detected any lack of spiritual-mindedness or of ability in the young man, or saw some defects of character in him, or whether his views of ordination forbade the administrations of the rite in such a way, it is impossible to say."[298] He returned to our Province, and became one of the most extraordinary and indefatigable missionaries, that Pennsylvania has had.

His work was of a very different character from that of Mühlenberg ten or twelve years later on. He was the one pioneer missionary and was obliged to deal with the rude and gross conditions of a neglected generation of people

[297] "Daniel Falckner, who was then growing old and unable longer to serve his widely scattered congregations with that regularity which had been his custom, had requested all of the congregations to secure another pastor. Johann Caspar Stoever hearing of this, presented himself as a candidate, stating that he was willing to assume the charges, provided Falckner would ordain him to the ministry."

[298] *Old Salem in Lebanon*, A History of the Congregation and Town, pp. 15 and 16.

gathered together to listen to the Word of God for the first time. There were no organizations and no modes of worship. There was total ignorance on the part of the rising generation, and in general all the rudeness of a primitive and pioneer life. Stoever was without a definite call, and arrived and officiated in an individual capacity and not, like Mühlenberg, as a special representative of a powerful and well-accredited missionary institution in Europe and of the civil government in London. He had not the grasp of a general organizer such as the mind of Mühlenberg revealed so clearly and firmly; nor did he seem to have the same detailed care and insight for the future. He insisted on orthodoxy strenuously and even violently, and nothing can ever be said against his adherence to the Unaltered Augsberg Confession.

He unquestionably endured hardships, such as are described at length in Mühlenberg's diary, with far greater frequence and with much more equanimity than Mühlenberg himself: for he was obliged to travel in the frontier far more extensively and regularly than Mühlenberg. He doubtless accepted the dangers and exposures of such a life as a matter of course, and his constant round of travel in the settlements for a whole generation must excite our admiration and wonder at his powers of endurance. But he lacked that deeper spiritual sense, that inner spring of piety, that sense of large responsibility and accountability which Mühlenberg possessed. He probably regarded his work in the light of a professional career, and not with the constant anxiety for the salvation of souls, nor with the personal and deeply born sense of consecration which was such an absorbing element in Mühlenberg's spiritual life. He associated more frequently with people in their ordinary pursuits. The material side of the world

and the material affairs of his people doubtless had a large degree of interest and charm for him.

He probably looked to his material interests, and the fees and salaries which he received were a consideration in determining his clerical course. In this he was not different from many clerical students and older ministers in our own day, including some who are eminently respectable. But pastors and missionaries in whom the worldly-wise side of their development occupies a large sphere, are not the ones who wield the greatest influence for the Kingdom of God.

Stoever, throughout his long and eventful life, continued in the ministry, performing a great abundance of work in many fields. In the month of March, in 1730, we find him executing ministerial acts at Providence and Falckner's Swamp. After his return from New Jersey in 1731 he travelled to many places in Philadelphia, Montgomery, Berks and Lancaster counties. In the fall of 1731, on October 24th, he was at Coventry, in Chester County, south of the Schuylkill. On the same day and for a time in December he was at Falckner's Swamp. On October 30th, again November 27th, and again January 24, 1732, and February 10th and 24th, he was at Manatawny. During November and December, 1731, he was at Oley. In December he also was at French Creek. On March 19, 1732, he was at Maxatawny. In January, 1733, he was at Oley. In the week before the 4th and 11th of February, 1733, he must have itinerated from one extreme limit of his district to another, from Conewago to New Providence. In the month of June he was again at Falckner's Swamp.

Thus Stoever continued to travel, with his home at New Holland as a center, throughout the length and breadth of

the German and rural part of the Province, during the whole of 1731, 1732 and the early part of 1733.

Meantime the congregation in Philadelphia and the one at Falckner's Swamp were growing, amid many tribulations, in strength and coherency, and, with a third congregation then forming at the Trappe, came into some fraternal relationship with each other prior to or during the year 1732. A pastor from Germany of whom we shall hear in a later chapter had appeared in Philadelphia and taken charge of the three congregations in the fall of 1732. In December, 1732, this Pastor Schulze visited Lancaster, probably with the purpose of securing Stoever's services during his own absence on a proposed collecting tour in Europe.[299] In accordance with an arrangement made between Schulze and Stoever in Lancaster, the latter reached New Providence in the spring of 1733, and was ordained there, in the barn in which church services were being held at that time.[300]

[299] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 176.

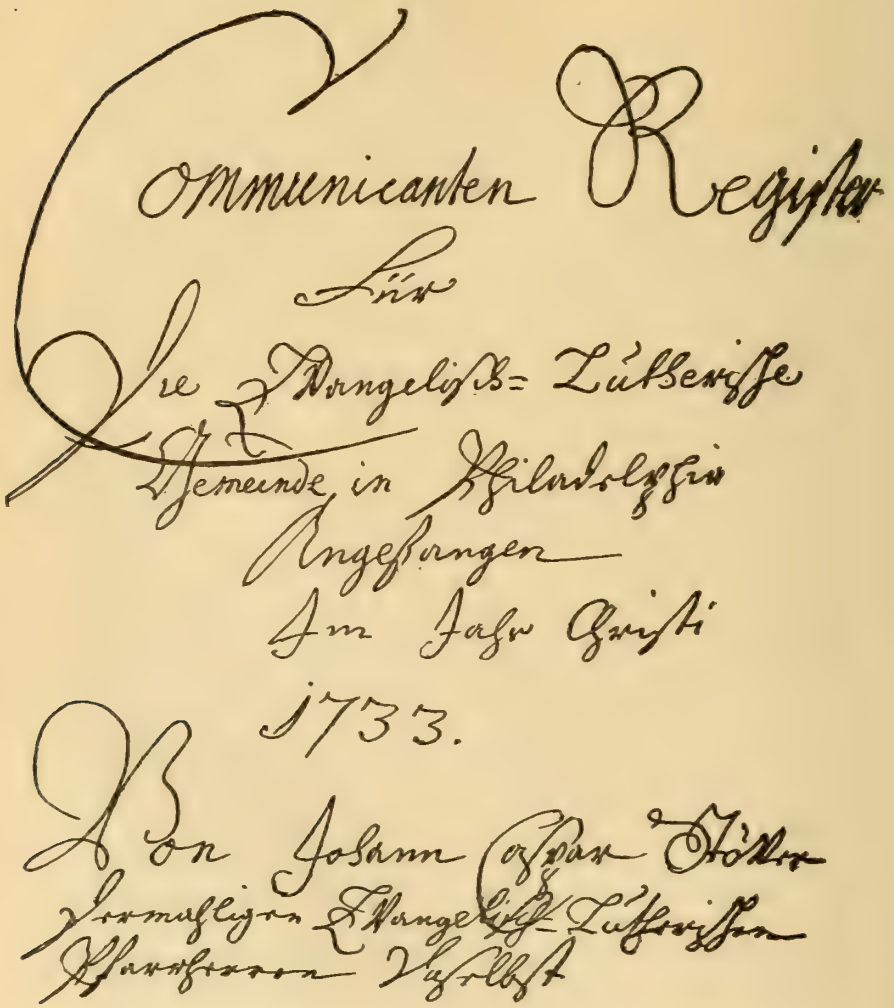
[300] Mühlenberg himself preached in this or a similar barn at this place when he first took charge of the congregation on April 8, 1733, and was elected as the successor of Schulze. According to Mr. J. F. Sachse (In *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. XVI., p. 440), "History is silent as to where this solemn service took place. Stoever himself, while he gives the date, fails to mention either the place or particulars. It was heretofore generally supposed that the rite was conferred in Philadelphia. But according to the Moravian records which probably give the true facts, the ordination took place in the barn at the Trappe (New Providence), wherein the Providence congregation worshiped prior to the building of the present church. The enemies of Stoever in the Tulpehocken difficulties cast it up against him that he had been ordained in a tavern. But there seems to be no evidence for such an assertion. That the ordination lacked those elements of good church order and solemnity that are to be found for example in the case of the first ordination that took place in America in the Swedish Church at Philadelphia is undeniable. But that it was a valid ordination, and under the circumstances of this primitive frontier church life was necessary and justifiable can scarcely be denied."

On Stoever's ordination see *Büdingen Sammlungen*, 12 stück, V., p. 832. In a private writing of the 6th of August, 1747, now in the library of the Historical Society at Gettysburg, H. M. Mühlenberg incidentally makes the remark:

This was the second ordination of a Lutheran pastor in America. Stoever at once took charge of the three congregations, pastor Schulze sailing a month after the ordination. Stoever's first pastoral act as an ordained clergyman was a marriage two days later, on April 10, 1733, when, as is recorded in his own private records,[301] he married Friedrich Heinrich Geelbwichs to Maria Dorothea Euler. As was his usual habit Pastor Stoever began regular parochial records in each of these three congregations. The two books in which his Philadelphia records were begun will be examined when we come to speak of the history of the Philadelphia congregation. He held communion in Philadelphia on the 21st Sunday after Trinity, October 14, and administered it to forty-six men and forty-nine women, ninety-five in all. This was in the fall of 1733. In February, 1734, June, 1734, September, 1734, in January, April, and June of 1735, he again administered communion at Philadelphia, having over fifty communicants at each service. He certified to the correctness of the accounts of the congregation. The church was repaired under his pastorate in 1735 and fourteen public services were held during the year. His last entry in the Philadelphia register was made under the date of June 8, 1735. In assuming charge of this Philadelphia congregation he did not give up his pastorate in the country parts of the Province. On the contrary he seems to have itinerated over the whole of eastern Pennsylvania, returning to the city only at intervals. Some time between

"If one ordains a man to be minister, he must have a certain definite congregation." On the ordination in the barn see the report, written with much pains in the *Bewährten Nachrichten Über Herrnhut Sachen* von J. Ph. Fresenius, III., p. 548, ff. See also *The Tulpehocken Confusion*, by the Moravian Meurer.

[301] *Records of John Caspar Stoever*, p. 63.



FACSIMILE TITLE OF STOEVER'S PHILADELPHIA CHURCH RECORD.

1735 and 1740 he appears to have abandoned his ministration to the congregations in Philadelphia, leaving the latter to take care of themselves, and to have returned to the country congregations.[302]

We are told by the *Halle Reports* that he returned from Philadelphia to reside at New Holland in the fall of 1733. During the year 1733 he was exceedingly active in Lancaster, preaching for the congregation which had already been organized there and which was having regular service. On the 18th Sunday after Trinity, three weeks prior to his first recorded communion in Philadelphia, he administered the Lord's Supper to 149 communicants in the Lancaster congregation, and he records lists of communions that he held there later. In 1734 and 1735 he held services at Lancaster with comparative frequency, as the records of the Sunday collections show. His services were then temporarily interrupted. On November 7, 1736, however, he received a call signed by the church members in Lancaster, and thus appears to have become its first regular pastor. He, together with several members of the congregation, including John Michael Weybrecht, furnished the congregation with a full set of communion furniture at their own expense.

The congregation at Lancaster now erected their first church, which was consecrated by the pastor, Mr. Stoever, October 28, 1738. He again administered the Lord's Supper on this occasion. The church that was dedicated contained an altar of stone which several liberal members had supplied, surrounded by a walnut railing. The steeple on the church was furnished with bells. Mr.

[302] *Halle Reports*, p. 67, Letter of Oct. 15, 1739, of the congregations to Ziegenhagen: "There is not one high German Lutheran minister at this time in the whole county except Casper Stüber who is sixty English miles away from Philadelphia."

Stoever continued to be pastor during 1739, and for some months afterward.[303] "The entries in the Lancaster record in Stoever's hand run on full and regularly until 1739. They become fewer in 1741 and 1742. In 1743 they again become full. Probably there was no other pastor in Lancaster before 1742.[304]

In addition to work at Philadelphia and at Lancaster in the year 1733, he also in that same year began the church records of New Holland, Muddy Creek, Bernville, and Tulpehocken Evangelical Lutheran Churches. He was still a resident at New Holland and was pastor of the church there from 1730 to 1746, a period of sixteen years. In September, 1733, the period when he was so extremely active, he organized the congregation on the Codorus,[305] where the town of York subsequently arose. He came regularly to York from his residence at New Holland, and later from Lebanon, for a period of about ten years, when he resigned the York pastorate.

The dangers of his frontier travels, the primitive conditions of life and the exposure to which an itinerant pastor was subject in those days can partly be realized through an account that has come down[306] to us of the organization by Mr. Stoever, of the Berg Kirche on the Quitopahila, situated on the southern slope of the gravel range, north of the present railway in Lebanon, and three and one-half miles west of Lebanon. It was in a heavily wooded district. Mr. Stoever is said to have organized the congregation already in 1733. Speaking of the congregation Dr. Lochmann says: "Already in the year 1733 it was gathered at

[303] For these details see Rev. Dr. G. F. Krotel's Memorial Volume of Trinity Church, Lancaster. Printed by John Baer's Sons, 1861.

[304] *Halle Reports*, p. 176.

[305] See *Halle Reports*, p. 564.

[306] In an article of Dr. George Lochmann's *Evangelische Magazin* for 1812, Vol. I., p. 20, quoted in *The History of Old Salem in Lebanon.*

a time when the Indians still made frequent incursions into the region and murdered. Mr. J. C. Stoever was preacher at that time and interested himself in the scattered sheep. The people met together, took up a piece of vacant ground, and built a wooden church. In the beginning they were content to bring it under roof, and to use logs as seats and only after a number of years were they able to finish it. The hunger for the Word of God and the zeal for divine service must have been very great at that time, for the hearers gathered from far and near, and did not permit themselves to be kept away by any dangers. Frequently guns were taken along to church for defense on the road, not only against wild animals, but also against the far wilder Indians; and when service was held, men with loaded arms were frequently set outside as sentinels." There is an old tradition that Pastor Stoever would take his gun with him into the pulpit. There was no stove in the log building, and it is said that in the winter months a wood-fire of logs was built on the outside of the church, around which the people would sit and warm themselves before the service and until the minister arrived.

After his ordination Stoever returned to Earltown and now visited Lutherans who lived west of the Susquehanna River. Several of the original members of the York congregation, Sebastian Eberle, George Schuhmacher and others had come across the sea with him. The oldest road which the immigrants from Philadelphia westward took, led them past Stoever's house at Earltown. He may have met some of them on their journey to York and may even have visited there, although no early baptism of his was recorded. He constituted them a regular organization by the election of elders and deacons, as was also done in the case of all the other congregations organized by him. From the

whole region of the Codorus were the members of this Lutheran congregation, west of the Susquehanna gathered, and with them the congregation of Lutherans on the Kreutz Creek probably were also associated. Nearly ten years long Stoever served the congregation at York regularly, and generally, according to records in the church register, once a month. In 1732 he baptized 191 children there and married 34 couples. He resigned in April, 1743. At Conewago, Hanover, York County, Mr. Stoever records the baptism of Jacob Kitzmiller in 1731.

In 1733, the year of Stoever's enormous activity, he was married, and this fact may perhaps have something to do with the great amount of work which he performed during this year.

We now reach a dark page in the history of Stoever's life. He became involved in what is known as the Tulpehocken Confusion and his career stands out, as recorded in this terrible scene of early times, in an unfavorable light. This was in 1735. His first step in connection with the matter appears to have been an attempt to gather the opposition party of an already existing congregation around himself in order to became pastor of the congregation. How far he was to blame in taking this and other following steps, it is almost impossible for us to say. The accounts that have come down to us were all inspired by those who were not his friends. It was in connection with this Tulpehocken Confusion that Mühlenberg first came into contact with Stoever, and some allowance must be made for the fact that it was just in this period of intense excitement and bitter partisan spirit that Mühlenberg first made the acquaintance of the man who had been his predecessor in the field for a number of years.

It is exceedingly difficult to arrive at a fair estimate of

the character of Stoever. He certainly stood in the communities for God and true religion in general, and especially for a sound and unadulterated Lutheranism in particular. But he was not a Pietist, and he was lacking in qualities of heart in which Mühlenberg excelled. He may have been quick in temper and censorious in spirit. The *Halle Reports* do not recognize the value of the heroic work that was performed by this pioneer missionary in the whole rude backwoods region of Pennsylvania, in making the first rough clearings for the church and in gathering the scattered timbers of Lutheranism and preventing them from falling into decay, prior to the arrival of Mühlenberg and the band from Halle.[307]

The severe strictures on the conduct of Stoever and the low estimate in which he evidently is held during a considerable part of his career very probably have some prejudices at their root. On the one hand, Stoever, having been in this country for fifteen years before Mühlenberg, and being a considerably older man, and having borne the roughness of the shocks in the wilderness, might naturally feel a little jealous of the young man who had come over from Halle and who was destined to entirely supplant him as the pioneer organizer. On the other hand Mühlenberg, coming with all the rights of a call which combined the spiritual authority of Germany with the civil authority of the Court of England, and finding such terrible confusion here in the province, and being obliged to deal with vagabond preachers and with all the elements of the difficulty that the crisis induced by Count Zinzendorf had just brought on, and seeing Stoever in his most miserable aspect here at Tulpehocken, very possibly was inclined to pass judgments on the man that were not entirely impartial. Moreover, Weiser's attitude to Stoever was uniformly hostile.

[307] Nevertheless, see *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 564.

Nevertheless, it certainly weighs against Stoever that in none of the important congregations which he organized did he remain as pastor for any great length of time or establish schools for the education of the young. After several years of service he abandoned the Philadelphia congregations for some unknown reason, though he had been ordained expressly for the purpose of taking charge of them. In the flourishing church at Lancaster he brought trouble and confusion and shame upon the whole Lutheran community. At the Tulpehocken his course was very violent. It is true that in all of these cases he may have been roused to desperation—the good old-line Lutheran that he was—by the inroads that were being made by Moravianism. Some men become very indiscreet and show very weak points of character in emergencies.[308] In those early days when party spirit ran high and the feelings of the settlers were very crude, there is much to be said for a pastor who, having grown up with the people in the region, finds himself confronted with one who is his superior in authority, education, spiritual force and character, and who acts against him in the presence of the people and of the charges to which he was most heartily attached. Yet difficulties and divisions, even in his old age in connection with the formation of the church at Lebanon, seem to indicate that he was indeed of a quarrelsome and troublesome spirit and very hot-headed, as Mühlenberg describes him. Whether it was his custom throughout life to make free with those gathered in taverns and bar-rooms as some aspersions cast upon him in partisan spirit seem to indi-

[308] There were times when difficult situations reacted locally even on the character of Mühlenberg, and when what was said against the latter, if reported as gossip and recorded for posterity as fact, would have been very damaging.

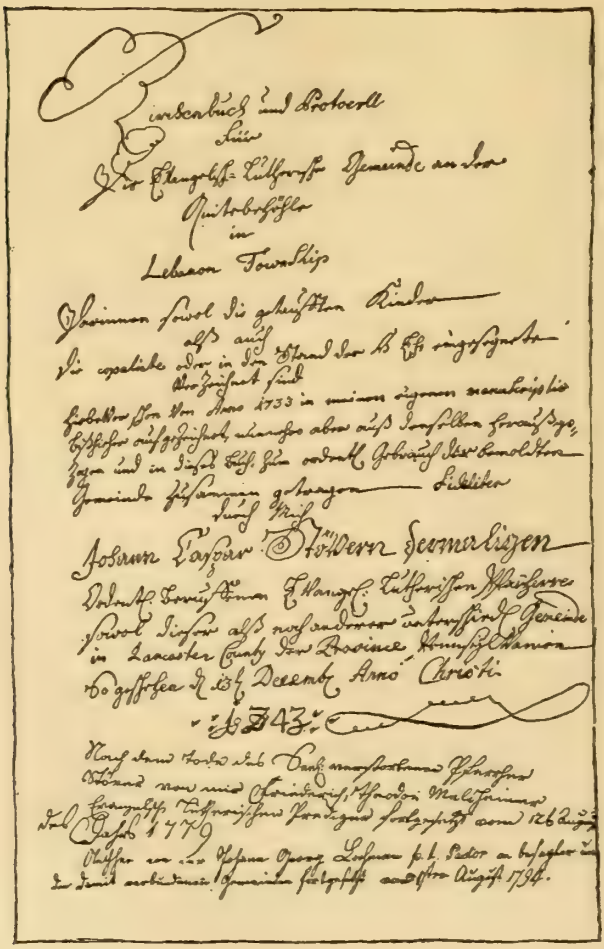
cate, or that he was habitually given to drink,[309] can by no means be inferred by these statements.

In 1742 Stoever was publicly deposed from the ministry in the quarrel at Tulpehocken, by Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians, and in 1743 the new Christ Church at Stouchsburg, which Stoever's friends had helped to build, and of which he had hoped to become pastor, had at the suggestion of Mühlenberg, elected Tobias Wagner as their pastor.

Thus cut off at Tulpehocken and with the Moravians coming and making inroads as far as Hebron on the borders of his Hill Church, Stoever, after the Tulpehocken church dedication in 1743, no doubt decided that the Hill Church, also, should be improved and rebuilt and have a ceremony of dedication. On the day before the dedication, the Lutherans and Reformed united in the adoption of a mutual agreement which stated that both had built and both should possess a common interest in this church. This agreement seems to be in the language of Stoever and probably was drafted by him.[310] The dedication occurred on the 12th of August, 1744. The agreement consists of twelve articles, of which the first five run as follows:

[309] In the manuscript addition to the diary of Mühlenberg, printed by Dr. Germann from the Archives at Halle, given Vol. I., p. 442, *Halle Reports*, we find the following: "The German-Reformed have up to this time had a wanton sinner, Caspar Schnorr, as preacher, who has recently been punished by the public town and county court because of a *Begangenen-Nothzüchtigung*. The Mennonites cast it up to him that Caspar Stoever recently had a case in the court, and became so intoxicated in a tavern that he had vomited, '*stube voll*,' before many people, and of all kinds and classes, but I told him that he did not belong in our connection, etc. Several of the honorable Reformeds who are ashamed to hold with Caspar Schnorr attend the Moravian assemblies. These affairs just mentioned were diligently spread in the German papers and were inferred *a particulari ad universale*."

[310] See *History of Old Salem in Lebanon*, pp. 22-23.



FACSIMILE TITLE OF STOEVER'S LUTHERAN HILL CHURCH RECORD.

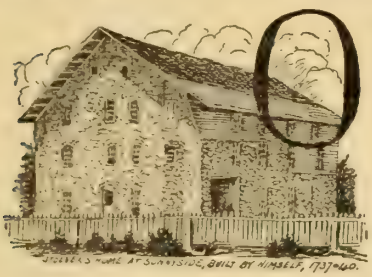
1. No other doctrine shall be proclaimed in it, nor the Sacraments be otherwise administered, than solely according to the clear and pure rule and guide of the Word of God, in the whole of the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and according to the institution of Jesus Christ, to which is added on the part of the Evangelical Lutherans the unchanged Confession of Augsburg, and the symbolical books of the same ; but on the part of the Evangelical Reformed, the Heidelberg Catechism, together with their Confessions.

2. The respective ministers shall avoid in their sermons all unnecessary dispute and offensive controversy in relation to matters of religion, but rather direct their minds and thoughts upon this, that the Word of God be preached as well, pure and unadulterated as also clearly, intelligibly, and in an edifying manner.

3. No other preachers but such as have been regularly called either by the whole congregation, or at least by most of the members of the congregation, shall have right and power on either side to perform their official duties in the same.

4. It shall absolutely not be allowed by either party to any preachers, let them call themselves Lutheran or Reformed, if they have but the slightest external fellowship with those so called Herrnhuthian or Moravian Brethren, much less if they should ever teach their principles, nor yet to any other Sectarian ministry, of whatsoever name they may be, to teach in this church, nor even to perform the slightest clerical service.

5. Should it ever happen, sooner or later, that such a preacher, let him call himself Lutheran or Reformed, or otherwise, should come in sheep's clothing, and persuade the congregation by lies and deception, to accept him as clear and true, but the deception be some time after revealed but in the slightest degree, then such an one shall immediately, without delay, be dismissed.[311]

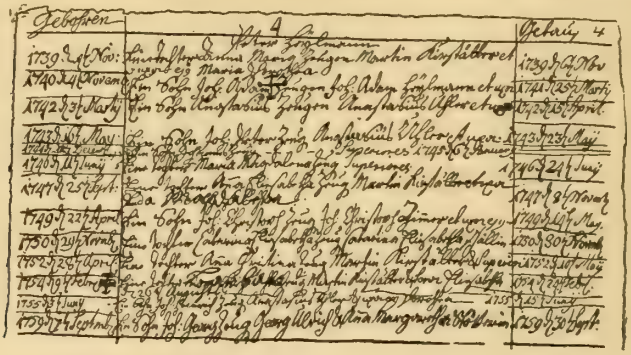


HOME AND MILL OF JOHN CASPAR STOEVER ON THE QUITOPAHILA.

NLY a short time prior to the Tulpehocken Confusion, Pastor Stoever had left New Holland and settled on the Quitopahila, a few miles west of the present town of Lebanon. His family was growing and he prepared for a life-settlement on the banks of the Quitopahila for several years prior to his removal. On March 1, 1737,

[311] *Hill Church, Rules of 1744.* Given in *The Trial of John Keller and others, Lebanon, 1842.* Printed in *History of Old Salem in Lebanon*, p. 24.

he took out a warrant for 300 acres of land and a few warrants for additional land later on. In 1737 he began the erection of his substantial home on the Quitopahila, which was both a house and mill, and in which he lived and died, and which is still standing and in use.[312] Three years were



FACSIMILE FROM STOEVER'S HILL CHURCH RECORD.
HEILMAN FAMILY.

consumed in finishing this strong mill structure, with its walls three feet thick. Finally the building was ready for occupancy and in 1740 Pastor Stoever removed from New Holland to his home on the Quitopahila. However, he continued to travel until near the end of his life.

He permanently identified himself with the community on the Quitopahila as one of its prominent members.

On the 20th of January, 1747, Mühlenberg addressed a lengthy and very plain-spoken letter to Pastor Stoever in which he shows the latter the way of repentance, the way of preparing to preach, and the way of conducting himself

[312] The mill, known as Stoever's mill, is still run daily by water-power, and is the property of the well-known antiquarian Henry S. Heilman, of Sunnyside. Mr. Heilman's ancestors are among the original flock of Stoever in the Hill Church, and among the earliest records written by Stoever in the church register are the baptisms of the Heilman family.



PRESENT EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR OF HILL CHURCH, LEBANON CO.
ON THE RIDGE NEAR THE HOME OF JOHN CASPAR STOEVER.
STOEVER BEGAN THE REGISTER OF THIS CHURCH IN 1733

as a pastor.[313] He speaks of giving Stoever a written invitation to a conference regarding "the brotherly uniting and the growth of our church." It is difficult to say with the facts at our command whether this letter is a necessary rebuke or an unnecessary impertinence[314] on the part of the patriarch of our Church. It necessarily seems to be either the one or the other.

About the time of the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, Stoever, with Rev. Tobias Wagner, and the imposter Andreä seem to have formed some sort of combination against the new organization of "The Pietists, as they called the members of the Ministerium." They appear to have offered ordination to Schoolmaster Streiter, though the latter refused it and applied to the Ministerium.[315] For Stoever and Wagner, Mühlenberg and the Hallensians were not sufficiently orthodox, and they attempted to obstruct the pathway of the latter and to awaken suspicion against them, although Mühlenberg was not at all unwilling to labor with them.

A manuscript part of Mühlenberg's diary, not published in the *Hallische Nachrichten*, shows that it was under the attacks of Stoever and Wagner that Mühlenberg came to use the sacramental formula and the direct address to the child in the baptismal question which was found in the liturgy prepared by him under date of April 28, 1748. He writes:

"On the 28th of April we conferred in Providence regarding a proper liturgy to be established in our congregations here. We had indeed up to this time a small

[313] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., pp. 197, 198.

[314] The Ministerium had confidence enough in Stoever to appoint him on its *Examining* Committee. See p. 269.

[315] Handschuh's *Diary*, [MS.] *Hall. Nachr.*, pp. 679, 685. Schoolmaster Streiter is to be distinguished from the Rev. Christian Streit.

formulary among ourselves, but had never settled on a uniformity in all points, but we had been waiting until more laborers should reach the field and until we became better acquainted with the circumstances of the country. To adopt the Swedish liturgy was neither expedient, nor necessary, inasmuch as most of the members of congregations in this district are natives of the Rhine and the Main, and they regard the singing of the collects as popish. Nor could we select the liturgy to which each person had been accustomed from youth, because nearly every land, or town, or village possessed its own. Therefore, we took as a foundation the liturgy of the Savoy Church of London. * * * But none the less did the reverend pastors, Wagner, Stoever and other low-minded ones take occasion to stir up a number of simple-minded people, and pretended that we would introduce the Wurtemberg or the Zweibruck, or other similar liturgies, and made the people believe that we wish to lead them away from the Lutheran doctrine and praxis. For example, we thought to use the words of the Lord Jesus himself in the distribution of the blessed bread and wine: Take and eat, this is the body of Jesus Christ, etc.; 'Take and drink, this is the blood of Jesus Christ in the New Testament,' etc. In the baptism of children we wished to ask the sponsors, 'Do you in the name of this child renounce?' etc. As over against this, those opposed created a disturbance already before we were finished. We therefore at once changed the words to what those wished to have it whose consciences troubled them [this is to be understood as almost ironical in case of a man like Stoever], namely: 'This is the true body,' etc.; 'This is the true blood,' etc.; and in the formula of baptism, 'Peter, Paul, or Maria, dost thou renounce,' etc." [316]

[316] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., pp. 436, 437.

In 1750 Rev. Mr. Stoever passed through a severe illness and was unable to speak and lay almost unconscious for one week. At that time he was still serving five or six congregations, and as he was well to do, he did not need much support from them.

Stoever seems to have been somewhat haughty, determined, independent and rough in manner. In May, 1750, Mühlenberg, who had gone to Lancaster to attend the wedding of Handschuh, unexpectedly met Pastor Stoever, and Stoever told him that his illness had made him thoughtful and repentant and had brought about a change in him. Mühlenberg then asked him whether he would not join the Ministerium of Pennsylvania which had been organized several years before. Instead, however, further, of sending him a formal invitation to the meeting of the Synod, in its place Mühlenberg sent him merely an invitation to a private conference of pastors. This act of Mühlenberg's embittered Stoever very much and he wrote Mühlenberg a long letter.

Dr. Mann in his life of Mühlenberg gives the following account of this affair: "The meeting of Synod was this year to take place at Providence; the resolution formerly passed to hold the meetings alternately at Philadelphia and at Lancaster was consequently, at least, practically rescinded. Mühlenberg had on his visit to Lancaster met Stoever, who had undergone a very severe spell of sickness. He was then serving a number of congregations not very far from Tulpehocken, was intimate with Wagner, and was in comfortable circumstances. Weiser requested Mühlenberg and his brethren to invite Stoever and Wagner to Synod, for reasons which were not without force. The Rev. Dr. J. Ph. Fresenius, court-preacher at Darmstadt, afterward senior of the Lutheran ministry at Frankfort-

on-the-Main, a relative of Stoever, had plead by correspondence for a union of Stoever with the united pastors. In his conversation with Stoever at Lancaster, Mühlenberg had asked him whether he would visit Synod provided an invitation were sent to him: Stoever said he could not make a promise until he had conferred with Wagner. Mühlenberg added that he had in his mind no more than a neighborly good understanding. Mühlenberg's colleagues objected, and did not wish Stoever's presence at the transaction of the regular business of Synod and at the then proposed ordination of Weygand; which, however, as we know, did not take place at that synodical meeting. Finally, it was resolved to invite Stoever and Wagner to be present the day after the regular meeting of Synod. At this Stoever was very indignant, and gave vent to his feelings in a long and acrimonious letter. Wagner was present on the appointed day and gave the brethren a piece of his mind without any reservation, but consented to what Mühlenberg calls a 'neighborly amnesty.'"

However, on Sunday morning Oct. 19, 1760, "Mr. Caspar Stoever, Preacher," appeared early at the meeting of Synod "as an uninvited guest."[317]

During the session on Monday Pastor Handschuh and several elders who had on the evening before lodged in the same house with Rev. Caspar Stoever and had talked with him, stated that Mr. Stoever "was offended because we had not invited him, and when he had joined us yesterday we had treated him so coldly, although he sought nothing else than Christian fraternal fellowship in his old age, and would like to have the congregations which he yet served prosper after his death." Answer was made "that in 1753 he had been at the synodical meeting in Tulpehocken, and

[317] *Documentary History of Pennsylvania*, p. 46.

afterwards had greatly abused the privilege, and even in the preceding year had treated several members of the Ministerium unfairly; and as to the cold treatment, we did not know how to do better than we had done, since he was at our two-hour private conference last evening and heard the most valuable practical truths, and also joined in the conversation himself. If, in the meantime, he would conduct himself in a Christian manner, and we could in any degree see that it would be an advantage to all, and especially to him, he might be invited next time, God willing."[318] However, thirteen years after, in 1763, both Mühlenberg and the members of Synod agreed[319] that Stoever should join the Synodical body, and he did. The President of the Synod and the members gave Stoever hand and heart and put the misunderstanding aside.[320] Stoever now preached to the Synod in St. Michael's, Philadelphia, and two years later was Mühlenberg's guest in the latter's own house. In any estimate of Stoever's character, it should not be forgotten that he had, in Germany, had Valentine Kraft for a teacher, and may in his early career have been influenced by his preceptor's bad example.

In 1764 the Rev. Mr. Stoever was fifty-seven years old. For thirty-five years, winter and summer, he had travelled as a missionary through the pathless wilderness.

For several decades he also was engaged in the mill business at his home at Sunnyside. In the year 1763, he became the head of the Lebanon Land Co., and the general overseer of the temporal affairs in the town of Lebanon. This served to increase his worldly influence and cares in many ways. He was the best educated man

[318] *Documentary History of Pennsylvania*, p. 56.
[319] To the surprise of the authorities at Halle.
[320] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., note 71, p. 587; II., 547.

in the community and seems to have had a capacity and bent for the management of properties and many of the old deeds for lots in Lebanon are in his own handwriting.



He presented lots to the Salem Lutheran and to the Reformed congregations of Lebanon for church and for burial purposes. His relation to the origin of the Salem church in Lebanon is obscure. He probably was consenting to its organization and was its first pastor. There were divisions and difficulties connected with this new congregation, Rev. Stoever, threateningly, being on the one side and Rev. Kurtz, who may have invaded his territory, on the other side. The dispute was brought before Synod, Sept., 1772.[321]

In 1768, 1769, 1770, Rev. Stoever was present at Synod and took an active part in the business proceedings and in the worship of the body. In one of these years he was a member of the examining committee, and, we think, Peter Mühlenberg appeared before him as a candidate. He was also there in 1773.

Rev. Stoever continued to hold services in the Lebanon church until 1779, the year of his death. On the 13th of May, 1779, he had an appointment to confirm his catechumens at the Hill Church. Not being well, he asked them to come to his home on the Quitopahila. While he was administering the rite of confirmation to the class, he suddenly dropped down dead. Thus ended the career of this extraordinarily hardy Lutheran pioneer, at the age of seventy-five years. His will is officially registered in Philadelphia.

[321] For further account of this dispute see *History of Old Salem in Lebanon*, pp. 85, 86.

Eines
Jeglichen Menschen
nach solchem Wort und Nahmen
aus
deutlichen Sprüchen
Der heiligen Schrifft
in
Catechetischer Ordnung
gezeigte Christliche
Glaubens- und Lebens-Pflicht.

Coloss. 1, vs. 28.

Wir verkündigen und vermahnen alle Menschen / und lehren alle Menschen mit aller Weißheit/ auf daß wir darstellen einen jeglichen Menschen vollkommen in Christo JESU.

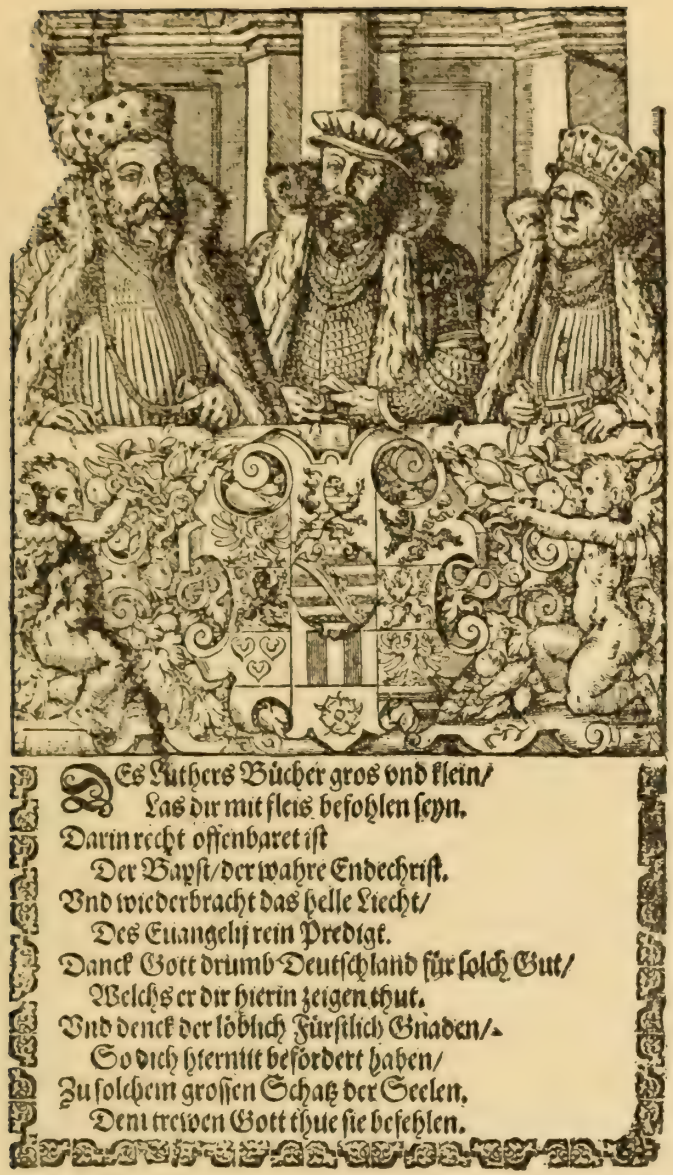
STRASBURG

REV. JOHN CASPAR STOEVER'S PRIVATE COPY OF NEUMAN'S GLAUBENS- UND LEBENS PFLICHT. (Full size Facsimile Title.)

One of the great services which John Caspar Stoever has rendered to posterity and to the history of his church, is his careful transcription, during fully a half centurys' remarkable pioneer activity, of all his official acts. He began at least one-half dozen local church records in connection with his organization of congregations, viz., at Lancaster, Earltown, York, New Providence, Philadelphia, one or two points in Lehigh County, and Hill Church, Lebanon County, and in addition kept a very complete personal record of baptisms and marriages performed by himself in his missionary itineration throughout the whole Province at points where no permanent congregational organization was effected, or where he officiated outside of the points of that organization. This latter record appears to include very little of the data that are given in the local church records,[322] and the collation of all his records when once attempted in detail, will afford an immense amount of valuable historical matter to multitudes of Pennsylvania families, scarcely less precious than are the lists of names of immigrants found in the Pennsylvania Archives and in the publications of Rupp.

The writer has before him several ancient and time-worn volumes, rapidly going into decay, which constituted a part of the original library of John Caspar Stoever. One of these is his prayer-book. His name is written across the title page in fading script. This book, in addition to M. Casper Neuman's *Kernaller Gebäte* in *Wenig Worten*, contains a *Glaubens- und Lebens-Pflicht*, composed of passages of Scripture arranged in catechetical order, together with *Hellmund's Jubel-Predigt* on the 25th of June in the year 1730 at Weisbaden, on the occasion of the

[322] For instance, the records of the baptisms of the family of Peter Heilman, given in the Hill Church Record in 1739, are not found in the personal record of Stoever; but in the latter we find the baptisms of the children of Adam Heilman in 1740 and 1742.



Des Luthers Bücher gros vnd klein/
Las dir mit fleis befohlen seyn.
Darin recht offenbaret ist
Der Bapst/der wahre Endechrist.
Vnd wiederbracht das helle Liecht/
Des Euangelij rein Predigt.
Danck Gott drumb Deutschland für solch Gut/
Welchs er dir hierin zeigen thut.
Vnd denck der löblich Fürstlich Gnaden/
So dich hierinn befördert haben/
Zu solchem grossen Schatz der Seelen.
Dem treuwen Gott thue sie befehlen.

REV. JOHN CASPAR STOEVER'S WELL-WORN COPY OF A LUTHER FOLIO OF 1533. (Reduced Facsimile.) 273

200th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, and also a report of the *Poor and Orphan House at Soese in Westphalia*, which consists of the constitution of the institution, and a very curious and lengthy list of the gifts and benefactions to the same from the year 1726 to June, 1729.

Another imposing old folio of 533 pages, originally bound in ornamental pigskin, with title page missing, but apparently printed as early as the year 1538, is a collection of the writings of Dr. Martin Luther, in the perusal and study of which Rev. Stoever doubtless spent many of his leisure hours, and to which he owed much of his theological knowledge. The book is exceedingly worn throughout. In contents it is very varied, and contains the writing of Luther to John the Elector of Saxony in the year 1533, that of the *Gestaldt des H Sacrament* in 1533, *Luther's Urtheil uber Herzog Georgen*, 1533; *Die Kleine Antwort auff H Georgen Nehstes Buch*, 1533; *Summa of Christian Life out of the I Epistle of Timothy*, 1533; The *Second Article* of the Christian Faith, 1533; *Von der Wincklmesse*, 1533; *Warnung Schrift an die zu Frankfurt am Meyn sich für Zwinglischer lere zu hüten; Vier Vorreden, Dr. Martin Luther's*, 1533; *the 65th and 101st Psalms*, 1533; *Trost Schriften, Dr. Martin Luther's*, 1533; *the XVII Chapter of John*, 1533; *the XV Chapter of Paul's I Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1533; *Schöne Predigen von der Heiligen Taufe*, 1535; Sermon of Dr. Martin Luther on Matthew VIII, 1535; *Einfältige Weise zu Beten*, 1535; *the I Article of the Creed*, 1535; *Vorrede Dr. Martin Luther's Auff die Neue Zeitung von Münster*, 1535; *Etliche Sprüch, Dr. Martin Luther's Veber das Concilium Obstandiense*, etc., 1535; *Schrift an Margrave Albrechten*, 1535; *Vorrede auff Historia zu Stazfort geschehen*, 1535; *Psalm XXIII*, 1535; *Psalm*

XXIX, 1535; *Hochzeit Predigt*, 1536; *Straf Schrift*, 1537; *Augsburg Confession*, printed in 1535, with the following remark printed at its head in the margin: "This confessio or profession, etc., should have been printed in the year '30 according to its order, but at that time there was a lack of copies of the first edition. Therefore it has not been printed until the present time"; Apology of the Augsburg Confession, 1536; two sermons of Luther on Matthew IV, 1537; *Donatio Constantini*, 1537; *Vorrede Dr. Martin Luther's Auff etliche Brieffe Auff Johannis Huss*, 1537, etc.; *Von der Gewaldt des Papsts*, 1537; lists of the doctors and preachers who subscribed to the Confession and Apology in the year 1537; *Vorrede Auff die Historia Gaeltig Capella vō Herzog zu Meyland*, 1538.

We have given the contents of this ancient and original volume of Luther's writings in some detail because it will be possible for the reader to form some idea of the intellectual furnishing which John Caspar Stoever received through his meager but precious library for his ministrations in the pulpit. It is quite possible that the disputatious element in his life and preaching received inspiration from the positive and polemic elements contained in the rich contents of the volume now before us. His books, other than German, he bequeathed to the St. Michael's and Zion's Corporation, Philadelphia.

While still in the freshness and ardor of youth, and prior to his ordination in 1733, John Caspar Stoever settled in a little country village in what was then Lancaster County, and made that the center of his missionary operations. It is to the congregation in that village that we now turn.

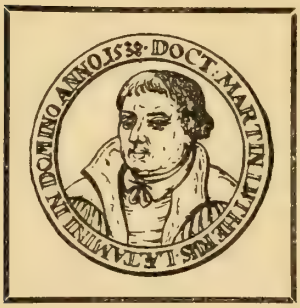


CHAPTER XII.

Earl Town and the Conestoga Valley.[323]

Biographies of Rev. John Samuel Schwerdtfeger, Rev. William Kurtz and Rev. Wm. Beates.

Warwick and Muddy Creek Congregations.



IN looking over the records of official acts performed by John Caspar Stoever, we see that many of them are located at Conestoga, Cocalico, Moden Creek, Octorara, Beaver Creek, Pequea, Leacock and Warwick.

The center of all Stoever's operations in these regions was the little hamlet built upon the old Horse Shoe Road, running east and west, and situated on a slightly elevated limestone ridge, from whence the ground slopes northward toward the Conestoga and southward toward Mill Creek, thirteen miles in a northeast direction from Lancaster. This was Earl Town. Earl Township was erected in Lancaster County in 1729, taking its name from the first white

[323] *Hallische Nachrichten*, I., pp. 177-178. *Memorial Volume of Ev. Lutheran Church, New Holland, Lancaster Co., Pa.* By Jno. W. Hassler, New Holland, Pa. *The Three Earls.* An Historical Sketch. By F. R. Diffenderffer, New Holland, 1876. *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, I., pp. 232–238.

settler within its limits, and is clearly delineated in the original court docket.[324]

Conestoga Township, of which this territory was a part, had been erected in 1718, and included all the territory west of the Octorara Creek to the Conestoga Creek, and north probably to the present limits of the county. Here the first white settlers came. The southern part was tenanted with Mennonites, and the upper part with Reformed and Lutherans. Connections were direct to Oley, Falckner Swamp and the settlements of the Schuylkill. The "Paxton Road,"[325] running from Harris's ferry to Philadelphia, passed through what is now the village of Hinkletown. A third road led from Conestoga to Pequea, crossing the Horse Shoe Road about two miles west of New Holland.

In this Conestoga valley, as a central backwoods point, Peter Beissel had established himself and had begun the great revival among the Mennonites already in 1722–23; and the first congregation of the German Baptist Brethren had been organized in 1724. These stirring religious developments had the effect of causing Conrad Templemann to gather the Reformed people about him and to conduct Sunday services in private houses, in the year 1725.[326]

Stoever on his arrival must quickly have learned of the religious movements which had been arising in the Conestoga valley and which had already extended from thence

[324] See F. R. Diffenderffer's *The Three Earls*, p. 30.

[325] Now known as the Harrisburg and Downingtown Turnpike.

[326] "The church in Conastoka has had its *origin in the year 1725*, with a small gathering in private houses here and there, with the reading of a sermon, with singing and prayer, according to the German Reformed Church order on all Sundays and holidays, but want of ministers, without the administration of Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper." (Conrad Templemann in his letter to the Synods of North and South Holland, February, 1733.)

into the Schuylkill valley as far as Falckner Swamp. He also doubtless had heard of the organization by Boehm of the Reformed part of the union church on the Cocalico in October, 1727, and of the administration of the Holy Communion to the Conestoga Reformed church on the 15th of October, 1727. He did not yet know that Rev. Peter Miller would arrive in a few months in Philadelphia to stir so much trouble in the Reformed Church. But he undoubtedly saw that Earl Town was the key to the future of the Lutheran Church in the Conestoga valley, and with its accessibility to the land farther west toward the Susquehanna districts, and to Virginia (it lay on the chief road between Pennsylvania and Virginia), the Tulpehocken, the Oley and the Schuylkill districts, he found it wise to establish himself at once in this storm-tossed religious center. Accordingly he took up his residence here in May, 1730, the year after the little hamlet had been laid out and measured off into building lots. The appearance of Stoever at this time in the Conestoga valley undoubtedly was a fortunate thing for the Lutheran Church.

In the spring of 1733 Stoever left the Conestoga valley for Trappe and the Schuylkill valley, and having been ordained meanwhile, returned to Earl Town in September of the same year. "From a dim date upon the cover of the book, it would seem that he commenced the records of this congregation in the year 1734, but recorded in it his previous ministerial acts here, the first of which are the baptism of John Balthasar Wendrich, and bears date May 1, 1730." The title of the book reads: "List of baptized children in the congregations at Mill Creek, Pequea, Bebber Creek."

The wooden church probably was erected shortly subse-

quent to 1733. "This church edifice was built of logs, but the date of its erection it is impossible now to ascertain."[327] It was situated on four acres of ground which the proprietaries of Pennsylvania presented to the congregation in May, 1744.[328] Rev. Stoever continued to be pastor here until the close of 1746. He removed to Lebanon County in 1740, when the people united with the Lutheran congregation at Lancaster in an application to Mühlenberg and Brunnholz for a pastoral supply. In the spring of 1747 and 1748 Rev. Peter Brunnholz, of Philadelphia, preached here and administered the Lord's Supper to 70 communicants. He was accompanied by Rev. Mühlenberg and Rev. John Frederick Handschuh.[329] Rev. Handschuh had just taken charge of the Lancaster congregation. On the 7th of June seven persons from Earl Town came to him and "very humbly requested a sermon on the second Whitsuntide, which, however, notwithstanding their persevering entreaty, the church council of this place (Lancaster) and the deacons refused."

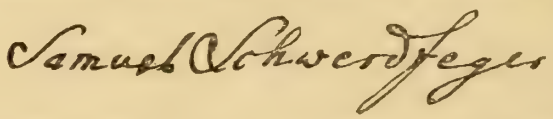
But on the 16th of June Rev. Handschuh rode out on horseback to Earl Town with six of his Lancaster church officers, preached there, held catechization, and talked of many things with the congregation concerning their future

[327] Hassler's *Historical Sketch*, p. 24. Among the familiar names which appear in the early records of the congregation are, Kitzmiller, Leightner, Swope, Weidman, Ranck, Long, Rein, Ellmaker, Diller, Kinzer, Mentzer, Rapp, Weidler, Gross, Fisher, Messersmith, Kohler, Ulrich, Schiell, Geist, Diffenderfer, Oberly, etc.

[328] The land was granted by patent to George Schwab, Wendell Zwecker, J. Berger, Nathaniel Leightner and Michael Rein. Both church and parsonage were erected on it. "The old parsonage is still standing back of the Eagle Hotel in this place, and is used as a dwelling house. Most of the land thus granted, together with the old parsonage, was in after years sold by the congregation and thus passed out of its possession." (Rev. J. W. Hassler, 1880.)

[329] Christian Neumeister, Jacob Kinzer, Michael Oberle and Frederick Baum, were installed as deacons of the congregation at this time.

arrangements. The Lancaster church council then laid down the conditions under which the Earl Town congregation could participate in Rev. Handschuh's call. This pastorate of Rev. Handschuh's at Earl Town, begun in June, 1748, did not continue long. The health of the new pastor was not robust, and after several experiences in crossing the Conestoga and riding in severe weather, he was obliged to cease preaching there during the winter months.



In the early part of 1749, the congregation called the Rev. Tobias Wagner, of whom we shall hear later on. This sturdy pastor immediately began his pastoral work here and continued in office until 1755. From 1755 to 1758 Rev. Stoever appears to have supplied the congregation occasionally.

In 1758 a new era seemed to dawn in the Earl Town Lutheran congregation. Rev. John Samuel Schwerdtfeger[330] became the pastor. Now a parsonage was built,

[330] The Rev. John Samuel Schwerdtfeger, as appears in a paper in a writing of superintendent Lerchen zu Neustadt an der Aisch, Mittelfranken in Baiern, of Feb. 27, 1755, was raised there as a poor orphan and after six years was dismissed with the advice not to study but to become a scrivener. Nevertheless he attended the University of Erlangen, hearing theological and juridical lectures for a half year, and then after wandering about in a wretched manner, at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four became a prey of the Redemptioners and was brought to Maryland at the close of 1753 or the beginning of 1754. The captain of the ship might have sold him into service for a period of years, but the report that he was a theological student reached York, Pennsylvania, and Lutherans there who were not satisfied with Rev. Schaum bought Schwerdtfeger free from his passage debt, and he now became their preacher at York. Unfortunately he wrote offensively concerning pastor Schaum to a theological student at Germany and divided all the Lutherans in York into Sadducees, Pharisees, Halle Pietists and Old Lutherans, counting himself to the last. His letter came into the hands of superintendent Lerchen, who immediately reported him to Halle. After his arrival at York Mr. Schwerdtfeger was

and in 1763 the log church was torn down and on April 21st the cornerstone of a new and substantial church was laid. The dimensions are said to have been 40 by 50 feet, with galleries at the side and end. In addition to the pastor, Rev. Gerock, of Lancaster, and Rev. J. N. Kurtz, of the Tulpehocken, officiated on the occasion. A copy of the document deposited in the corner stone is still in existence.[331] Rev. Schwerdtfeger did not enjoy the fruit of his efforts in building a new church, but went to Maryland in 1763, shortly after the laying of the corner stone. Rev. Gerock preached at Earltown once a month during the balance of the year and administered the Lord's Supper, it is believed, in the new church in November. At the end of 1763 Rev. William Kurtz[332] became pastor of the congregation.

ordained by certain pastors not in connection with Mühlenberg. In 1758 he became pastor at New Holland, and in 1763 he went to Frederick, remaining there until 1768, when he journeyed to Europe. About 1770 he removed to Albany, New York, and became one of the founders of the Ministerium of New York. He died in 1788.

[331] The following is the translation of this document, prepared by Rev. J. Kohler: "This document is to inform Christians, and especially Evangelical Lutheran posterity in Pennsylvania, and in all North America, that in A. D. 1763, on the twenty-first day of April, this church edifice was founded and commenced to the glory of the Triune God, and for the exclusive use of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Earltown (New Holland), Lancaster County, in the province of Pennsylvania. In it the doctrines of our church shall be preached according to the Word of God, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and the sacraments be administered in their purity by a minister who has been lawfully called, and is in connection with a regular Lutheran ministerium. The men, who, with the help of God and the liberal contribution of Christian hearts, undertook to carry out this difficult work, were Peter Rapp, Jacob Kinzer, Charles Miller, George Matter and George Stehley. The deacons of the congregation at this time were George Matter, Jacob Glasser and Conrad Kleinkamm."—Rev. J. W. Hassler's *Historical Sketch.*

[332] We supply the following biography of Kurtz from the *Hallische Nachrichten*, and from a chapter devoted to him, pp. 110–117 in *Old Salem in Lebanon.*

Mühlenberg praises Pastor Kurtz as being "always diligent and active in

The new church building and the new pastor seemed to have inspired the congregation with new zeal and to have carried it into a period of great prosperity. In 1764 there were 99 communicants in the church. In 1765 this

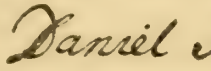
his calling and office, and at the same time a good manager." Mr. Kurtz had a splendid education. He was an orphan. For 15 years he had been trained in the Halle Orphan House in Germany. He studied theology under Dr. Knapp from 1750 to 1753 and arrived in America in 1754. Mühlenberg took him into his own house at New Providence and gave him opportunity to become familiar with the duties of the pastoral office. He also served Mühlenberg as his amanuensis. In the year 1756 we find him as a teacher of the free school established in York, but already in the following year he is a catechist in the Tohicon under Mühlenberg's supervision. He comes to Philadelphia in July, 1757, and takes part in the burial of Pastor Brunnholtz. In 1760 he is examined before the Ministerium because several congregations in Heidelberg, etc., had earnestly pled that he should be made their preacher. After prayer he had to turn to the third chapter of First Corinthians and explain the same in the Latin language, which was done very satisfactorily. Then two Hebrew Psalms were placed before him and he was desired to translate them at once into Latin according to the true meaning of the words. This was also done very fluently. The Lutheran Swedish provost was pleased and said that he did not expect this in the American wilderness, and then began to examine the candidate in Latin on some of the articles of faith. Thus the examinations continued until all testified that he had showed his competency. Some written questions were given him, the answers of which he was to hand in at the future Minister's Conference. (*Halle Reports*, Vol. II.)

He was licensed to preach and in 1761 was ordained at Lancaster. He became his brother's assistant at Stouchsburg, and took charge of Stouchsburg and Bernville in 1763-64, while his brother was away at St. Michael's, in Germantown.

From 1763 to 1779 Rev. William Kurtz was serving the congregations at New Holland and Strasburg, in Lancaster County, and he probably came to Lebanon at least three or four times a year, if not oftener, and ministered to the congregation here. Even if he resided at New Holland, as is said to have been the case, yet his old home was with his brother at Stouchsburg, and he may have spent part of his time there.

The Synod desired him to take congregations in Berks County, Moselem, and others. In the fall of 1780 he is without office and support, but intends to move to Lebanon, where John Caspar Stoever died the year before. He becomes pastor there and remains so a number of years. He served as secretary of Synod. Unfortunately in his older years he held unorthodox views, for instance, that the apostles did not teach aright in certain particulars. Mühlenberg rebuked him and he was humbled. Helmuth writes of him in his diary under December 22, 1792, that his time in Lebanon is over, but that he is unable to get to any other charge.

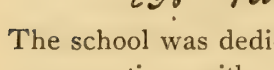
number rose to 152. In 1766 it dropped to 105 and in 1770 it reached the high-water mark, in the number 178. By 1774 it had dropped to 126. The dark days of the Revolutionary War were about to break upon the community. In 1777 there were only 87 communicants, and in 1778 but 43. Before the close of the Revolution the number of communicants ran down to 30. Doubtless both the absence of the men in the army, and also the growth of a rationalistic spirit, from which even the pastor himself at one time in his career was not entirely free, had much to do with the decrease in the number of communicants.



In subsequent years the organization of other congregations in the vicinity, and of an Episcopal church, five miles away, which many believed to be an English Lutheran church, cut off a still further development in the size of the organization.[333] In 1781 Rev. Daniel Shroeter became pastor for about a year. In 1786 the Rev. V. M. Mel-

[333] In April, 1770, the number of communicants was 178, which number, although over a century has since elapsed, has rarely if ever been exceeded at any one Communion of the congregation. But there can be no doubt that the district then covered by the congregation was much larger than ever afterwards. With the exception of the small congregation which had just before been organized at the Bergstrasse, about five miles distant, the nearest Lutheran congregations were those at Lancaster and Muddy Creek, the former thirteen, and the latter about twelve, miles distant. Subsequently, the Lutheran congregation at Mechanicsburg, six miles distant in the direction of Lancaster, and still later, the Lutheran congregation at the Centre Church, some seven miles distant, in the direction of Muddy Creek, were organized, which organizations served greatly to reduce the limits of the territory covered by this congregation. Besides these Lutheran congregations, a church building was erected, for worship in the English language, some five miles distant, now Christ's Episcopal church, near Intercourse, which, as not uncommon in that early age of our church in this country, many Lutherans were led to believe was an English Lutheran church, and were thus drawn away from the church of their fathers. (Hassler's *Memorial Volume of the Ev. Luth. Church*, New Holland, Lancaster Co., Pa., pp. 31, 32.)

sheimer, of whom we shall hear later, became pastor, and remained so until 1790. The great event in his pastorate was the establishment, under his inspiration and direction, of a public school and the erection of a large school building designed for the accommodation of two schools, a German and an English, the latter, by the conditions of the gift, to be in some sense a parochial school. The congregation contributed half an acre of its land for this purpose.



The school was dedicated by the Lutheran and Reformed congregations with great rejoicing and amid a vast concourse of people on December 26, 1787. It did valuable service until the adoption of the present common school system in Pennsylvania. For the subsequent history of the congregation, see the following note.[334]

[334] In 1790 Rev. Henry Moeller, who had been chaplain of a German regiment under Washington, during the Revolutionary War, became pastor of the charge. In 1798 the Rev. John Plitt, of Chambersburg, was called to be pastor and continued in office until March, 1813. He is said to have been under the influence of the rationalistic spirit prevalent in that age. The congregation was incorporated in March, 1804.

In 1814 Rev. Peter Filbert became pastor and in 1815 introduced English services, amid much opposition, once every eight weeks. In 1817 a determined but unsuccessful effort was made to have the English preaching discontinued. At a meeting held for the purpose of disposing of the question, more than two-thirds of the votes cast were in favor of continuing English services. After brief pastorates of Reverends Peter Filbert, John Frederick Engel, and Charles Ruetze, the Rev. John W. Richards became pastor of New Holland, Bergstrasse, Muddy Creek and Allegheny, in October, 1825, and labored here until the spring of 1834. English Sunday evening services were introduced in 1831. After the resignation of Rev. Richards, Rev. C. F. Welden became the pastor in 1834, Rev. W. F. Lehman in 1842, Rev. J. C. Barnitz in 1843, Rev. John Kohler in 1850, when the corner stone of the present church edifice was laid. In 1851 the Sunday-school of the congregation was organized. In 1865 the Rev. J. W. Hassler became pastor. The church building was renovated in 1869. In 1891 the Rev. F. F. Buermeyer (an excellent historical and musical writer, and editor of the General Council *Sunday-School Book*) became pastor and was succeeded in 1899 by the present incumbent, the Rev. Albert Steinhaeuser.

The New Holland Lutheran congregation, though not extraordinarily large in numbers, has always been known for the high order of intelligence and the great religious interest of its church membership.

BESIDES the Earltown congregation the Lutherans had organizations in this region at a very early date at Bergstrasse, Strasburg, Manheim and Warwick. Our limits oblige us to pass over all of them, excepting the Warwick (Brickerville) church, in Warwick Township, and the congregation at Muddy Creek.

The old Emmanuel congregation at Warwick was established as early as 1730 by John Caspar Stoever. It was the central congregation of a pastoral charge composed of Schaefferstädt, Warwick, Manheim and Weiseigenland. The old church record contains the following inscription:

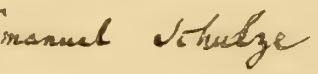
"Kirchenbuch und Protocoll fuer die Evangelisch-Lutherische gemeinde in Warwick de Anno 1730 angefangen. Nunmehro aus andern fideliter extrahiret und hierinn quoad possibilitatem accurat zusammen getragen. Verfertiget von mir Joh. Casper Stoever der zeit. Ev. Luth. Prediger in Canastocken. Anno 1743."

The first recorded baptism took place on February 26, 1731, and the first recorded marriage on the 10th of August, 1735. In 1744 the Penns issued a land warrant to Jacob Kline, Lawrence Hoff, Conrad Glassbrenner, Alexander Zartman, trustees, for 29 acres, for the use of the congregation, for the sum of £4 9s. 9d. on which tract the people immediately built a church. The congregation was visited by Pastors Mühlenberg, Schwerdtfeger and Gerock in 1762. Baron Stiegel represented the congregation at the meeting of the Ministerium in 1762. Rev. J. N. Kurtz was pastor here at this time. A series of short pastorates followed until in 1777 the congregation requested the services of their aged first pastor Stoever.

In the year 1769 the Warwick church passed through a sensation. A tailor, by the name of Mischler, who had been in Pennsylvania for seven years, and been ordained in the Blue Mountains, but who in his examination before Synod showed that he was unfit to preach—when asked

what the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church were, he replied "the Old and New Testament"—had crept into the congregation and caused a split. His party had a boy break through a window and open the door, and held services there. He was brought before the Ministerium and promised to conduct himself in an orderly manner.

Stoever preached there until 1779 and when he died the majority of the members of the church council were present at his funeral at the Hill Church. After a number of pastorates, Emanuel Schulze became minister in 1787 and remained such until 1808, and a new church was



erected. After 1808 the congregation was supplied until 1836 by the Rev. William Baetes.[335] In 1874–76 the diffi-

[335] The Rev. William Beates was born June 14, 1777, in Philadelphia, while the city was in possession of the British. He was very patriotic as a small lad and while shouting for General Washington and the Continental Congress was seized by a Tory in the street, who pulled out large bunches of his hair in order to reduce him to silence. He resided directly opposite Washington's Philadelphia residence, on Market street above Fifth, and frequently saw Washington ride out on his gray war horse, whose hoofs were polished bright with shoe blacking according to the fashion of those days. He belonged to the German Lutheran church, then under the care of Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt. In 1793, when yellow fever was raging in Philadelphia, he was led to believe that God called him to preach the Gospel, but it was not until in 1807, in the thirtieth year of his age, that he entered the study of Dr. Helmuth as a theological student. After being licensed by the Synod of Pennsylvania, he preached his introductory discourse in the Warwick Pastorate on July 8, 1810. He remained pastor of this large country charge for twenty-six years, riding from congregation to congregation with great saddle-bags on each side of his horse, and enduring exposure to all kinds of weather. Later he removed to Lancaster and became pastor of the Zion German church for fifteen years. Here he baptized the writer of this volume, whose father became his successor in Lancaster. Annually he would receive the salary placed in his hands by the church council and would return the whole amount to the church officers to be used in reducing the debt of the congregation. He was irenic in character and very bright and good-humored in discourse. Two of Rev. Beates's descendants are in the Lutheran ministry, Professor W. A. Beates in Ohio, and Rev. J. A. Beates in Wilkesbarre.

culties in connection with the new measure movement occurred in the congregation and the celebrated Brickerville church case was tried four times at Lancaster and was twice taken to the Supreme Court, the final decision not being handed down until 1886. As a result of this decision the congregation and its property remained in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the adherents of the East Pennsylvania Synod withdrew and established a new congregation.[336]

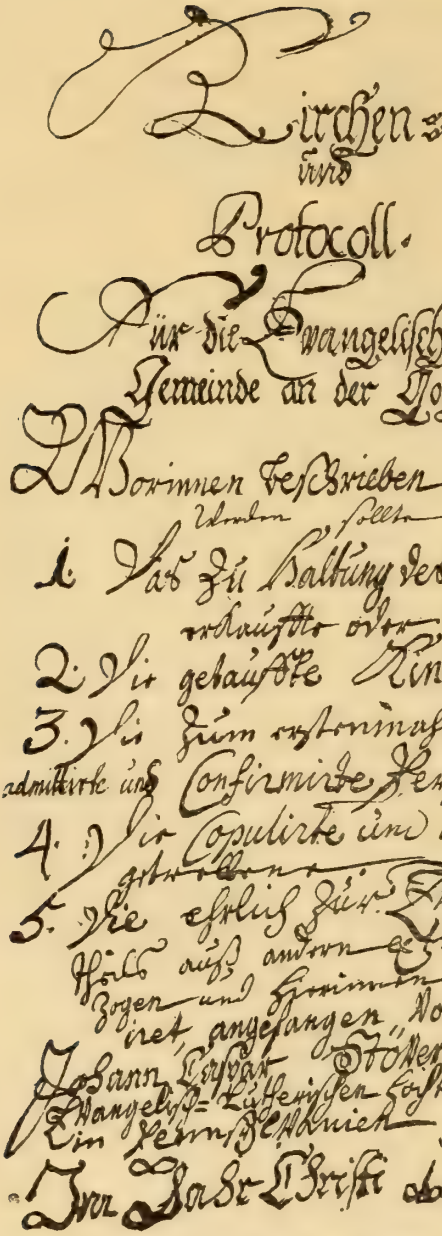
TWELVE miles north of Earltown was the Muddy Creek, and two or three miles northeast of the Muddy Creek flowing parallel with it and ultimately emptying into the Conestoga, is the Cocalico Creek. Ephrata is situated on the latter creek. There were very early settlements on both these creeks near to each other, and Pastor Stoever began the record of the Muddy Creek congregation in 1733, naming it "Record of the Congregation on the Cocalico." Already in July, 1728, a baptism had been performed here by a layman, named Alexander Zartman, which was entered on the record. Between 1730–1733 several baptisms had been administered by the Rev. Peter Miller, Reformed minister at the Tulpehocken,[337] which Stoever entered into his record. The Rev. J. Christian Schulze must have visited this congregation at the close of 1732, since there is a baptism recorded in December, 1732.[338]

When it was determined to build a church for the congregation in the region of the Cocalico, "a site was selected about six and a half miles northeast of Ephrata,

[336] See *History of the Brickerville Congregation in Lancaster County.* By Rev. F. J. F. Schantz, D.D., Lancaster, Pa., 1899.

[337] Who, however, joined the Sabbatarians at Ephrata.

[338] There are others by Schulze in the Lancaster Record at this time.


Kirchen- Buch.
und
Protocoll.
für die Evangelisch-Lutherische
Gemeinde an der Yogallico
Worinnen beschrieben und aufgezeichnet
1. Die zu halten des Gottesdienst
2. Die getaufte Kinder
3. Die zum erstenmahl zum Abendmahl
admittirte und Confirmirte Personen
4. Die Copulirte und in den Ehestand
5. Die ehrlich zur Erden bestattete
Höll aus andern extrahiret und aufge-
zogen und hiermit fortan continu-
iret angefangen von mir
Johann Caspar Stöller dermahligen
Evangelisch-Lutherischen Hochteutschen Pfarrern
im Yorck Gebiet
Im Jahr Christi 1773.

FACSIMILE OF MUDDY CREEK CHURCH REGISTER.



MUDDY CREEK (BERGSTRASSE) CHURCH AND GRAVEYARD.

SHOWING RARE OLD PORTRAIT TOMBSTONES.

and a log church was raised on a commanding knoll in what is now Brecknock township, beyond the Bucherthal. This congregation in church annals is known as the Muddy Creek (*Moden Creek, Mode Crik*) church, and is still a Union church where Lutherans and Reformed worship upon alternate Sundays."[339] This territory in 1734 and 1735 was the scene of the Rev. Peter Miller's[340] permanent and of Conrad Weiser's temporary conversion to the Sabbatarian teachings of Beissel and the Ephrata community. Excitement ran high in those days, and Pastor Böhm on the Reformed side with Pastor Stoever on the Lutheran side had their hands full in stemming the tide that was setting in favor of Sabbatarianism through the influence of such shining examples. Excepting an interval of five years, from 1796 to 1801, the Muddy Creek congregation was affiliated with Earltown and was served by the latter's pastor, until 1838. In the latter year it united in a pastoral charge with Brickerville, and at the present time it is connected with the Reamstown charge, Rev. G. B. Welder, pastor.[341]

From these hills and valleys of the Conestoga and its tributaries we now turn to survey the rise and growth of the German Lutheran Church in the largest and most important settlement of the whole region, and, in early days, of the whole Province.[342]

[339] *The German Sectarians*, p. 234.

[340] Rev. Miller is referred to above, as having administered several baptisms recorded in the Muddy Creek Church Record.

[341] For balance of the history of the Muddy Creek Congregation, see *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 178.

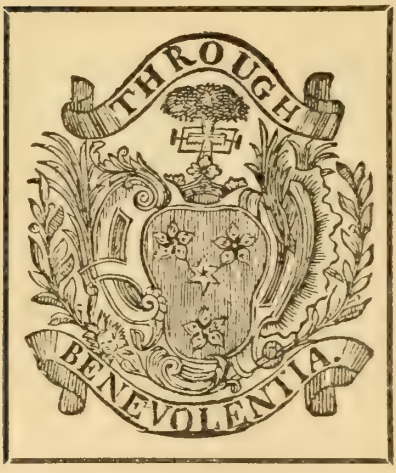
[342] Outside of Philadelphia.



CHAPTER XIII.

The Lutheran Church at Lancaster.

Revs. J. C. Stoever, L. Nyberg, J. F. Handschuh, J. S. Gerok, H. C. Helmuth, H. E. Muhlenberg, C. L. F. Endress, J. C. Baker, G. F. Krotel. History of St. Peter's, Middletown.



TEN or twelve miles west of New Holland, on the lonely road, by the side of a fine spring, and not far from a large swamp, was a public house known by the sign of "The Old Hickory."[343] Soon a little village known as Hickory Town lay clustering round the public house. In 1727 this village became the center of the largest, most fertile, and probably the most wealthy county[344] in the present

[343] This was kept by a Presbyterian Scotch-Irish squatter, named George Gibson, who is said to have been the first settler at Lancaster.

[344] In ~~1727~~ a new county named Lancaster was separated off from Chester. For eighty or ninety miles were too far to travel every time one wanted the sheriff or the squire. From this "new county" since then have been carved the handsome slices of territory known as York, Cumberland, Berks, Northumberland, and Lebanon.



THE OLDEST KNOWN PICTURE OF TRINITY CHURCH, LANCASTER, FROM AN ETCHING BY CLARK.

State of Pennsylvania. In 1729 a jail and temporary court house were erected, though they were five miles away from little Hickory Town.

Here, already at this date, were the beginnings of the largest, the most active, the most prosperous and wealthy Lutheran church in the Province. There was none to compare with it in importance and vitality, prior to the arrival of Mühlenberg. It had no resident pastor until 1742. It was a repeated victim of poor preaching and bad leadership. It was smitten to the heart by early church troubles, culminating in a civil church trial. Yet it developed through every obstacle and disaster and became possessed of extraordinary strength for these early days. Already in 1733 it had 149 communicants at the Lord's Table on a single Sunday. In 1738 it possessed a stone church with bells in the steeple. By 1749 it developed a parochial school which was so crowded that pupils applying for admission could not be accommodated. In 1761 there were 250 baptisms in a single year, and in 1766 a church capable of seating 1,500 persons was erected, which already in 1773 became too small in size.

This congregation also bears the proud distinction of having not only always paid the salaries of its pastor, organist, school teacher, and sexton promptly, but of having sent, as early as 1742, the passage money in advance to Europe for the pastor who was to come over and stand at its head. It always was able to regulate its expenditures on a liberal scale, and to this day is distinguished among its sister congregations in the State in this respect. Mühlenberg himself in 1769 termed the church "an old and large congregation which it is to be hoped will now be brought into more perfect order and peace after such long and so many trials," and the Halle Re-

ports[345] tell us that they rightly "have regarded Lancaster as one of the most important" of the congregations in the Province. They mention it directly after the congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover, New Providence, and Germantown.[346]

The clearest evidence as to the size and age of the congregation are the words of Mühlenberg to a justice of the peace in York, Pa., on June 28, 1747, when he stated that "*some years ago* the Lancaster Church was a large and numerous congregation"; and the words of Handschuh: "In truth, if Nyberg had not created the disturbances and divisions here and if our people were concerned more and more earnestly for the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God, the congregation at Lancaster should gradually have become the strongest * * * and with God's help the most blessed in the whole land."[347]

We return to its earliest history. The organization was the result of J. C. Stoever's activity in the year 1729. In 1730 Stoever settled at Earltown and came over to Lancaster to baptize children and to unite persons in the bonds of matrimony.[348] By 1733 Stoever had begun work in earnest at Lancaster. He had been ordained in the spring of 1733, and returning to Earltown in the fall of the year, opened the church registers for the congregations of Muddy Creek, New Holland and Lancaster. At the service held on the 18th Trinity Sunday in 1733 in Lancaster, he had 149 communicants present. Three years later, in 1736, Stoever received a call signed by the Lancaster church members and became the first pastor of the congre-

[345] *Hall. Nachr.*, II., p. 681.
[346] *Hall. Nachr.*, II., p. 680.
[347] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., pp. 145–146.
[348] Stoever has entered the baptisms and marriages of 1729 in the Lancaster church record.

15^tes Stück.

Die Lancästersche Zeitung:

Oder,

Ein Kurzer Begriff

Der

Hauptsächlichsten Ausländisch- und Einheimischen Neuigkeiten.

THROUGH BENEVOLENTIA

Numb. 15.

THE LANCASTER GAZETTE:

OR,

A *COMPENDIUM*

OF THE

Most material FOREIGN and HOME NEWS.

Den 28^ten July, 1752. *July* 28, 1752.

Smyrna, den 14. Jan.

DER Frantzösische Consul hat alle Schiffe dieser Nation aufgenommen, um nach Volo und Salmonica, in Archipelago zu segeln und 60000 Buschel Frucht vor Franckreich einzuladen. Als nun der Abgesandte zu Constantinopel um Erlaubniß wegen Ueberführung derselben gebetten, antwortete der Türckische Kayser, daß er es nicht nur einwilligte, sondern daß sie auch noch solten Zollfrey seyn, sich freuende, Gelegenheit zu haben,

SMYRNA, January 14.

THE French Consul has taken up all the Ships of that Nation, to sail to Volo and Salmonica in the Archipelago, to take in sixty Thousand Bushels of Corn for France. When the Ambassadors at Constantinople asked Leave for such an Exportation, the grand Signior's Answer was, that he not only consented to it, but that it should also be Duty free, gladly embrace-

gation. The next year, in 1737, a stone church building was going up in the present old graveyard, on the ground where Trinity chapel now stands. It contained a stone altar surrounded by a walnut railing, a pulpit with a sand clock or hourglass attached to it, measuring an hour and a



OLD TRINITY CHURCH AND CHAPEL IN 1902.

half in time, and there were bells hung in the steeple. The pastor himself, with several members, presented a communion set.

But the services of Stoever evidently were irregular and unsatisfactory in the long run to the Lancaster congregation. Though he probably was the only Lutheran pastor

who came there to preach before 1742, the congregation then began to suffer from clerical adventurers who pushed themselves in, and of whom the church-books complain indignantly. In this year, 1742, for instance, the unprincipled Kraft promised to preach twice a month; but was dismissed in 1743.

Getting no proper and regular help in the line of a German Lutheran ministry the Lancaster congregation turned to the Swedish Lutheran pastors at Philadelphia. Between 1742 and 1744 the Rev. John Dylander, pastor at Philadelphia, preached from time to time at Lancaster. He advised the congregation to apply to the Lutheran Church in Sweden for a pastor. This was done through the medium of a prominent Swedish merchant of Philadelphia, named Peter Koch.

The petition of the poor pastorless congregation came before the Bishop of Sweden at Upsala. As a consequence a theological student, named Hedstrand, was ordained in May, 1743, for the congregation at Lancaster. But he never came across the sea. There were no moneys at hand in Sweden wherewith to pay his traveling expenses.

Undiscouraged at his failure to arrive, and having learned by this first experience what was necessary in the case, the congregation applied again and this time sent on a sufficient sum of money to defray the expenses of the pastor's journey from Sweden to America. The call sent to Sweden was a very explicit one. It was for "A teacher according to the Holy Scripture, the Augsburg Confession, and the other Symbolical Books."

Now a pastor came. He was the Rev. Lorenz Thorstansen Nyberg, and he arrived in Advent, 1744. He was the first pastor of the congregation to reside in Lancaster itself, and was received with great joy. In fact, accord-



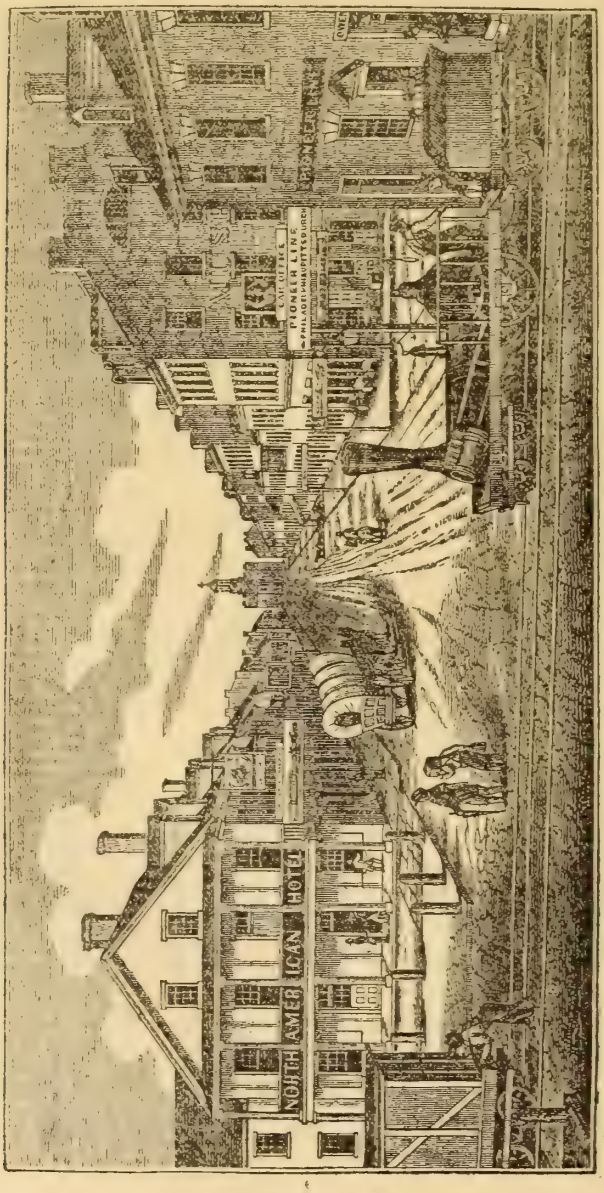
NORTH INTERIOR OF TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH, LANCASTER, 1902.
INTERIOR LOOKING NORTH, SHOWING PULPIT AND ALTAR

ing to the words of Mühlenberg, the people welcomed him "as an angel of God." He administered the Lord's Supper for the first time on the 3d Sunday in Advent, 1744. He cherished secret convictions of his own not in accord with the teachings of the Lutheran Church, which, however, he concealed from his new flock for the present.[349] So attractive was his manner of preaching that multitudes from other denominations regularly frequented the services, and the old church was soon considerably enlarged in order to receive the increasing number of admiring hearers. Many souls appeared to be awakened, and the preacher was regarded as a "burning and a shining light."

The great joy and beautiful harmony in the newly-provided congregation did not continue. Parties were formed for and against Pastor Nyberg. According to Mühlenberg, who sent to Halle a full account of the trouble into which the congregation now was precipitated, Pastor Nyberg preached in a derogatory manner of the doctrines of Christ's person, nature, offices and states, and ridiculed the doctrines of repentance, faith, sanctification, and prayer. Mühlenberg further says that Pastor Nyberg maintained a secret correspondence with the Moravians[350]

[349] Pastor Nyberg, according to his own statements, originally intended to learn civil engineering, but later came to study divinity. When the call from America arrived in Sweden, he was in the family of an influential nobleman, in the capacity of private tutor. Through his noble patron he applied to the Swedish church authorities for the position in the New World. He solemnly pledged himself to adhere to the "Symbolical Books," and was commissioned to proceed as a Lutheran clergyman to America. Before he had left Sweden, however, he had been partly drawn to the Moravians by Arvid Gradin, and in London, under the influence of Spangenberg, he had gone over to them entirely.

[350] Mühlenberg's own account of this difficulty, given at York, in the presence of a justice of the peace, who was a member of the Reformed Church, and a particular friend of the Moravian minister, and who requested Mühlenberg to speak on the subject, is as follows: "The at present divided congregation at Lancaster was some years ago a large and numerous congregation.



OLD VIEW OF NORTH QUEEN STREET, LANCASTER, PA.

while he publicly, before his congregation, denied all connection with them, and that finally he married a Moravian woman.

It wished to secure a pure Lutheran preacher, and therefore had a Swedish merchant in Philadelphia petition his honor the Archbishop in Sweden for a teacher according to the Holy Scriptures, the Augsburg Confession and the remaining Symbolical books. The congregation gathered money for his journey, sent it out to Sweden in advance and patiently awaited the arrival of a minister." [Mühlenberg then narrates what we have told above of the early life of Rev. Nyberg, and proceeds as follows:] "Inasmuch as Mr. Nyberg knew that Count von Zinzendorf was seeking to establish his affairs in Pennsylvania he thought that by his call he would get into the right element. In the examination he had represented himself as a German Lutheran and had no scruples in swearing to the Symbolical books, although he had accepted the Zinzendorfian plan in his heart. In London he looked up Mr. Spangenberg and the Bohemian brethren and had himself received into their communion. * * * [Mr. Spangenberg and he] each by themselves journeyed on different vessels and reached Pennsylvania as strangers to each other in order that the Pennsylvanians might have no suspicions, but receive him as an Orthodox minister. Both have narrated this to Mr. Conrad Weiser in Tulpehocken as a particular act of prudence on which they congratulated themselves. * * * When Mr. Nyberg arrived in this country he was asked by Mr. Koch and myself whether he knew Count von Zinzendorf, his teachers and plans. He denied everything *in toto*, and said that he knew no one except Mr. Gradin in Sweden.

"The congregation in Lancaster received him as an angel of God and accepted him as their pastor. Yet under the condition that he should prove to be such a one as they had written for and should remain in the true Lutheran teaching. O, if only he had remained un-partisan in respect to the Moravian sect and had been a converted faithful steward according to the Lutheran teaching and had cultivated the field assigned him with fidelity and patience, he would have gathered a great harvest into his barn for the Lord Jesus. But when once he identified himself with the Zinzendorfian scheme, his preaching, catechization and his intercourse with the members of the congregation were nothing but a continuous demolition of the Evangelical Lutheran Doctrine, and a building up of his accepted Zinzendorfian plans. He ridiculed the main doctrines of Law, Repentance, Faith, Sanctification, Prayer, and Resistance, etc. He mutilated the holy doctrine of Jesus Christ, His person, natures, office, etc., and when he was questioned concerning his association with the Moravians, he denied the same. At the same time he conducted a secret correspondence with them, visited their meetings and Conferences, and called those liars from the pulpit, who said that he had intercourse with the Zinzendorfians. Those who were inclined to bend themselves to his schemes he flattered beyond measure. Moreover, he represented me, my brethren and officers, to his congregation and even in part to our own church members, as opportunity offered, as highly dangerous people. At last he took a Moravian

Certain it is, however, that one year after his arrival, in Advent, 1745, Pastor Nyberg arranged for a conference of Moravians to be held in Lancaster.[351] A protesting portion of his congregation refused to admit him into the church the following Sunday. He occupied the church by force and preached behind locked doors. The protesting party petitioned the authorities against his use of the church and the church was ordered by the magistrate to be locked against him. Subsequently, on the recommendation of English residents of note, the church was ordered to be opened again for Pastor Nyberg.

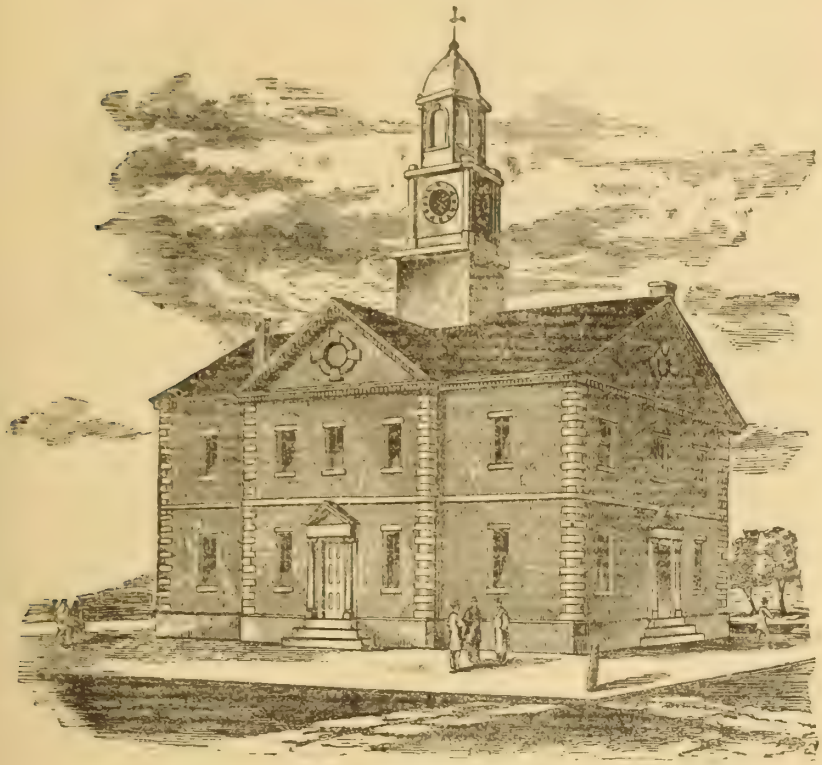
Thereafter Rev. Nyberg preached to his party on Sunday morning, and the other party had a sermon read to them on Sunday afternoon. After a dispute regarding the

sister to wife and as he now purposed to draw in his net, a large conference in Lancaster of the Moravians from Bethlehem was brought about by secret correspondence. This happened in Advent, 1745. He secured quarters for the arriving brethren, procured the key to the Council house, attended the Conference, introduced those of his members whom he had won over, and laughed at the remaining deacons who warned him and pleadingly begged him not to participate in the Conference" (*Hall. Nachr.*, I., pp. 146–148).

[351] The following is the account of this Conference or Synod given by Reichel in his *Early History of the Moravians*, p. 161. "The third Synod of this year assembled at Lancaster, December 8 and 9. Henry Antes had preached here in 1743, and quite lately the Swedish Lutheran pastor, the Rev. Mr. Nyberg, had joined the Synod. But there were not a few, especially among Pastor Nyberg's congregation, who opposed the work of the Brethren, and who looked with very suspicious eyes on these assemblies. On this very account it was important to hold a Synod here and in as public a manner as possible. Justice Smout courteously offered the court house for the public sessions of the Synod, which, however, so enraged some of the more bitter enemies of the Brethren that they threw mud and stones at Spangenberg, when he rose to preach on the word of Jesus: 'Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.' His perfect composure, his meek and friendly deportment, but above all his fervent prayer for all the enemies of the cross of Christ, made a deep and lasting impression upon Justice Smout and many others. It is related that one man in particular, who had filled his pocket with stones to join in the premeditated attack, was so much struck by the fervency of Brother Spangenberg's prayer, that he not only emptied his pockets, but with tearful eyes confessed his evil intentions, and himself became a follower of the meek Lamb of God."

holding of a service on a church festival, the church was again closed by the protesting parties. The party of Rev. Nyberg applied to the court, accusing the leaders of the opposite party as disturbers of the peace. The court declared the defendants not guilty.[352]

This was the year in which the dark swamp in the cen-



OLD COURT HOUSE, BUILT 1784–1787.

ter of this little town of 300 houses was cleared of its wood and drawn of its stagnant and poison-bearing water. But the poison of bitterness, and that stagnation of truly reli-

[352] For full details, see *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 149.

gious life which is a result of ecclesiastical disputes and congregational discord, was still making itself felt, not only in the town, but the oppressiveness of its atmosphere was discerned in distant parts of the Province.

The unexpected course of affairs at Lancaster brought Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, thither for the first time, in company with Pastor Brunnholz in 1745. Mühlenberg was present at the hearing of the court case, and returned home again after the verdict was given. But the main affair was not settled, and the church was still closed. Rev. Nyberg thereafter preached in the Town Hall, but when a prominent English squire who had been his friend turned against him, he was excluded from the Hall. Early in the summer of 1746 Mühlenberg was sent for again.[353] After very hasty notice to the civil authority and to the Moravian party,

[353] Mühlenberg's account of this matter is as follows: "Some time in the early summer of 1746, the protesting party sent for me to come up and preach for them. I journeyed thither, but was very much worried when I learned the day before that this preaching in the Church would probably not proceed without disorder. For the Zinzendorfians told me plainly that some of their people would set themselves against it. I therefore resolved, in order to avoid all scandalous tumult, to preach this time in the Council House, and to this end asked permission of the town authority in the presence of some Zinzendorfians. Early on Sunday the protesting deacons and the congregation assembled, and as I disclosed to them that I was minded to preach in the Council House, because I feared a sinful tumult, they exhibited their reasons and showed that it would be better at the present time again to assert their right to the church and to preach therein; which I could not deny, but yet said that necessarily I should be obliged to report the fact in advance to the English town authority and the Zinzendorfians, since I had made the request for the Council House the day before in the presence of the Zinzendorfians. This occurred. I wrote an English letter to the authority, and a German one to the Zinzendorfians, and sent both letters a half hour before the opening of the church. We rang the bells in an orderly way, and went in silence into the church. I preached on Luke 13: 6–9, of the unfruitful fig tree.

"Thereupon Mr. Nyberg stimulated his adherents to the view that they must build a new church, and one on the Zinzendorfian footing. * * * All present who listened to this my narration could not but disapprove of Mr. Nyberg's conduct." (*Hall. Nachr.*, I., pp. 146–149.)

one Sunday morning the church was opened by the Lutheran party and Mühlenberg preached in the church. Thereafter Rev. Nyberg withdrew from the contest and founded the Moravian church. Pastor Nyberg himself departed from Lancaster subsequent to July, 1748.[354]

In all classes of ecclesiastical or other controversy it is fair to present both sides of the case, giving each side the benefit of its own point of view. There is therefore here subjoined, what the Rev. L. T. Reichel in his clear and excellent *Early History of the Church of the United Brethren commonly called Moravians in North America A. D. 1734–1748* (Nazareth, 1888), says (p. 181) respecting Pastor Nyberg and his career. It is as follows:

"In 1743 Laurentius Theophilus Nyberg, who had studied at Upsala, Sweden, and had been ordained by the Swedish Archbishop Jacob Benzelius, had arrived here and labored faithfully and successfully. From far and near people came to hear his edifying discourses and many entreated him to preach also at other places. In 1744 a small log church, called St. James' Church, was built eight miles from Lancaster in Warwick Township, on George Klein's land. Here Pastor Nyberg preached at stated times, commencing July 25, 1744. In 1745 he became a member of the General Pennsylvania Synod and soon also a faithful friend and bold companion of the persecuted Moravians, in consequence of which two parties were formed in his Lutheran congregation. The larger of these, which was not favorably inclined towards the

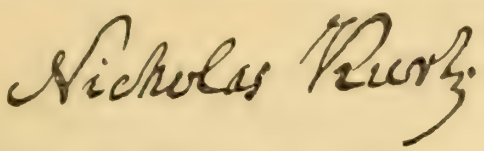
[354] The circumstances and necessary legal documents were subsequently submitted to the Archbishop in Sweden and the Consistory in Upsala and Nyberg's commission was revoked and he was formally deposed from the ministry. In October, 1746, Rev. Gabriel Naesmann, the Swedish pastor of Gloria Dei, addressed an earnest letter to the Lancaster congregation, signed by himself and many other faithful Swedes, urging the members to renew their pledges or adherence to the Lutheran faith of their fathers.

Brethren, kept the old church. The smaller one in 1746 built a new church, which, being dedicated on St. Andrew's Day, November 30, was called St. Andrew's Church. On account of these dissensions Pastor Nyberg resigned his office, but on February 8, 1747, he accepted a new vocation to St. Andrew's Church, in which call was inserted the special clause that he might have connection with the Brethren in Bethlehem and visit their Synod, without thereby being considered a member of their Society. Meanwhile his enemies sent formal complaints concerning him to the Swedish ecclesiastical courts, his Swedish fellow-ministers publicly condemned his 'heresies,' the Hallensians stirred up the fire in his congregation, and Pastor Nyberg, expelled by his own communion, felt himself more and more drawn to the Brethren. After a long delay he at last received permission to move to Bethlehem, where on August 13, 1748, he was formally received as a member of the Brethren's Church."

After this disappointing experience with ministerial help drawn from Swedish sources, through regular orthodox ecclesiastical channels, and doubtless with a memory of the previous pitiable attempts to get on with the help of an irregular and unconnected ministry, the still remaining Lutheran part of the congregation at Lancaster recognized in Mühlenberg a man who could be depended on, and based its future hopes on securing a pastor through the regular German ecclesiastical powers that had sent Mühlenberg to Philadelphia.

Accordingly in April, 1746, Court Preacher Ziegenhagen in London and Dr. Francke in Halle were requested to grant a pastor to this Lutheran congregation at Lancaster. Meanwhile Mühlenberg assumed the general

responsibility for the congregation's care and visited Lancaster in the month of June, 1747.[355] Beginning with the spring of 1747, he sent J. N. Kurtz, the catechist at Tulpehocken, who was not yet ordained, to Lancaster every two weeks.[356] Kurtz traveled between Tulpehocken and



Lancaster for a year, spending two weeks of every month at each place. Mühlenberg and Brunnholz administered the communion at Lancaster from time to time.

Some of the congregation would have been satisfied to retain Mr. Kurtz as pastor but there was a party against him,[357] and Mühlenberg, though he had on his list several places badly in need of a pastor, finally decided to send the new clergyman who had arrived in Philadelphia on the 5th of April and had come to Mühlenberg's house on the 10th of April, to the Lancaster congregation. A question arose in Mühlenberg's mind as to whether the new minister's traveling expenses should be borne by the authori-

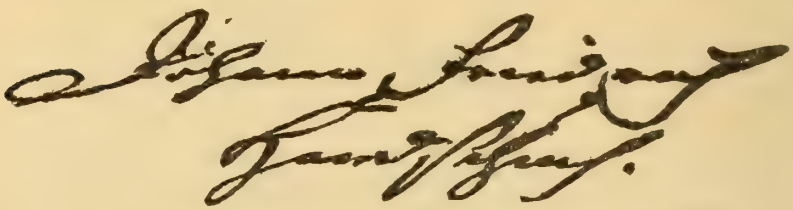
[355] For a full account of this visit, describing the sad condition of the congregation, and stating that there was already at this time a schoolmaster here, and giving some interesting points respecting the Moravians, Reformed and Episcopalians in Lancaster, see *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 350, and notes.

[356] At first there was an attempt to alternate a German and a Swedish pastor. But the Swedish pastor Naesman of Philadelphia gave Mühlenberg to understand that he preferred to serve the congregation alone. Mühlenberg agreed. Pastor Naesman therefore visited the congregation three or four times, but could not get along well in German, and demanded five pounds for each visit. This seemed too heavy a tax on the people, who were laden with debts, and torn by dissensions. Some now joined pastor Nyberg's party, and the Moravians are said to have scoffed at the Lutherans, declaring that the latter had not gold enough to fill the bellies of the insatiable Lutheran pastors. Meantime came the rescript from Sweden, condemning Nyberg and upholding Mühlenberg and the German preachers. (*MS.* in *Hall. Nachr.*, I., pp. 361–362.)

[357] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 386.

ties at Halle or by the Lancaster congregation, and Mühlenberg's report affords an interesting side glimpse into conditions at Lancaster at that time.[358]

At last on May 13, 1748, the expected young minister from Germany, Johann Friederich Handschuh,[359] arrived[360]



in Lancaster and began his three years' useful but unhappy pastorate.[361] He preached his first sermon in Lancaster on May 3, 1748, and two days later officiated at Earltown, fourteen miles away. He labored with tremendous zeal and earnestness in his populous congregation and[362] already in midsummer, administered the communion, the number of communicants being 185. By December he had a class of 43 persons ready for confirmation. In the early fall[363] he held a Church Council meeting which continued from two o'clock in the afternoon until late in the evening. The Council had to reconcile a father and son who had been

[358] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 386.

[359] Handschuh was born at Halle on Jan. 14, 1714. He entered the gymnasium, the orphan institutions, and the High school at Halle, and in 1737 was sent to the High school at Leipsic to be tutor to a young nobleman. After proper examination he was ordained by the Consistory in Altenberg in 1744. For Mühlenberg's biography of Handschuh's life see *Hall. Nachr.*, II., pp. 572–575.

[360] For full account of the journey of Handschuh from Europe to Pennsylvania, see his Diary in *Hall. Nachr.*, I., pp. 155–164.

[361] "God has given us joy through the arrival of a new colleague, Mr. Handschuh, who now labors with blessing in Lancaster, and is seeking to restore the congregation disordered by the defection of Nyberg."—Mühlenberg.

[362] August 4, 1748.

[363] October 7, 1748.

angry with each other, and to secure a deacon to read the sermon during the pastor's absence the following Sunday. But their chief business was the discussion of a proposition to organize a congregational school. The details to be considered included the renting of a school building, the securing of a schoolmaster and the manner of providing his salary.

On the following 25th of October, in preaching to his people, Handschuh brought before them the necessity of educating the youth and the importance of procuring a good schoolmaster. He had the congregation remain after the close of the service and spoke to them on three points: (1) Of the election of a new schoolmaster; (2) of the renting of a comfortable school-house; (3) of the speedy repair of the church, which was beginning to sink. Again on the 21st Sunday of Trinity he deliberated with his people respecting the school matter and the securing of a residence for a schoolmaster, and in the afternoon a call, signed by the Church Council and the deacons, was extended to Jacob Löser.

The schoolmaster arrived in January, 1749, and Handschuh exclaimed: "One can scarcely believe what pains, necessity and care this schoolmaster business entailed on Mr. Mühlenberg and myself before it could be placed upon a substantial basis."[364]

This establishment of a congregational school was one of the earliest and most important of the new pastor's acts. The school was soon crowded to such an extent that the German, English and Irish pupils who applied for admission could not be accommodated. The schoolmaster, Jacob Löser, who had come from New Hanover, continued in faithful service in the congregation for many years, and

[364] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., Diary of Handschuh.

when he was old, his place as organist was taken for a time by his son.

Already in fall it had been noted that the door sills of the church were beginning to rot, and now that the foundations of the church edifice had begun to yield in consequence of its previous enlargement in the time of Rev. Nyberg, Pastor Handschuh, after admonition of his flock, succeeded in having the building repaired. Pastor Handschuh has left us a brief description of the town of Lancaster as it appeared at this time.[365]

He labored with great zeal,[366] preaching not only in

[365] On the seventh of October, 1748 inst., after a residence of four months in Lancaster, Pastor Handschuh writes of it as "a town of about four hundred houses to which new ones are always being added. It is sixty-four English, sixteen German miles from Philadelphia, and mostly inhabited by Germans. Because of the 'good living,' people are always moving here, so that it very probably may become a very large and populous city in a few years. It has a rather large Lutheran, an unfinished Anglican, a Reformed, a little Catholic, and a Zinzendorfian church. The Zinzendorfians through the once Lutheran pastor Nyberg have brought on many divisions and offences not only among the Lutherans but also among the Reformed. Mr. Spangenberg has been here probably four times since my arrival." (*Halle Reports*, I., p. 145.)

[366] "There is work enough here, * * * my hearers often consist of various kinds of sects never heard of before. Of real blessing I cannot yet speak in high praise unless external prosperity can be called a blessing. The youth, which is very numerous, causes me the greatest joy and hope. Every Sunday afternoon I have them recall the sermon and instruct them in the Catechism. Then there are generally from seventy to eighty young persons, full grown and children, standing about me, who diligently seek to excel each other. The others that do not belong to our congregation remain seated at their place and are attentive listeners. Our school is always becoming stronger, so that we were obliged not long ago for want of space to dismiss sixteen children from the place. In truth, if Nyberg had not created the disturbances and divisions here and if our people were concerned more and more earnestly for the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God, the congregation at Lancaster should gradually have become the strongest * * * and with God's help the most blessed in the whole land. * * * I neglect no opportunity to preach publicly. I also use weddings for this purpose, so far as possible. * * * I instruct the young people, who are being prepared for the Lord's Supper, twice a week. There are thirty-three of them, and some of them are very ignorant. A number of them have to come about nine English miles to my residence. Seldom does one of them remain away." (*Hall. Nachr.*, I., pp. 145-146.)

Lancaster, but also in the outlying districts. On the 24th Sunday after Trinity he had 41 communicants at Earltown, but was obliged to give notice to the Earltown congregation that on account of the distance, the severe cold of winter, the deep snow, the crossing of the swollen streams, and his own weak condition, he would have to intermit the services during the three coldest winter months.[367] He was called out in all kinds of weather and to great distances to converse with the sick and dying. He spoke to all persons, even to the wicked and worldly, in very plain terms regarding their spiritual condition. More earnestness began to prevail in the community. Large numbers consulted him prior to their participation in the Lord's Supper, and, prior to each communion season, several days were consumed in dealing personally with each of these his members, and in advising them respecting their spiritual state.

Handschuh noticed that occasionally wicked persons were offered as sponsors in the sacrament of baptism, and as remarks were made on this point by persons not belonging to the church, he directed his people to be more careful in their selections. Some dissatisfaction arose from his rigid course in this matter.

Both his life and his indefatigable zeal were in great contrast with the laxness of earlier pastors. He was held in highest respect during the early part of his career, because of the purity of his doctrinal teaching and the blamelessness of his holy life and conversation.[368]

In the month of January[369] Pastor Handschuh received a visit from Bishop Spangenberg, and those who desire information as to the conversation that ensued, can consult

[367] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 533.
[368] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 522.
[369] January 28, 1749.

the *Hall. Nachr.*, Vol. I., p. 534. On Easter Day, 1749, his church was full, many strangers being present, and the Lord's Supper was administered to 111 communicants. Services were held Easter Monday, as they always were subsequent to a great festival of the Church. On the 16th of April (Sunday Jubilate) he had 206 communicants. After speaking of the necessity of making repairs to the church and the organ on the following Sunday, the pastor is able to exclaim: "At last the repairs to the church have begun! Oh, how hard it is to move the people in church matters!"

On the first and second days of May Pastor Handschuh met the people in preparation for the Lord's Supper for two full days; but a week later he was stricken with a hemorrhage. On Whitsunday, after baptizing seven children, and preaching a sermon, he administered communion to 179 persons. People of every character and description crowded the church in an extraordinary throng and stood before the church doors. "In the afternoon I preached again to a large concourse. I preached on Whitmonday morning and installed two deacons. In the afternoon because of the feebleness of my physical condition, the schoolmaster catechized the children, and thereafter I united a pair in marriage."

We have said that Pastor Handschuh was strict in discipline. On the 12th Sunday after Trinity at the close of the morning service he asked all the men and younger men who desired to be faithful to the congregation to remain, and presented to them eight articles with the reasons, which should be agreed to by all persons who desired to enjoy its rights.[370]

[370] These articles were:

1. Everyone should publicly have his name enrolled by the schoolmaster.

In June, 1749, the second meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was held at Lancaster.[371] The Lord's Supper was administered on June 4th, and at the preparatory services a penitent appeared before the congregation and publicly entreated all to forgive the past conduct of which he had been guilty. On Easter, 1750, 243 persons communed.

Up to this time the civil government of Lancaster, as of the whole province, was in the hands of the Quakers with whom were associated a few frivolous and coarse-minded Englishmen.[372] These town authorities left everything go as it would. "They punish no offense. They do not restrain the greatest disorder, and in order to retain the

2. The Church Council and deacons should be recognized as such by everyone, in love and obedience.

3. Everyone should promptly adhere to our Christian Church discipline and keep an eye on the others and notify the pastor of anything of importance to him.

4. The young people of both sexes should not come to church in a spirit of frivolity and they should attend catechization more diligently.

5. At funerals all drinking should cease. All should be quiet and orderly and should follow the body by two and two, first the men, then the women.

6. The annual statement of accounts should be listened to by the congregation every year.

7. The money for pastoral support should be received by a member of the council mentioned for the purpose, and the pastor should have nothing to do with it.

8. Everyone is at perfect liberty to belong to the congregation or to leave it, only every time the pastor must be informed of it. He who does not wish to agree to these articles, cannot be considered as a member of the congregation and also cannot attend the Lord's Supper with us.

[371] On Sunday afternoon, Mr. Handschuh relates, the members of the Synod, with other guests, sixty in number, went in procession to the private residence of a member of the church council, where they dined. While the guests were at the table in the different apartments of the house, devout hymns were sung by each group, and Mr. Conrad Weiser, accompanied by an Englishman who held a high position in the government, visited each banquet chamber in succession; both expressed the great satisfaction which the good order observed by the clergy and the company generally afforded them.

[372] Handschuh says "Die elenden Quäkers mit noch einigen leichtsinnigen und sehr fleischlich gesinnten Englischen." (*Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 682.)

favor of the people they flatter them. They are favorable to all sects except the Lutherans. How wretched this state of affairs was both prior and also long since my arrival in our town, no pen can describe. In short, every one does as he wishes, and the more wantonness one practices the more highly he thinks of this kind of government: for he knows that no offense will be punished."

Now it so happened that on the 19th of September, 1749, one of the members of the Lutheran Church council, Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn, was elected chief burgess of the town and county. Another Lutheran and member of the congregation, by the name of Jacob Schlough, was elected under-burgess of the town, and still another member of the congregation was elected high constable. Moreover three members of the Lutheran Church council, with still another member of the congregation, were elected assessors by the majority of votes. The election itself passed off more quietly and in a more orderly manner than had ever been known before in the history of Lancaster. The next morning some of the church council came to the pastor and told him the facts with great joy in their hearts. He writes in his diary:[373] "I rejoiced with particular heartiness that almost all our Lutherans in response to my earnest plea of last Sunday avoided the customary disturbances at this election. Heretofore complaints were brought against no one more frequently than the Lutherans. From this new government we can anticipate much good for our town and congregation, if it discharges its duty with fidelity, and with honesty." The pastor tells us that in his joy he almost forgot the fever which was breaking down his system. Those most bitterly opposed to this election were a rich Quaker and his

[373] *Hall., Nachr.*, I., p. 542.



TABLET OF ADAM SIMON KUHN

A LEADING MEMBER OF THE VESTRY OF OLD TRINITY AND CHIEF BURGESS OF THE TOWN

associates who four days before had set up free drinking in four different taverns and had promised so many advantages and so much freedom that many of the inhabitants voted on that side.[374] Pastor Handschuh goes on to say that on every side people had been in the habit for a year already of consulting him as though he were clothed with civil authority. If persons fell out in their business transactions, they threatened each other with the pastor, and hastened quickly to him and wished him to be of help to them. At last the burden became so great that it was necessary for him to make four or five public announcements from the pulpit, that God had sent him to this country to be a teacher, preacher and example but not to be their judge or ruler.[375]

It will be seen that the earnestness, laboriousness, deep spirituality and unselfishness of this man had made an impression on the community. Mühlenberg speaks in the highest terms of the excellency of his character, of his faithful zeal and of his mental ability. In his report of 1750[376] he praises Handschuh's thorough education, his efficiency in all that the ministerial office requires, and his true fidelity. In speaking of his later career in Germantown, Mühlenberg calls him "ein treuer Seelsorger."[377] Speaking of Handschuh's work at Lancaster, Mühlenberg says in another place that he had labored there "Drei Jahre mit unverdrossenem Fleisz und Treue." Handschuh sought to gain a personal hold on souls, and took

[374] Handschuh states that many of the Reformed, all the Moravians, all the Mennonites without exception, and even four or six Lutherans who were afraid of proper town order and discipline, voted on the one side. On the other side were the Episcopalians, many of the Presbyterians and Irish Catholics, some refined Quakers and all the Lutherans. (*Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 682.)

[375] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 682.

[376] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 143.

[377] *Hall. Nachr.*, II., p. 649.

the deepest interest in their individual development. He was a powerful preacher [378] and his large church seems to have been filled and even crowded, from the beginning to the end of his pastorate. The confidence with which people came to him in their spiritual distress and in their worldly troubles, shows how high he stood in their esteem.

But his very earnestness and intense spirituality after a little time awakened antagonism. The strictness of his discipline, a certain narrowness in prescribing obedience to regulations, and that peculiar trait which easy-going and worldly-minded people consider as meddling in private affairs, served to render him unpopular. He was opposed to the drinking habits of the people, particularly at funerals, and did not hesitate to speak against them.[379] In February, 1751, some of the most prominent members of his church made up a sleighing party, became intoxicated, danced, and ridiculed their pastor. And evil-minded persons throughout the community were desirious of getting a hold on him to speak to his disadvantage.

In addition to this he was always in poor health. His system was wasted and weakened by repeated fevers. Already before he left Germany the prospect of the sea voyage to America in his weak bodily condition had upset him. Mühlenberg in his journal of 1748 states that Handschuh's journey had been a difficult and discouraging one, exhausting him greatly.[380] Often he was seized with a chill. For several weeks he would be too ill and miserable to hold services. In the fall of 1749 after he had been laboring faithfully for three quarters of a year in the town,

[378] Mühlenberg speaks of his sermons in a favorable way. In *Hall. Nachr.*, II., p. 382 he says of one of them : "Sehr wohl ausgebildet." Of another, in Vol. I., p. 383, he says that it was "Erbaulich."

[379] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 545.

[380] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 379.

he was so ill that he thought he would die. In the following July he writes: "I often wish on Sunday before and after work to be freed from the unnecessary conversations thrust upon me because, especially on Sunday evenings, I am too weak to speak and hear, and to consider with deliberation." On the days following he was very ill and was unconscious for three hours. This state of affairs continued at intervals even in his subsequent charge at Germantown, until his feeble frame had exhausted its intense energies and he died at the age of fifty in the year 1764.

It was no wonder, therefore, that there were times when he became melancholy, "in diesem weitläufigen Lande wo Alles wie auf der Post und Jagd gehen musz."[381] His necessary dealings with the rude, gross, and uncultured folk, and his loneliness and lack of comforts at home, increased his woes. At first he had a family living in his house with him, but they merely added to his discomfort instead of rendering the home-life more agreeable. Then he was entirely alone and during illness there was no one to care for him properly. He suffered greatly on this account. He complained bitterly that it would be impossible for him to stay in Lancaster much longer in the midst of such an unconverted people.

One evening while he was ill, an elder of the church visited him, and in conversation respecting his wretched household estate, drew attention to a daughter of one of the deacons, who was twenty-three years old and more, as being a person who would make him a good housekeeper. Her father was a poor but respectable tailor. She had always been faithful and bright in the catechetical class and had a thorough understanding of religion. She had

[381] Mühlenberg's Diary, *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 322.

grown up among the young people in Lancaster and kept a little cake stand in the market. She had associated quite freely, as is commonly the case in such circumstances, with the young people of Lancaster, and had been given nicknames by them. She became Pastor Handschuh's housekeeper and served him about three months, proving to be pious and honorable and able to please him in all his whims.

"In the course of time Mr. Handschuh began to wrestle with the Lord and this lasted so long that God finally prevailed, and powerfully and unmistakably convinced him that he was to have this woman and no other for his wife. Then in the presence of God he spoke to her and told her that he had never been willing to marry all his life, but that since God had convinced him so powerfully in a contrary direction, she should betake herself to prayer and tell him the next day how her heart stood. She came the next day and told him that she had the same thoughts as he had, namely never to marry all her life; *but that she would not be rebellious in the face of God's will.* On the following day they were betrothed and without much difficulty secured the consent of the parents."

Mühlenberg continues, "After this dear brother had informed me, he notified his Church Council, a large part of which became exceedingly heated, restless and angry, and asserted that these things dare never be, and would result in great scandal to the congregation and to the pastor's office." They claimed that their pastor ought first to have asked the Church Council for advice. "But why is it necessary to ask men," naïvely continues the record, "when the Lord God commands an affair and wishes to have it so! Now the devil broke loose and raised the dust of calumny in every direction." It was said that this young woman

had grown up among the rough young wild folk and that all respect would be lacking for her. It was also said that the pastor might have taken a rich young woman, since the congregation, greatly weakened by its strife, was not in a position to support a poor family, especially as piety and virtue did not necessarily go with poverty. The wives of the members of the Church Council particularly took offence at the humbleness of the ancestry and at the nicknames of the intended bride and asserted that they never in all their life could call such a green young girl "Frau Pfarrerin!" There were also very gross reports placed into circulation.

At the close of the month of April the united pastors, Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Kurtz, arrived in Lancaster and on Sunday, April 30th, found Pastor Handschuh in a very vacillating condition, at times deeply depressed, at times quite ecstatic.

On Tuesday, the 2d of May, 1750, the ministers entered the church in quietness with the bridal pair, and without the presence of any of the council or congregation. They edified themselves as best they could under the circumstances with the Word of God, greatly cheering Pastor Handschuh. Mühlenberg states that the other pastors did not feel quite so cheerful in view of the probable outcome, but nevertheless thought it to be due this honest and worthy pastor to proceed with the ceremony,—which they did. Conrad Weiser was one of the invited guests present.

News soon came to Mühlenberg from Lancaster that the oldest and most prominent members no longer attended divine services and that the young people had lost respect for their pastor and were caricaturing his marriage in comic songs.[382]

On May 24th poor Pastor Handschuh had another

[382] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 323.

attack of illness, attended with great weakness; but on the 26th he ventured to an extraordinarily large funeral of a prominent person and preached a wonderful sermon before a very attentive multitude.[383] Mühlenberg wrote of him under date of May 21st, "Our dear Herr Pastor Handschuh is always weak, but labors faithfully and patiently among the wild folk in Lancaster."[384] During August and September there were times when there was such a large attendance at his services that the church would not hold the people. In December, after a visit to Philadelphia, he was compelled to ride through the swollen waters of the Conestoga, arriving home in Lancaster late that night after a dangerous journey.

During the whole of the following winter he ministered faithfully to his flock, but the fact of his marriage was ever before their eyes, and they would not forget it. In the month of February occurred the sleigh-ride and the scandalous use of the pastor's name at the frolic, referred to on a previous page. At about the same time, the chief burgess, who was a member of the Church Council, compelled Handschuh to vacate his dwelling in coldest winter time, so that it was necessary for him to move into a small, new house, which still was odorous with fresh plaster and glue. The pastor now no longer received his salary and was under the necessity of making debts. In attempting to throw light on the situation, Schoolmaster Löser wrote to Mühlenberg that the Church Council was entirely at sea and divided. Some of them did not attend church any more. Others only came to hear what was going on and to report the state of affairs to Pastor Stoever. Church was sometimes full on Sunday, but the congregation did not cleave together.

[383] Handschuh's Diary, *Hall. Nachr.*, II., p. 58.
[384] *Hall. Nachr.*, I., p. 530.

Der

Tod als eine Seligkeit

für diejenige,

die in dem HErrn sterben

wurde

über Offenbarung Johannis 14 Capitel. 13. v.

bey

Der am 12ten Febr. 1756 geschehenen

Beerdigung

Herrn Matthias Heinzelmans,

treu fleißig gewesenen Zweyten Evangelisch Lutherischen

Predigers in Philadelphia

vor

einer zahlreichen Leichen Versamlung in englischer Sprach

vorgestellet

von

Magister Israel Acrelius,

Schwedischen Probst und Predigern in Christina

und hernach

auf vieler Begehren aus dem Englischen ins Teutsche

übersetzt

von

Johann Fridrich Handschuch,

Evangelisch Lutherischen Predigern

nebst

des Uebersetzers

kleiner teutschen Rede.

Philadelphia: Gedruckt und zu haben bey Benjamin Franklin und Anton Armbrüster 1756.

Finally Mühlenberg and the united pastors decided that it would not do to subject Pastor Handschuh to these disturbances any longer, or to run the risk of ruining the congregation. On March 25th Mühlenberg wrote, "As the congregation at Lancaster will not recognize Pastor Handschuh's fidelity and diligence, and has shown itself to be very seriously against him, and has not paid what they promised him for his support, but has permitted him to suffer want, we gave him a letter to be read to the congregation, stating that he had only been lent to them, and that he should preach his farewell sermon in some weeks. The prominent members are not in earnest in their desire to retain faithful servants."

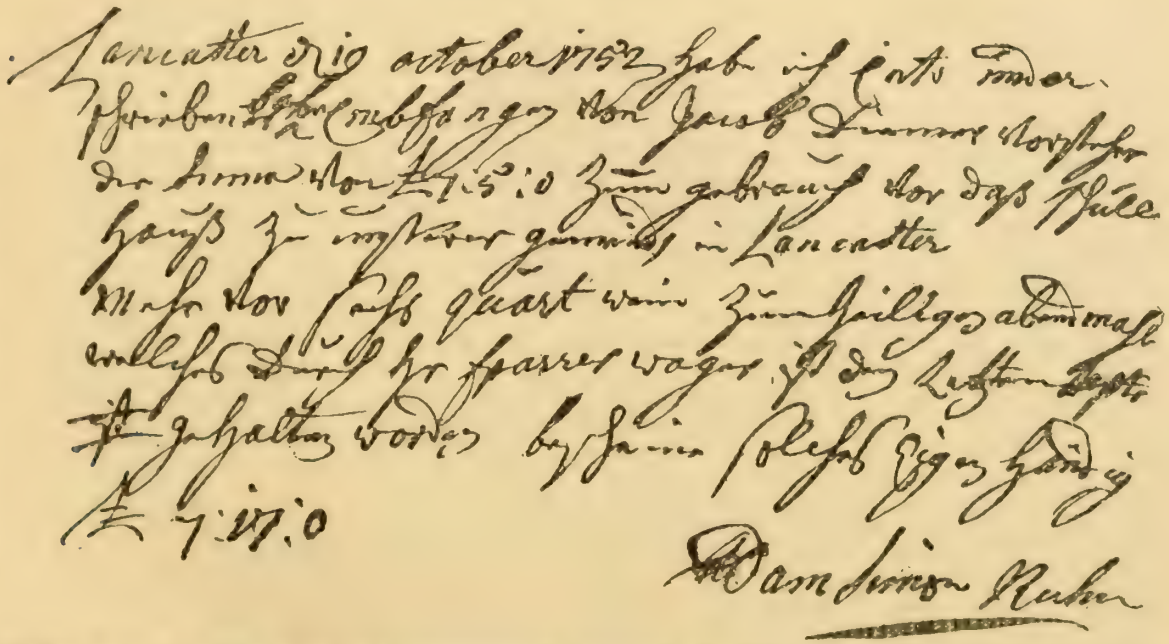
At the service on March 31st the letter containing the recall of Handschuh to Philadelphia was read out to the assembled congregation. It created a great commotion, many beseeching Handschuh to stay, and many blaming each other for this calamity. On Easter, after preaching to an indescribable multitude of people, Rev. Handschuh administered the Lord's Supper to 220 persons, and on the 5th of May he preached his farewell sermon. The scene was one not soon to be forgotten. His eloquence and earnestness and great power of speech and heart moved the congregation to tears and stirred them most deeply. He left a few days later, accepting a call to Germantown.

We have sketched the brief pastorate of Rev. Handschuh in full outline and detail, the materials being at hand, for the sake of illustrating the interior workings of congregational life in early colonial days.

To supply the vacancy now created in Lancaster, Mühlenberg, during the year 1751–52 sent the Rev. Tobias Wagner, who lived at the Tulpehocken. And he came over to



ORIGINAL EVANGELICAL TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH OF LANCASTER.
CONSECRATED IN 1766
FROM AN OLD PAINTING.



RECEIPT OF ADAM SIMON KUHN FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS BUILDING THE SCHOOL HOUSE IN 1752, ALSO FOR WINE USED AT LAST CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION BY REV. TOBIAS WAGNER.

Lancaster monthly to preach.[385] Rev. Wagner advised the congregation to write a memorial to the consistory of Stuttgart, Würtemberg, the head of the church from which he himself had come. In this memorial the congregation expressed a strong desire that a competent person should be selected and sent to labor in America. Meantime a wandering Würtemberg theological student named Engeland and a Rev. Mr. Wartmann,[386] who had been pastor of a congregation in Hamburg, Europe, preached at Lancaster for a short time.



ARMS OF WÜRTEMBERG.

In May, 1752, the Würtemberg Consistory selected the Rev. John Siegfried Gerock. He had already been ordained by the Consistory of Darmstadt and reached Lancaster in March, 1753. He remained pastor of Trinity congregation for fourteen years.

His congregation prospered, and under him the large structure, now known as Trinity Church, was built. Pastor Gerock at once united with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and labored in Lancaster with great fidelity and amid much tribulation. He was highly respected by his people.

[385] Rev. Tobias Wagner was a pastor from Würtemberg who had accompanied a number of immigrants to New England. But after his arrival in America he came to Pennsylvania and was kindly received by Dr. Mühlenberg. He became pastor at the Tulpehocken, and later assumed charge of the church at Reading.

[386] Henry Burcher Gabriel Wartmann was called to Reading from Lancaster and dismissed there already in July, 1753. He went through Virginia and the Carolinas, and arrived at Charleston in 1757. (See Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 1872, p. 208.)

Lancaster 17 Jan 1755. Habe empfangen
von Ludwig Lauman Vorsteher Neun Schilling
Vor Drey Tausend Backsteine gezahlt für
der Kirche von Dambach welche ich bekenne
mit meiner Eigen Hand

L o-9-o

Georg H Schmidt

RECEIPT FOR BRICKS USED IN BUILDING TRINITY CHURCH.

As the congregation was flourishing, and the old building was showing signs of decay, a congregational meeting was held January 1, 1761, and the members resolved "deliberately, voluntarily, and firmly" that their duty to God, their own religious wants, and those of their children, not less than the honor due to the Saviour, imperatively demanded that a new church should be built, in order that therein the Word of God might be preached and the holy Sacrament administered, in accordance with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. The lot on which Trinity Church now stands was purchased at once, and the task of erecting the new building was assigned to Mr. Gerock and three elders, Adam Simon Kuhn, Bernhard Hubley, and Frederick Jayser.[387] It was resolved that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania should be invited to meet at Lancaster on Trinity Sunday, May 17, and that on the following Monday the corner stone of the new building should be laid in the presence of the Synod. The Synod accepted the invitation and among those present on the occasion were Dr. Mühlenberg and the Swedish Provost, Dr. Wrangel. The corner stone was laid with great solemnity,[388] and the

[387] On the 1st of January, 1761, the congregation resolved to purchase a lot on Duke Street near the old church. On the 7th of the same month they opened a subscription list. One of the elders subscribed £100 Pennsylvania currency and five other elders £50.

[388] On Monday morning, the 18th of May, 1761, the members of the Synod repaired at an early hour to the residence of Pastor Gerock, and together with himself and all the officers of the church (elders and trustees): Adam S. Kuhn, Michael Gross, Bernhard Hubley, Frederick Jayser, Gerhard Brenner, Ludwig Laumann.—Deacons (Vorsteher): Christoph Mayer, Martin Laumann, Carl Schneider, Adam Hambrecht), signed a document which was to be deposited in the corner stone. This document, of which no full copy is known to exist, related the whole previous history of the congregation in detail, and then declared that the sacred edifice which the corner stone was intended to sustain, should be called "The Church of the Holy Trinity," and be consecrated solely to the cause of the evangelical truth, as that truth is taught by the apostles and prophets and set forth in the pure, Unaltered Augsburg Confession.

building advanced steadily, while the congregation also grew larger. The year after the corner stone was laid, Pastor Gerock could report to Synod the baptism of nearly 280 children for Lancaster and Beaver Creek Churches, which would indicate a very large communicant membership. Forty persons, including one Roman Catholic, were

At 10 o'clock the members of the Synod and others went in procession to the old church, and Rev. Dr. Mühlenberg delivered a discourse on the 60th chapter of Isaiah. After the service all proceeded to the immediate vicinity of the corner stone. The whole assembly, standing in a devout attitude, united in singing several stanzas of the favorite German church hymn, beginning with the words: "Sey Lob und Ehr' dem hoechsten Gut." Then Pastor Gerock read aloud the document which has already been described, transferred it to a small box, and deposited the whole in the corner stone; after this act the stone itself was reverently removed to its proper place, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and firmly secured. Dr. Wrangel now came forward, and with a mallet struck the stone thrice and offered a short prayer. Every clerical and lay member of the Synod and every church officer in regular succession approached the stone, raised the mallet and by distinct strokes on the stone, of the same mystic number, indicated that his heart prayed for the completion and perpetuity of the building. Again did the vast assembly sing to God's praise one of our old and magnificent German church hymns, and then each spectator devoutly retired, carrying the blessing of God with him.

The members of the Synod withdrew to the parsonage, where the hospitable church officers had caused a table to be spread, which bountifully supplied the wants of the honored guests. As the whole day constituted a festival, synodical business was entirely suspended by the brethren. In the afternoon they proceeded, by the invitation of several members of the congregation, who were also the magistrates of the town, to the court house. Here an exhibition, prepared for the occasion and consisting of speeches delivered by several pupils of the school and of various pieces of music that were admirably performed, furnished the guests with an agreeable recreation. The evening was passed at the residence of Mr. Michael Gross, an elder, whose delicate hospitality provided for the clergy an entertainment of intrumental and vocal music. "The tasteful and happy adaptation of the pieces to the grave, clerical character of his guests, did not fail to obtain a respectful recognition."

The church officers on that occasion resolved that the pastor should preserve an account of the solemnities of the day, and afterwards exhibited anew their solicitude by requesting Dr. Mühlenberg, whose narrative still belongs to their treasures of this church, to inscribe the whole in the Church Book, for the sake of their children, to whom the narrative would naturally be deeply interesting.—*History of Trinity Church.*

Lancaster, d. 4th of July 1761.

This is to order Mr. Ludwick Loamans, to pay to Milnor & Moore the Sum of Twenty five Pounds, on account of their Work of the S. Trinity Church in this Town.

J. John Siegfried Gerock.
Bd. Hubley
Ludwick Yoder

AUTOGRAPH AND WRITING OF REV. GEROCK.

confirmed in the same year. The German school,[389] supported by the members of the church, was crowded with 90 children.[390]

At last after a period of five years[391] the Trinity Church at Lancaster was consecrated on the Sunday Rogate, May 4, 1766. In the festal procession that morning were six pastors, including Dr. Mühlenberg of Philadelphia, Kurtz, Sr., of Tulpehocken, Kurtz, Jr., of Earltown, Stoever of Lebanon, and Krug of Reading. The elders and trustees were: Adam Kuhn, Michael Gross, Bernhard Hubley, Gerhard Brenner, Ludwig Laumann, Michael Hubley;

[389] *Report of the Prediger Conference* in June, 1762, in Lancaster: The German school has 50 or 60 children in summer, but in winter from 80 to 90. It is supported by the congregation without outside help. Its school teacher, Jacob Löser, is an apt and gifted man, who doubtless would be capable of more various service. Yet it is to be regretted that on account of the contracted space in the school and the want of a good system of order it cannot be arranged better.

In the year 1761–1762 there were 250 baptisms in Lancaster.

[390] While the church was in course of erection, a house of correction was put up in Lancaster, and several years previous a barracks large enough to contain 500 men, was built. In 1763, before the church was finished, the terrible massacre of the Indians by the Paxton Boys at Lancaster, on Sunday, while the inhabitants were at divine service, stirred the community and the whole State to its innermost depths. By 1764 the place had 600 houses, with "wealthy and respectable" inhabitants. A German surgeon was said to be marrying couples at the rate of 300 a year, thus netting to himself about £150 annually.

[391] During the progress of the new building the congregation continued to worship in the old church which had been consecrated in 1738, and which was not taken down until some years after the new church was dedicated. On January 1, 1765, the congregation resolved to fit the new building for actual use as soon as possible. The four elders were instructed to borrow a sum of money not exceeding £1,000 Pennsylvania currency on their own credit, and the officers and members of the congregation pledged themselves to provide to pay for the principal and interest out of the income of the church. On February 27, the pastor and Council invited Dr. Mühlenberg and other regularly ordained Lutheran ministers of Pennsylvania and New York to attend the consecration, together with one or two elders or deacons from each congregation, on the 1st Sunday of May. On April 30 the Church Council resolved that no minister should be permitted to preach in the church, administer the Sacraments, or perform any other services, except he be regularly

deacons, Christian Werth, Caspar Singer, Carl Klug, Veit Mueller.[392]

At the beginning of the marriage register, opened by Pastor Gerock at this time we are told that persons were united in the bonds of holy matrimony after three public proclamations in the church of the intended marriage. From the statement at the head of the record of burials we learn that it was a general custom to bury the dead on the day after their decease.[393]

called, and acknowledged as an Evangelical Lutheran minister by some Evangelical Consistory or Ministerium of Germany, Sweden, or some other Lutheran country, and also be in connection with the present Rev. Ministerium of Pennsylvania. On the morning of the dedication the ministers and deputies of the united congregations met in the school-house at 9 A. M. At 10 A. M. they formed a procession and went to the new church in the following order: The schoolmaster, Mr. Jacob Löser, with the children of his school, the deacons of the Lancaster congregation, bearing the sacred vessels, the ministers, the elders and trustees of the Lancaster congregation, the deputies of the united congregations. Dr. Mühlenberg opened the service by reading Psalm 100. The choir sang the first verse of the hymn, "Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott." The pastor delivered the "declaration" in regard to the church, for what purpose it was built and is to be used. Each of the pastors present repeated a passage of Holy Scripture appropriate to the consecration of the whole building and its parts. Dr. Mühlenberg delivered a sermon in the morning on Exodus 20 : 24, and Rev. Gerock one in the afternoon on John 13 : 34–35. On Monday morning the Rev. Mr. Stoever preached on Ezra 3 : 11–12, and on Monday afternoon the Rev. Mr. Krug on I. Tim. 1 : 15. £137 was collected during the consecration services.

The new building was 80 by 60 feet with a tower, and is preserved almost unaltered to-day. The pulpit was on the eastern side of the church directly opposite the front door. The church was supplied with deep galleries on three sides. The aisles were paved with brick. Many years afterward Mr. Coleman presented a large wood-stove to the church. Two large square pews, with curtains, were specially set apart, one for the pastor and one for the other officers of the church.

[392] There is a detailed account of the consecration on record from the pen of Dr. Mühlenberg. He, together with the pastor and Church Council, arranged the liturgical services minutely at a preliminary meeting. The place of every individual in the procession, the order of the hymns, the prayers, Scripture selections, etc., were all fixed. Dr. Mühlenberg adds that the program had been carried out successfully and concludes with an admonition to succeeding generations to be faithful to the Redeemer. He quotes Rev. 3 : 11, "Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown."

[393] This probably accounts for the fact that pastors often were not present at funerals, and that such pastors as John Caspar Stoever left no record of the dead in their church books.



TYPICAL PORTRAITS OF MEMBERS OF TRINITY CHURCH DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

ELIZABETH (SCHAEFFER) KELLER. SARAH (GRAEFF) MUSSER.

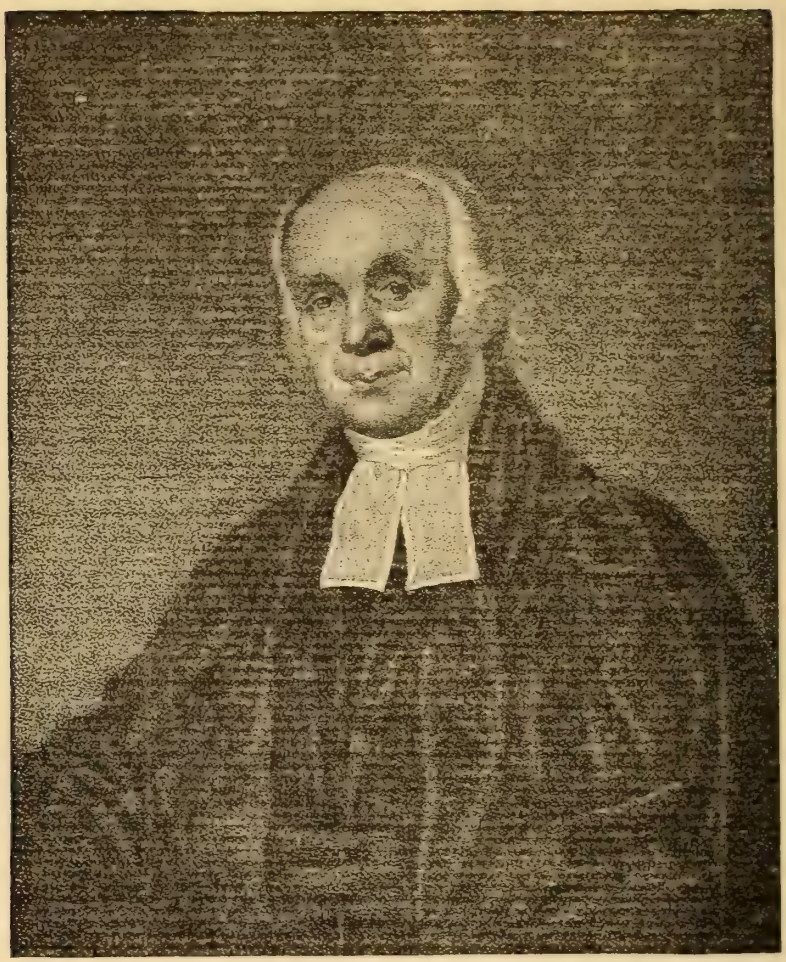
GEORGE MUSSER.

JACOB EICHHOLTZ. ADAM KELLER

The building of the new church brought the labors of the Rev. Mr. Gerock to a termination and in the spring of the following year he received and accepted a unanimous call from the German Lutheran congregation in New York City. On March 29, 1767, he preached his farewell sermon. He spoke of the many acts of kindness of the congregation during his fourteen years' residence among them and mentions the friendly coöperation of the officers of the church. He also stated that they regularly and punctually paid the promised sum of £60 Pennsylvania currency as his salary.

In June of the same year two elders were sent to Philadelphia to invite Dr. Mühlenberg to visit the now vacant congregation. Mühlenberg arrived at Lancaster on the 24th of June. On July 1st the congregation resolved to extend a request to the Ministerium in Philadelphia and the Reverend Fathers in Europe, to furnish them with a pastor and meantime to have the respective members of the Ministerium supply the congregation.

On the 4th of July, 1767, they sent the call to Philadelphia, in which they asked that the congregation be supplied "as soon as possible, with a pastor, who shall cherish in his heart, and set forth in his walk and conversation, as an example to his flock, the saving Evangelical doctrine, according to the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and in accordance with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the rest of the Symbolical books of our mother-church, who shall be regularly examined, ordained, and supplied with satisfactory testimonials by some Rev. Consistory or Ministerium of our church; who shall also be possessed of the graces and gifts which will enable him to edify our congregations by his doctrine and life, and especially thoroughly to instruct our numerous youth, in



REV. J. H. C. HELMUTH.

our Evangelical doctrine; and one who will be a peaceable and useful member of the Ministerium." [394]

[394] The call goes on to say, that the Ministerium knows by experience "that new ministers, who come over from the mother church in Europe, although they may possess a considerable amount of theological knowledge, qualifica-

In the spring of 1769 the Rev. J. H. C. Helmuth arrived from Europe and was called by the Church Council on 17th of May. He removed to Lancaster on Whitsuntide, 1769, and began his labors with great energy. Within two years he reduced the debt of £1,000 Pennsylvania currency to £500. In July, 1771, 321 persons subscribed money to secure a new church organ. The new pastor preached every Sunday morning and afternoon, and after the afternoon service held catechetical instruction which was attended by two or three hundred people.

In 1772 he went to Middletown once every four or five weeks, preaching there, and reviving the parish school there.[395]

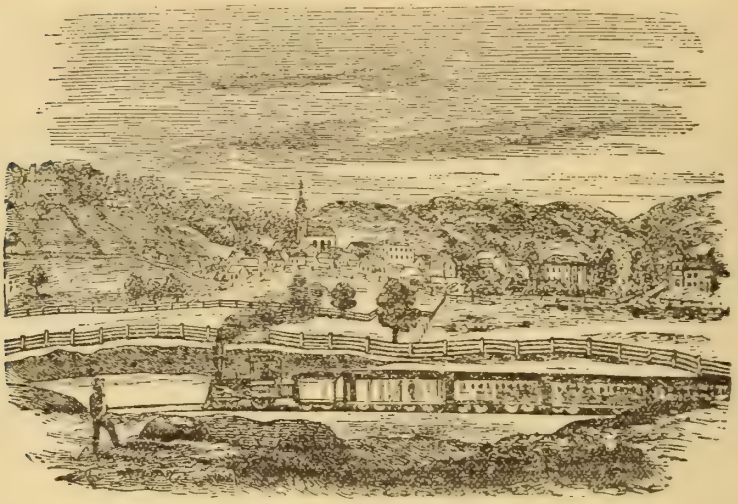
tion for the office, and good intentions, would nevertheless be exposed to many trials and difficulties"; that the selection be made with all possible haste and that when the new man arrives at Lancaster the Ministerium and the local Church council shall decide whether it would be better to station the newcomer there or take some one of the more experienced ministers at present connected with the Ministerium. The call says:

"We on our part promise, in the name of our congregation, that the pastor who may be appointed for this place, shall receive for himself and family, a healthy, suitable and free parsonage, kitchen-garden and requisite stabling, ten cords of wood annually, £25 Pa. currency every quarter, and all the perquisites customary here."

[395] HISTORY OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH AT MIDDLETOWN.

St. Peter's church at Middletown is the oldest church in Dauphin County, with the exception of the "Hill Church" in Derry township. The lot on which it stands, then in Lancaster County, was deeded in 1764 for the sum of 7s. 6d. with additional rental of one grain of wheat per annum, payable on the 1st of May. In this year 1764 a petition was sent to King George III. through John Penn praying for the privilege of erecting a church and of collecting funds. In response a license was granted to Christian Roth and David Ettele, to raise by subscription twelve hundred pounds in three years. Ettele walked all the way from Middletown to Philadelphia on his collecting tour. A delegate from the church at Middletown was present at the dedication of the Philadelphia Zion Church in 1766 (*Hall. Nachr.* II., p. 623). Whether this delegate was Ettele we do not know.

But we do know that in the next year, 1767, a church building was erected at Middletown. In the corner stone were placed a Halle Bible of 1763, the Shorter Catechism of Martin Luther printed in Philadelphia in 1764, three wafers, a half pint of wine, and some Pennsylvania currency. This old St.



VIEW OF MIDDLETOWN.

Peter's Church is still standing, though in a leaky condition and with window panes broken, and is worthy of all honor as one of the most ancient surviving church structures in the State of Pennsylvania. On the east end wall or entrance to the church is the following inscription :

SANT PETERS KIERCH 1767.

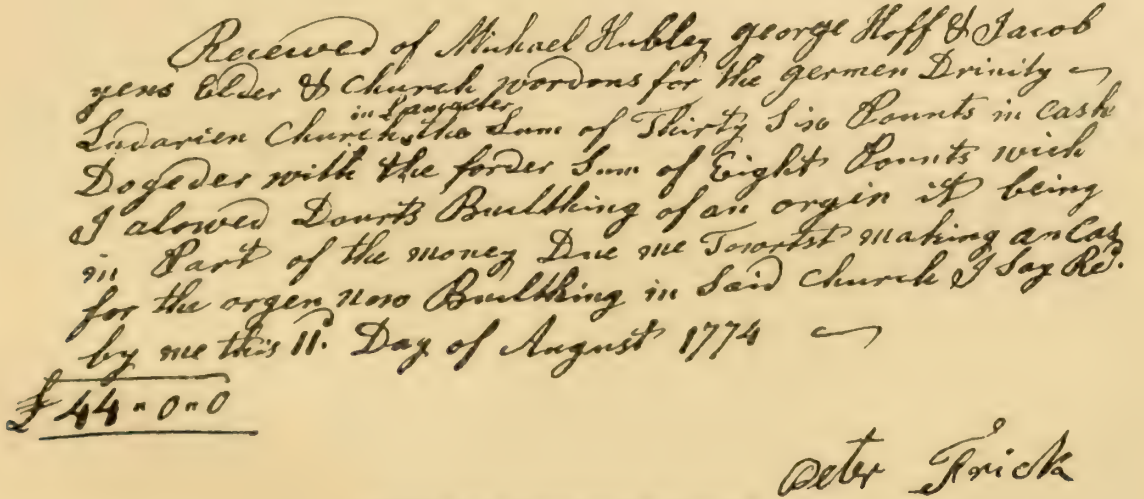
"The building was constructed in old red sandstone, and was two stories high, with a gallery on three sides and a stairway leading from each door to the gallery. The windows were small, as were the panes of glass in them. The first floor was of bricks that were nine inches square. The pews were narrow, with high, straight backs. The pulpit was a sort of martin-box on an enlarged scale, supported by a post eight or ten feet high, and reached by a narrow winding stair ; over it like a huge extinguisher, hung a sounding board." The membership was composed of 66 old and 63 young persons.

What brought Pastor Helmuth to Middletown in 1772 was the danger the congregation was in of accepting a drunken tailor as pastor. Without salary, Dr. Helmuth held public services in the church and called the elders and deacons to his own house for the same purpose. He arranged that the schoolmaster, who was a good Christian man, should hold service twice every Sunday, reading a chapter from Arndt's Wahres Christenthum in the morning and catechizing the children in the afternoon. The people were so pleased with this arrangement that almost the whole congregation went to church twice a day throughout the entire summer. T. F. Illig became pastor in 1773, J. Kurtz in 1778, P. Pentz in 1793, H. Miller in 1795, J. D. Peterson in 1803. From 1812–1830 the church appears to have been served by the Harrisburg pastors, Schaeffer and the two Lochmans. A new church was erected in 1878, which was remodeled under the present pastor Rev. F. W. Staley.



"SANT PETER'S KIERCH," 1767, MIDDLETOWN.

ONE OF THE OLDEST GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN PENNSYLVANIA, STILL STANDING.



Received of Michael Hubley George Hoff & Jacob
yens Elder & Church Wardens for the germen Trinity
Lutharien Church in Lancaster the Sum of Thirty Six Pounds in Cash
Dogeder with the forder Sum of Eight Pounds with
I alowed Towards Building of an orgin it being
in Part of the money Due me Tharefor making an Cas
for the orgen now Building in said Church I Say Rd.
by me this 11. Day of August 1774

£44-0-0

Peter Frick

CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE ORGAN.

The fervent eloquence of Pastor Helmuth caused the attendance at his services to increase constantly, and people from the town and county flocked to hear him. In 1773, the church, capable of accommodating 1,500 persons, became too small. Some years before it had been too large, but now there were already fifty seats less than were necessary for the membership. £400 were paid on the debt in the spring of this year, and a parsonage was bought for £450.

But Dr. Helmuth was chiefly concerned with the spiritual state of his congregation. He found it difficult to maintain the form of church government and church discipline which had been introduced into the congregation by Mühlenberg. There were great laxity and worldliness in the prosperous little city, and it became necessary to exclude some of his members from the Lord's Supper. Each time, he read the constitution to the congregation before administering discipline, and finally he concluded to try to induce the members to subscribe their own names to the church rules.

At a meeting on September 7, 1769, after explaining the matter, he secured about 500 signatures. During the next four weeks 1,300 names in all had been subscribed. Four weeks later he described the decline of the people in spiritual things in such an affecting manner that those who heard him were brought to tears. He rehearsed the duties of church members, and it was agreed that in the future the names of new members should be signed on the first Sunday of September, and that every year on the first Sunday in October the names of all those who were living in open sin,[396] and who had failed to repent after private

[396] He sought and gained a personal interview with each of his communicants prior to their coming to the Sacrament, and spent much time in this

and public admonition by the pastor and Church Council were to be publicly stricken from the list of members.

Dr. Helmuth, as well as his successors, wore the clerical robe, at Lancaster, and a tailor's receipt of 1775, for furnishing a gown, is still preserved.

The dark days of the Revolution were now closing in on the people. It is a matter of record that Lancaster county in particular responded with cheerfulness to the demand to take up arms for the country. Dr. Helmuth, in a letter of 1775, describes the enthusiasm that animated all classes in these hours when the throwing overboard of tea in Boston harbor had stirred the whole of Pennsylvania.

We consider this letter to Europe of sufficient importance to transcribe it in part as follows:

"Your welcome letter of February 25, 1775, has been safely received. At its very beginning you show an interest in the sad condition of our land, which obligates me to give you a little sketch of the present war troubles. General Gage lies in Boston with about 9,000 royal troops, together with many vessels of war. He has laid a town, named Charles Town, near Boston, altogether in ashes. The troops of the United Provinces, about 3,000 strong, have intrenched themselves about Boston, so near to the royal troops that nearly every day the one side shoots at the other. Up to this time everything has turned out advantageously to the side of the provincial troops, whereas on the other hand the royal troops have had some very decided losses. As the latter can accomplish nothing and dare not venture even a mile into the country, General Gage has blown up a strong fortress near Boston, named Fort William, which

manner. He was in sympathy with prayer meetings, held on several evenings of the week in private houses, and was obliged to go through some internal difficulties in his congregation on this account; but in the end brought back the whole congregation into sympathy with him.

he had in possession, and is now about to leave his present position with his army. [This was a supposition that never was fulfilled.] But nobody knows whither he will turn. Throughout the whole land great preparations are being made, and all is under martial law. The enthusiasm that manifests itself under such dark circumstances, is indescribable. Where a hundred men are desired, many more than that number immediately appear, who then, because they are not all needed, are turned back, to their own great dissatisfaction. In my own slight acquaintance with history I know of no parallel state of affairs. Regions of which one was obliged to believe that it would be years before the people freely gave themselves to martial matters, as soon as the news of the first clash at Lexington was known, became very warlike in a few weeks. Quakers, Mennonites, etc., exercised themselves in drill with the rest. The rude boom of war is heard hourly on the streets. * * * The people are nearly all raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm respecting freedom. The whole land from New England to Georgia is all of one mind, to risk body and life in order to assert its freedom. The few who think otherwise, dare not speak otherwise. If some of them are uncircumspect, they are dealt with so badly that others quickly learn not to deviate in the least from the paths that have been entered into. In Philadelphia the English and German pupils in the schools have formed soldier companies, and are drilled like regular troops. What the father does, that the child imitates. Would to God, that men might once assert their spiritual freedom as zealously and unanimously as they here in America rise to the defence of their bodily freedom!"

In September, 1777, Washington was defeated on the Brandywine and Congress fled from Philadelphia to Lan-



THOMAS WHARTON, JR.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA. DIED 1778.

INTERRED IN TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH, LANCASTER, IN FRONT OF THE OLD PULPIT AND ALTAR ON THE EAST SIDE.

caster. During that winter Washington was at Valley Forge, Congress was in session at York, and the Pennsylvania State Assembly was in meeting at Lancaster. The first Revolutionary War Governor (the President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State), Thomas Warton, Jr., had been inaugurated on the fifth of the previous May, with much pomp and ceremony. During the winter and spring, his headquarters were at Lancaster. On May 23, 1778, he died suddenly of the quinsy. The vestry of Old Trinity offered to inter his body in their church. His funeral, on the day after his death, was conducted by the State authorities, and as Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the State, he was buried with military honors. The grave was in the church, immediately in front of the old pulpit and altar on the east side.[397]

The Rev. Mr. Helmuth was called to Philadelphia in 1779. The question now arose, Whence should a man come for Lancaster? The patriarch Mühlenberg had a youngest son, now twenty-six years of age, fair and florid in face, robust in frame, of medium height, easy and dignified in manner, apt in imparting instruction, and greatly devoted to music. A call from Lancaster was extended to this youngest son of Mühlenberg, Gotthilf Henry Ernest, at the Synodical meeting at Tulpehocken. He visited Lancaster on January 1, 1780, and accepted the call, but did not arrive until the 9th of March, in this hard winter.[398]

[397] In 1777 Lancaster became a borough corporation. It had two curious laws; one was the imposition of a fine upon any citizen refusing office; the other was a provision inaugurating the holding of fairs, when the streets were covered with tables and booths, on which were merchandise and trinkets of every kind. Mountebanks and rope-walkers gave exhibitions. "The dances were the crowning feature of all. In every tavern there was to be heard the sound of the violin."

[398] Henry Muhlenberg was the youngest son of Dr. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg and his wife Anna Maria, a daughter of Conrad Weiser. He was born at

New Providence, Montgomery County, on November 17, 1753. He removed with his parents to Philadelphia in 1761, where he entered the Congregational school. On April 27, 1763, he, with his elder brothers, Peter and Frederick, was sent to Europe. They reached Halle on September 1st and were placed among the orphans. In the Orphan House Henry first passed through four German, and then through the Latin, Hebrew, and French classes. As he was too young, he did not enter the University until September, 1769. In 1770 he left Halle, sailing for America from London, and arrived in Philadelphia toward the end of September. In October he was ordained at a meeting of the Ministerium at Reading and became his father's assistant. In 1773 he was formally appointed assistant minister at Philadelphia. On July 26, 1774, he married Mary Catharine Hall. In 1776 he took his wife and child to New Providence on account of the British. In 1777 they were again obliged to flee and he followed his family on September 22d. In 1779 he resigned in Philadelphia to take charge of the congregation at New Hanover, but accepted the call to Lancaster.

In 1786 Dr. Muhlenberg began to have attacks of vertigo which increased in severity, and finally culminated in partial paralysis. He lost his memory and his knowledge, but as he took up a spelling book to learn the letters of the alphabet over again, his memory was restored. He died unexpectedly at Lancaster, after a pastorate of 37 years, on the 23d of May, 1815, while standing in his room in prayer, falling into the open arms of his son. He was buried near the church, the funeral sermon being preached by Dr. Helmuth, of Philadelphia, to a large concourse of people. As might be expected of a botanist, he loved to take long walks, and frequently journeyed on foot from Lancaster to Philadelphia. Dr. Muhlenberg was a mineralogist, chemist, was well versed in medicine and a good linguist. He was probably the most famous botanist on the American Continent, of his day, "being acknowledged," says Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, "by scientists in America and Europe as maintaining the highest rank. Various plants discovered and classified by him, were named in his honor. He corresponded with the highest authorities in this and other sciences and was visited, among others, by Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, of the Philosophical and Physical Society of Göttingen and other scientific societies in Germany, Sweden and other countries. His works are regarded as standard by scientists. Among his publications are 'Catalogus Plantarum Americæ Septentrionalis' (Lancaster, 1813); 'Reduction of all the Genera of Plants contained in the "Catalogus Plantarum," of Muhlenberg to the Natural Families of De Jussieu's System' (Philadelphia, 1815); and 'Descriptio uberior Granimum et Plantarum Calamariarum Americæ Septentrionalis Indignarum et Circurum' (1817). See *Gotthilf Heinrich Ernst Mühlenberg als Botaniker*," by Prof. John M. Maisch (New York, 1886). He left in manuscript *Flora Lancastriensis*, also writings on ethics and theology. He also issued the first German-English and English-German Lexicon and Grammar published in America, a large work, whose title page we reproduce in facsimile, and he published his *Rede bei der Einweihung des Franklin Collegiums*, 1788.

His one son, H. A. Muhlenberg, became pastor of Holy Trinity at Reading and his other son remained an elder in the Trinity congregation.



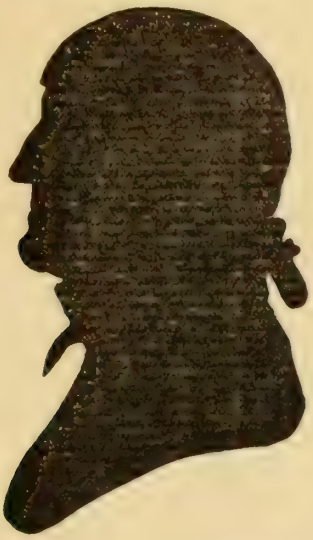
SCUTELLARIA CORDIFOLIA.

A PAGE FROM MUHLENBERG'S HERBARIUM.

PHOTOGRAPHED EXPRESSLY FOR THIS WORK BY C. E. F. SACHSE FROM THE ORIGINAL STILL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

He was twenty-six years of age when he became pastor at Lancaster. The Lancaster congregation added £50 annually to the pastor's salary *in view of the hard times*, and resolved that members who do not subscribe toward the support of the pastor should no longer be considered members.

Trinity Church had an organ before 1776 and the parochial schools were maintained regularly. Church dis-

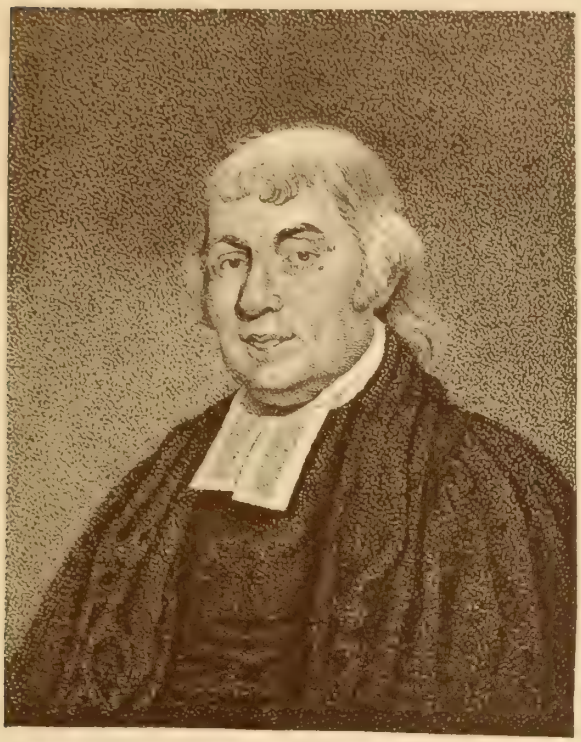


CARL HEINRICH HEINITZSCH, 1738–1803, MEMBER OF TRINITY CONGREGATION.

cipline was exercised; we find, in 1783, that two males and two females were formally excommunicated on account of adultery, and in August it was resolved that no suicide or other evil-doer should be buried in the graveyard, unless a certain sum be paid into the treasury in advance. Every time a member of the church council was absent from a meeting, a fine of 2s. 6d. was to be paid by him.

In a letter of 1783–84, written by the Commissioner of the Margrave of Brandenburg, we read the following: "It [Lancaster] has a handsome Lutheran church and a Latin school. But the greatest attraction which Lancaster presented to me was the pleasure I derived from the acquaintance with the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg, pastor of the Lutheran church and now *Princeps* of the college there. He is the *only native American* with whom I became acquainted who is a lover of science." It was in 1787 that Franklin and Marshall College was founded, a great event for Lancaster. Muhlenberg took a deep interest in public education, and his large scientific interests and high reputation, together with his practical pedagogical ability, undoubtedly had much to do with the organization and location at Lancaster of the new college, of which he is called "Princeps" in the letter of the German Commissioner.

In fact, we shall in a later chapter on the subject of Education, show that there was no problem that perplexed the German Lutheran pastors of the last century more than the problem of education. Already in 1773 the scholarly Dr. Kunze, who had come across the sea from Halle as a schoolmate and intimate companion with H. E. Muhlenberg was elaborating a plan in Philadelphia for the education of the youth of our churches in the hope of securing candidates for the ministry. When Dr. Helmuth left Lancaster for Philadelphia he furthered Dr. Kunze's efforts to do what could be done in educating the young Germans in connection with the German Department in the University of Pennsylvania. When Dr. Kunze removed to New York in 1785, the problem remained as pressing as ever. It is in that year that Muhlenberg writes of the necessity of establishing a German High



REV. G. HENRY ERNST MUHLENBERG, D.D.

B. NOV. 17, 1753; D. MAY 23, 1815.

Deutsch-Englisches und Englisch-Deutsches

Wörterbuch,

Nebst einer

Deutschen Sprachlehre,

Und den

Grundregeln zur Aussprache für beide Sprachen.

Gedruckt unter der unmittelbaren Aufsicht des

Ehrwürdigen Doctor Heinrich Mühlenberg,
Pfarrer der Deutschen Lutherischen Kirche zu Lancaster, und

Herrn Benedict J. Schipper,
Sprachlehrer in der Franklin Academie.

In zwei Bänden.

Zweiter Band.

GERMAN-ENGLISH & ENGLISH-GERMAN

DICTIONARY,

WITH A

German Grammar,

AND

PRINCIPLES OF PRONUNCIATION

FOR

BOTH LANGUAGES.

PRINTED UNDER THE IMMEDIATE INSPECTION OF THE

REV DR. HENRY MÜHLENBERG,
PASTOR OF THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCH AT LANCASTER, AND

MR. B. J. SCHIPPER,
PROFESSOR OF LANGUAGES IN FRANKLIN ACADEMY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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FACSIMILE TITLE OF FIRST AMERICAN GERMAN-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-GERMAN DICTIONARY, BY REV. HENRY ERNST MUHLENBERG.

School or College at Lancaster for the benefit of the German population of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

In 1786, with the advent into the vicinity of Lancaster of an educational enthusiast, and a German Lutheran pastor of a very high order of educational attainments, the thought of establishing a wholly separate institution for the education of the Germans in the heart of the German region itself, separate from the University of Pennsylvania, took definite shape. The Lutheran clergyman to whom we refer is the Rev. Friedrich Valentine Melsheimer.[399] He was ordained by the Ministerium in 1785, and became pastor at New Holland in 1786. At once he had that little town stirred up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm on the subject of education, and in the following year their large two-story schoolhouse was erected. Rev. Melsheimer was the earliest local investigating entomologist in this country. "His services in this department are frequently referred to by Thomas Say and other scientists."[400] He was also the author of a German work on Apologetics, of a defense of Protestantism, and of a Catalogue of the Insects of Pennsylvania.[401] He was an excellent scholar in the ancient classics.

Thus it became possible for the views of the still more learned Henry Muhlenberg at Lancaster, embodying the desires also of Kunze, Helmuth, and the other German leaders, to take definite practical shape. On March 10, 1787, the Legislature granted a charter to Franklin College, Lancaster, creating a Board of Trustees of forty-five persons, of which fifteen were to be Lutherans, fifteen

[399] His biography is given in Chapter XV. of this work.

[400] *Cyclopædia of American Biography.*

[401] "Wahrheit der christlichen Religion, mit Beantwortung deistischer Einwürfe"; "Gespraeche zwischen einem Protestanten und römischen Priester" (Hanover, 1797); and "Catalogue of the Insects of Pennsylvania" (1806).

Reformed, and the other fifteen Christians of other denominations, and donated a large grant of land in the northern part of the state as a benefice to the institution. The college organized at once by electing Dr. G. H. E. Mühlenberg, President; Dr. William Hendel, of the Reformed Church, Vice-President; Rev. Frederick V. Melsheimer, Professor of Latin, Greek and German; William Reisenbach, Professor of Mathematics; Rev. Joseph Hutchins, a Lancaster pastor, Professor of the English Language and Literature. This was on the 5th of June. The formal opening took place on the 6th of June, 1787. It will be seen that the burden of instruction in the infant institution fell upon the shoulders of Rev. Melsheimer. At this time Rev. Melsheimer was thirty-six years of age, and Rev. Mühlenberg thirty-four. Rev. Hendel, the Vice-President, received the degree of D.D. from Princeton in the year 1788. The President and Vice-President were the two leading pastors of Lancaster and coöperated together in exerting a restraining influence on the worldliness of the little community.

This new college, now the prosperous Franklin and Marshall College of Lancaster, was organized in 1787 as the German High School. The Lutheran Ministerium met in Lancaster from June 3d to June 5th in 1787. The minutes of June 5th state that "All the preachers have been invited to attend the dedication of the German High School (Franklin College) on the morrow at ten o'clock A. M. All accepted the invitation."[402] The appendix[403] to the minutes of this meeting states that,

"On Wednesday, June 6th, the entire Ministerium went in procession to the dedication of Franklin College, which

[402] *Documentary History of the Ministerium*, p. 216.
[403] *Documentary History of the Ministerium*, p. 218.

was held in the Lutheran Church. A Reformed preacher, G. Weiberg, opened with prayer, the Episcopal preacher, Mr. Hutchins, delivered an English address on John 7: 15, Preacher Mühlenberg, a German address on Ephes. 6:4, and the Moravian preacher, Mr. Herbst, closed with an English prayer.

"That the above all happened thus, we witness:

"J. H. Chr. Helmuth,
p. t. Presid.

Henrich Mühlenberg,
Secretary.

In the year 1818, when the Lutheran and Reformed Synods intended to found a joint institution of learning in order to train young men for the ministry, the committee which had been appointed by the Lutheran Synod to confer with the committee of the Reformed Synod, reported at the meeting in Harrisburg that they "have ascertained that in the city of Lancaster there is an institution known by the name of Franklin College, which in the year 1787, was given to the German Lutheran and Reformed Churches for this purpose, and to which a present of 10,000 acres of land had been given." The committee further reported that they "greatly lament that this institution has been so much neglected thus far, and thereby the purpose which the State, from the beginning, had intended it to serve has been frustrated." The committee then recommended that a committee be "appointed by both Synods in common, to prepare a plan, according to which the above-mentioned institution can best be reconstructed for the above-mentioned purpose."[404]

At the next annual meeting, in 1819, the Lutheran Synod appointed a committee to meet with the committee

[404] *Documentary History of the Ministerium*, p. 517.



SOUTH INTERIOR OF TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH, LANCASTER, 1902.
SHOWING ORGAN AND GALLERY.

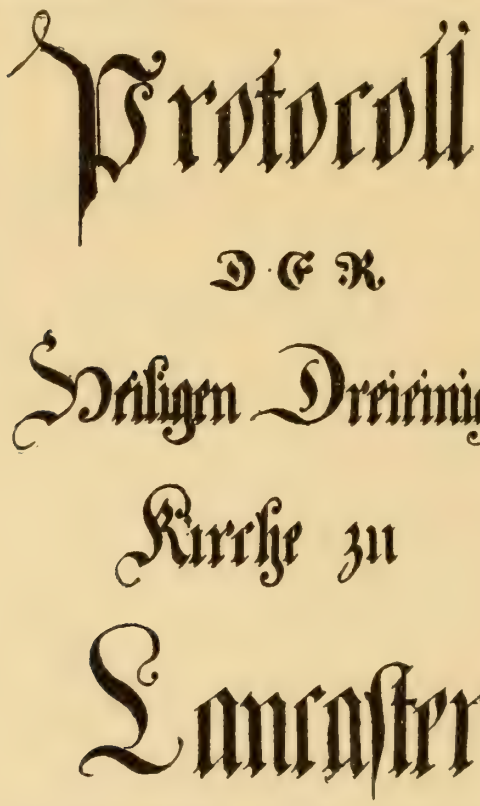
of the Reformed Synod and prepare a plan for a theological seminary and resolved that "one hundred dollars shall be paid out of our treasury toward the support of the college at Lancaster, providing the Reverend Synod of the Reformed does the same."[405] At the meeting of the Lutheran Synod in 1821 it was reported that the Reformed Synod also had resolved to appropriate a hundred dollars from its synodical treasury and the treasurer of the Lutheran Synod was ordered to pay a hundred dollars "to the Trustees of Franklin College, in order that they may be applied by the Trustees for the best interests of this institution."[406]

Dr. Muhlenberg was made president of the Lutheran Ministerium in the year 1788, holding the office for several years, and then after an interval was again reëlected. His interest in scientific studies did not prevent him from bestowing great practical attention upon his parish. The drinking and low morals in the community gave him deep sorrow. Rev. Hendel and he each agreed to petition the authorities to prevent the increase of taverns and fairs.

In 1784 Pastor Muhlenberg baptized 179, confirmed 72, administered the Lord's Supper to 627, and buried 48 persons. In 1785 he instructed 70 catechumens during the Lenten season. On Easter Sunday in very disagreeable weather he administered the Lord's Supper to 260 persons, 165 of whom were unmarried, and 95 of whom were married. In his journal, in 1785, he records his views regarding the necessity of establishing a German high school or college at Lancaster for the benefit of the German population of Pennsylvania and Maryland. In the next year, 1786, he expresses his conviction that the congregations at

[405] *Documentary History of Ministerium*, p. 537.
[406] *Documentary History of Ministerium*, p. 581.

Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, Reading, Lebanon and Germantown should have congregational libraries. He notices regretfully in 1786 that many of the most prominent young men of his congregation are marrying young



TITLE PAGE OF JOURNAL OF TRINITY CHURCH, LANCASTER.

women of English-speaking families, some of whom are not even baptized, and thus the church sustains great losses.

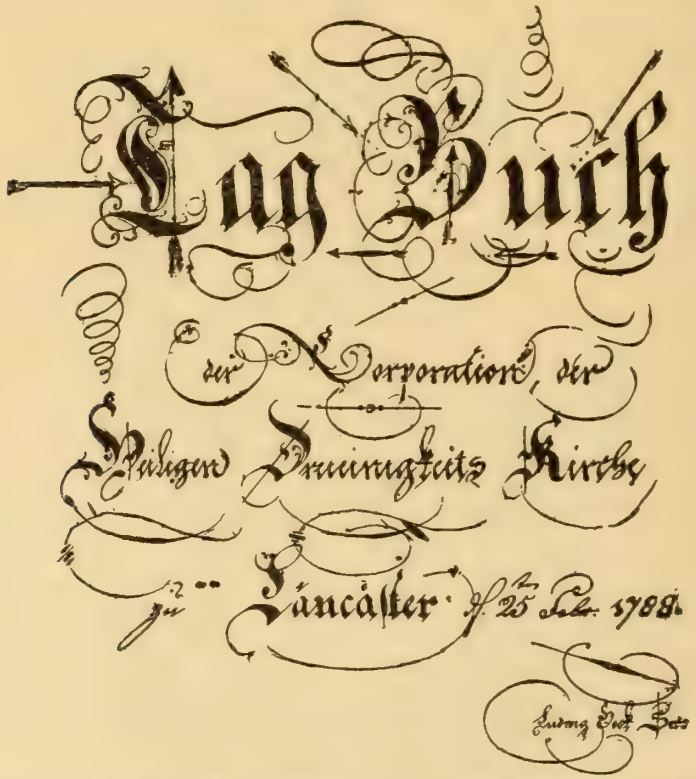
"On the last day of the year 1790, Dr. Muhlenberg and Rev. Mr. Hendel agreed to urge their respective Synods

I have agreed to allow George Bond Taunton Dollars for the carriage of three thousand hundred & three staples to Lancaster for Thomas Wyeth Esqr. to be delivered at the Trinity Church.

Boston, May 6, 1809.

Benjamin Hallowell

to petition the authorities to prevent the increase of taverns and fairs, believing that they had too many already. There appears to have been a good deal of drinking in those days and in speaking of the many and heavy bills



FACSIMILE TITLE OF THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE CORPORATION OF THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH AT LANCASTER, FEB. 25, 1788.

incurred in building the steeple, Muhlenberg complains of the unnecessary expenditure for wine and gin demanded by the workmen."[407] On the 8th of December, 1794,

[407] Krotel, *Memorial Volume of Holy Trinity, Lancaster*, p. 72.

after it had been nine years in the process of erection, the steeple was completed.[408]

As early as 1795 the English question became prominent at Lancaster. From this period on it was a momentous issue in Philadelphia, and finally led to the formation of St. John's English Church on Race Street. In Lancaster the parochial school had always been conducted in the German language, but Dr. Muhlenberg now writes in his journal of this German school: "An English school ought to be added, so that all the children may learn English. * * * An English school is almost indispensably necessary, and could easily be held in the second story of the school-house for Lutheran children."

[408] "On the 5th of September, 1794, they set up the four wooden figures, representing the Evangelists, in the following order: *St. Matthew* was placed at the northeast corner, near the church, *St. Mark* at the southeast, *St. Luke* at the southwest, and *St. John* at the northwest corner, or as Dr. Muhlenberg expresses it they were arranged according to the path of the sun, from its rising to its setting, beginning with Matthew as the first in the east, and ending with John as the last in the west. On Oct. 30, the ball, large enough to hold 95 gallons, was elevated to its proper place, and on the 8th of December, 1794, the painting was finished, and the whole work was completed. The height of the steeple is 195 feet.

"And now the bills began to enable them to realize the cost. The Messrs. Colliday's bill, for *work only*—was £1,985: 1s. 1d. and including materials £2,370: 17s. 2d.

"In 1795 they discovered that they owed £2,628, that they had gone too far, and must devise ways and means to pay the debt.

"Many have thought that our Lancaster steeple greatly resembled that of Christ church in Philadelphia, which was finished in 1754 at a cost of £2,100, and is 196 feet, 8 inches high. The early Philadelphians were proud of their steeple, and one, who had seen numerous similar architectural ornaments abroad says: 'It is the handsomest structure of the kind that I ever saw in any part of the world; uniting in the peculiar features of that species of architecture, the most elegant variety of forms, with the most chaste simplicity of combination.' We believe that Lancastrians generally look upon the steeple of Trinity church as superior, in many respects, to the former pride of Philadelphia.

"Some were very anxious to purchase bells, but the pastor and others insisted that this should be postponed until the debt was paid, and that even then three bells would be sufficient." (Krotel, *Memorial Volume of Holy Trinity, Lancaster*, p. 73.)

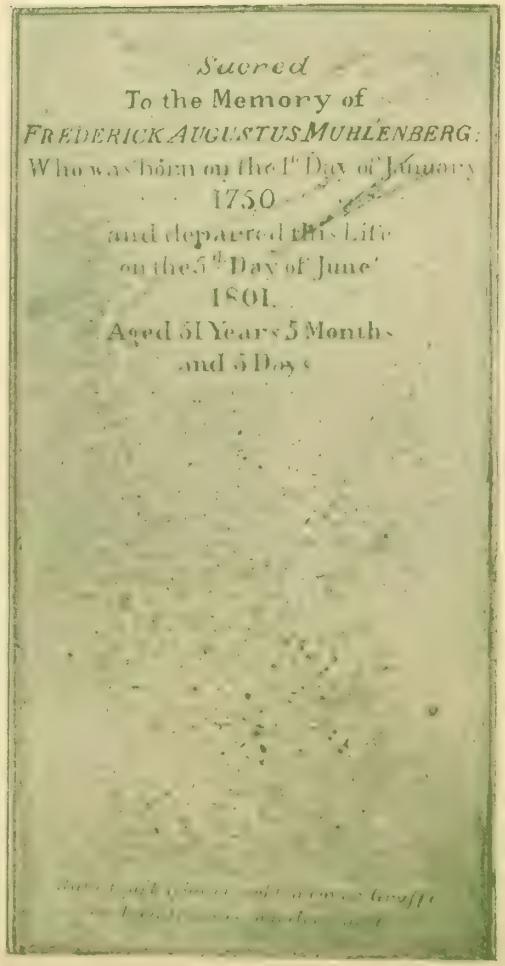
George Washington had died in 1799 and appropriate services were held in Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, as in other places. Only a few weeks after the death of Washington, Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania, and Major-General in the Revolutionary army, died on January 19th and was buried on January 22d in Lancaster in front of Trinity Church and immediately beneath the tablet which was inserted in the wall to his memory.

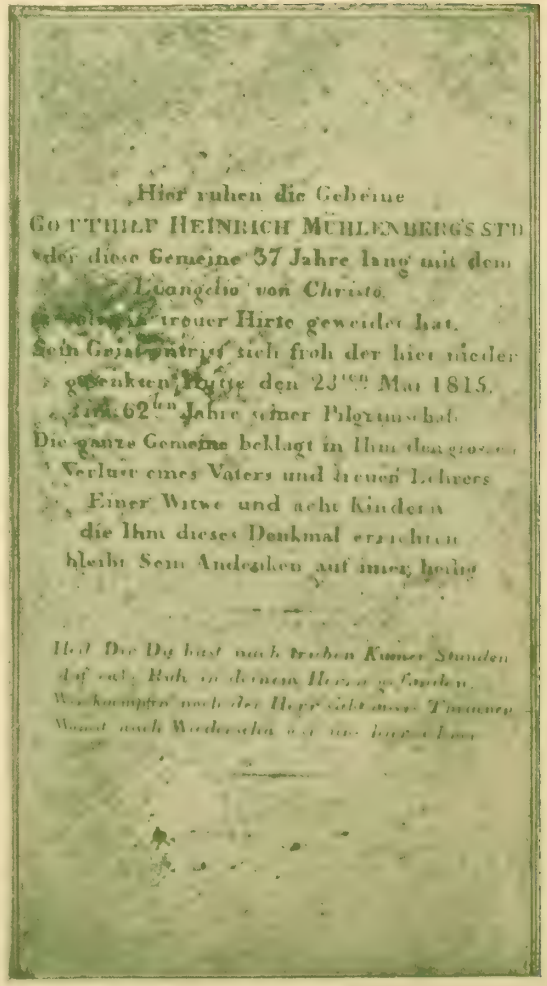
The following year the greatest of our national Lutheran heroes, the Rev. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, who had come to Lancaster to reside, and who only reached the age of fifty-one years and five months, died on the 4th of June, and was buried in the Trinity graveyard.

In 1805 the corner stone of a Lutheran Church was laid in Columbia and in 1806 the corner stone of a Lutheran Church at Strassburg. The Lutherans in both these places had heretofore been members of the Lancaster church.

In 1807 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania met in Trinity Church, Lancaster, on the 12th of May. It was composed of thirty-five ministers. For several years now the English question had been before the Ministerium. The Ministerium had opposed the introduction of German services into the English churches, as we shall see more fully hereafter, and had advised the formation of separate English congregations where necessary. There was a very lively debate on the question at Lancaster[409] and the Synod re-

[409] Dr. Helmuth, in a letter to Dr. Muhlenberg, remarked: "Lancaster, most assuredly, needs no English preaching, for in my time at least, even the English people understood German." This was written in 1805. Dr. M. adds to it: "There is a great change in this respect"; and afterwards, on the same page in his journal: "Lancaster is greatly changed. In less than 15 years English will become necessary in the German Church. What shall I then do for the children I have baptized? I myself shall preach for them, or seek assistance in this particular elsewhere." On the same page he remarks: "God





TOMBS OF HON. F. A. MUHLENBERG AND REV. G. H. E. MUHLENBERG.

FORMERLY IN TRINITY CHURCH YARD.

REMOVED WITH REMAINS TO WOODWARD HILL CEMETERY, 1876

solved that it knew no better advice than that which it had already given two years before " and that, since this advice was not followed, the Synod can have nothing further to do with the matter ; but addresses its most fraternal requests and admonitions to both parties to make peace among themselves."

In 1810 Trinity Church enlarged the old graveyard by the purchase of an adjoining lot.[411] On the 23d day of May, 1815, the learned and highly beloved pastor of the congregation died, and, amid an immense concourse of weeping friends, was laid to rest in the graveyard, after the funeral sermon had been preached by Dr. Helmuth, of Philadelphia.

The subsequent history of Trinity Church is given in the accompanying footnote.[412]

is my witness—I worked against the English as long as I could—but I cannot longer resist." He appears to have been favorable to the introduction of English services in German congregations, while he still gave preference to the German, and thought that the division of a congregation on account of language should be avoided, unless both parties were able to build a church, and support a pastor ; and that under all circumstances, whether they remained together, or parted, the utmost harmony and brotherly feeling should be maintained. (Krotel, *Memorial Volume of Holy Trinity*, p. 86.)

[411] "Members in good standing were to be interred in the old ground ; but all others in the new. The graves in the latter were to be made in two rows, separated by a walk, the graves of adults on one side, and those of children on the other ; while a particular part of it was to be appropriated for the burial of all those, who, according to the church rules, were to be buried without 'Klang und Gesang,' *i. e.*, without the usual tolling of the bell, singing, etc." (Krotel, *Memorial Volume of Holy Trinity, Lancaster*, p. 81.)

[412] "Later History of Trinity Church."

Shortly after Dr. Muhlenberg's death in 1815 English preaching was introduced into Trinity Church on Sunday evenings, at first only on every other Sunday evening. The account book of the Sunday collections states, "from the 4th of August, 1815, until April 14, 1816—clear gain from the English preaching on Sunday evenings $90.70." On the 2d of October, 1815, the Rev. Dr. C. L. F. Endress, D.D., became pastor of Trinity Church. The new pastor was 40 years old. He was a man of florid complexion and light hair, six feet tall in stature, of muscular frame, and courteous and refined in manner. He was equally competent in the German and English languages. He had in preparation a commentary on Romans, and was a contributor to the *Lutheran Intelli-*

Lutheran Congregation Dr

To Leonard Eichholtz

1815 Sept 5th 6. To 16. Suppers. 16 Breakfasts
15 Dinners. 16 lodgings for
the Reverand Mr Endress and
his family when they arrive
to Lancaster ——— £. 7. 62½

Rec'd the above amount in full of
John Hoff Treasurer April 19th 1816
Leonard Eichholtz





OLD ST. MICHAEL'S, STRASBURG, LANCASTER CO.
ERECTED IN 1806

The interior is a counterpart of the original interior of Old Trinity, Lancaster. This is the second building at Strasburg.

gencer. In 1819 he received the degree of D.D. from the University of Pennsylvania.

In 1821 Dr. Endress wrote the following on the first page of one of the Trinity Church Records: "At the opening of this Register, Conestoga, Columbia, Strasburg, and Leacock were connected with this congregation. * * * According to all appearances, the number of Lutherans in Lancaster, and in the surrounding country, originally embraced in the Lancaster congregation, has doubled since 1790. The number of baptized, confirmed and funerals in the respective years proves this."

Dr. Endress remained pastor until his death in 1827. He was one of the organizers of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, which came into being in 1820. In 1825 a petition signed by 134 male and 82 female members requested the vestry to order alternate preaching in German and English on Sunday mornings. After great agitation and continued disturbances in the congregation, which included the resignation of several members of the vestry, and also the awakening of bitter feeling, and a large decline in the number of those coming to the Holy communion, English services were introduced in the spring of 1825. This was followed by the withdrawal of thirty or forty members, who purchased a piece of ground adjoining the Trinity graveyard. In a subscription paper for the new German congregation written in 1827 are found the names of persons who resided in York, Columbia, Middletown, Baltimore, Harrisburg, New York. The vestry of the German Lutheran Church at Philadelphia contributed $200, out of a legacy from Germany. The whole amount of subscription was $2,315.28. The corner stone of the new building was laid in 1827, and the building was dedicated in 1828. The pastors of this congregation were Revs. W. Schulze, Weiandt, Merz, W. Baetis and B. W. Schmauk. In the middle of this century it was one of the largest congregations in the city.

After the death of Dr. Endress in 1827 Dr. John C. Baker was called to the pastorate at an annual salary of $800. He had been here only a few weeks, when on February 28, he organized a Sunday-school by the appointment of 25 female teachers for the girls' school and 22 male teachers for the boys' school. On the day the school opened, March 9, 1828, 431 pupils were present. During the pastorate of Dr. Endress a lot had been purchased for Sunday-school purposes on the northwest corner of Duke and Vine Sts.

German services after 1835 were held on every other Sunday in the morning and on holidays, German service on every Sunday afternoon and English service on every Sunday evening. Lamps were also purchased for lighting the vestry room for this service. As the financial condition of the congregation had been on the decline for a number of years it was resolved in 1836 that "voluntary contributions have gone out of fashion" and the obligatory system of pew rents which was "used by other denominations of Christians, especially by the English Churches" was introduced. In 1845 the vestry granted the use of the church for a commemoration of the death of Andrew Jackson. In 1847 the number of German services was reduced to one on every third Sunday, in the morning only. In 1850 the congregation purchased the ground on which was then located the Woodward Hill cemetery.

In 1851 both morning and evening services began to be conducted in the Eng-

lish language. In 1852 the congregation established its first mission Sunday-school on Mulberry street above Orange. From this school St. John's Lutheran Church has grown. In the same year Dr. Baker resigned, after a pastorate of nearly a quarter of a century, and, removing to Philadelphia, took charge of St. Luke's in the latter city. (For life of Dr. Baker see *Ev. Review*, Oct., 1859.)

In 1853 Rev. G. F. Krotel, of Lebanon, became pastor and the congregation at once decided to erect a three-story brick parsonage in place of the old stone parsonage. In that year the church was remodeled. The old pews and the old pulpit were torn away. But the old altar was covered with velvet and occupied its place in the renovated church. A new organ was placed in the building and a peal of eight bells was presented to the congregation. The largest of the old bells was cast in England for the church in 1769. The smaller one formerly belonged to the Ephrata community but was afterwards sold to Trinity Church. In 1855 another mission school was started in the northern part of the city, which subsequently became Grace Church. The church was rededicated on May 24, 1854. Under the wise guidance of its eloquent and influential pastor, Trinity Church now entered on an enlarged period of prosperity. On the 20th of November, 1861, Dr. Krotel resigned and became pastor of St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia.

Dr. Krotel was succeeded by Dr. F. W. Conrad (1861–1864), Dr. Laird (1864–1867), Dr. E. Greenawald, D.D. (1867–1885), under whom the local mission work of the church again expanded; by the Rev. C. L. Fry (1885–1901), and J. E. Whitteker, D.D. (1901–), the present pastor.

Note I.

Cause of the Removal of Nicholas Kurtz from Lancaster.

(v. p. 305 supra.)

Muhlenberg (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 365) graphically depicts a chapter in Nicolas Kurtz's experience when he preached at Lancaster. This was originally suppressed in the Halle Reports, and we present it here as of interest to the readers of our chapter on the church at Lancaster. It runs as follows:

"As far as Lancaster is concerned, Mr. Kurtz preached there at first in the earliest period with great applause, so that even those who were disposed to the side of Zinzendorf came to the service with all the rest and approved of Kurtz. Mr. Nyberg did not like this and made his adherents believe that Mr. Kurtz was secretly a Moravian brother, and would have declared himself openly in favor of the Moravians long ago, if he had been able to tear himself loose from the yoke of Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz. He gave out that it was our master-stroke, that we did not ordain Kurtz, so that he was obliged to be on our side and to remain under our yoke, and the like. On the other hand Magister Wagner and Stoever blamed us also, and said that these are the kind of fellows we are setting up as preachers in the Evangelical churches, though they are neither educated nor ordained. It can easily be seen from this that we love Moravianism, etc. This already was quite enough to stir up some of the more ignorant church members.



REV. C. L. F. ENDRESS.

PASTOR OF TRINITY CHURCH, LANCASTER.

At last there came a little test, when the common schoolmaster [Gemein Schulmeister] in Lancaster died and was buried by Mr. Kurtz. In the Moravian controversy the schoolmaster had often taken up his pen against the Moravians, and therefore they felt a deadly hatred toward him and decried him as the most godless of men. The Lutherans on the other hand wished to exalt him almost too highly, since it was he who in their estimation was carrying on the Lord's war.

Now it was necessary for Mr. Kurtz to preach the funeral sermon of the above-mentioned schoolmaster and he could not very well proceed on the middle road between the two parties without offence. When then perhaps in several expressions he came too near the Moravians, friendship toward him was at an end and contempt for him had no end. On all sides they caught up *phrases* of our poor brother Kurtz, which had not been measured by the *formulis caute loquendi*. Mr. Kurtz had indeed courage and fire in sufficiency, but for a post of this kind there is needed still more *Oratio*, *Tentatio* and *Meditatio*. * * * The wagon was run so deeply into the mire that it was with great pains that we pushed it back and it was indeed high time, yes, the time determined by God, that brother Handschuh, who was experienced in God's ways and preserved by them, came thither. We had much pains to remedy the matter in such a way that no harm was done to the Kingdom of Christ, but that an advantage might accrue therefrom.

NOTE II.

THE "AMTS-JOURNAL" OF G. H. E. MUHLENBERG, 1785–1786.

"The beginning of the journal shows how anxious he was to benefit his congregation and the community in general. He fully appreciated the responsibility of a pastor, and labored faithfully. He at this time thought that his people might be greatly assisted in their devotions, by the preparation of a family prayer-book, better adapted to their wants than any he could import. He also fully recorded his views in regard to the necessity of establishing a German high school or college at Lancaster, for the benefit of the German population of Pennsylvania, Maryland, etc. He asked himself the question, how his people could be induced to read more? and proposed to do it, by privately and publicly recommending cheap and proper books; by establishing a congregational library, and by presenting prizes of books to the children. He was persuaded that a reading congregation would be better qualified to understand his sermons. He also proposed collections, so as to be able to distribute at least a dozen Bibles among poor children and parents. During the next year he again refers to this subject, and expresses his conviction that the congregations at Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, Reading, Lebanon and Germantown should have congregational libraries.

"In his journal at the beginning of this year [1786], he notices, regretfully, the fact, that many of the most prominent young men of his congregation married young women of English speaking families, some of whom were not even baptized. He deplored this, because he saw that many of them were

thus alienated from the church and language of their fathers, and that the Lutheran congregations were in danger of sustaining considerable losses in this way. Although exceedingly liberal, and far in advance of many of his contemporaries in the church, in regard to the use and introduction of the English language, he at the same time was very anxious to cultivate among his people a proper appreciation of their German church and language." — *Dr. G. F. Krotel*, in *Memorial Volume of Trinity, Lancaster.*





Christ Luth. Ch. Methodist Ch. View on the Codorus Zion's Luth. Ch. Court House

YORK IN 1850, SHOWING THE TOWN AS A WHOLE, VARIOUS LUTHERAN CHURCHES, AND THE CODORUS CREEK.

(From the Annals of the Spengler Families with permission of the author, E. W. Spangler, Esq.)



CHAPTER XIV.

The Lutherans on the Codorus[413] and the Conewago. Schoolmaster Barthel Maul, Rev. John Helfrich Schaum, Rev. Jacob Goering, Rev. David Candler, Rev. Valentine Kraft, Rev. J. G. Bager, Rev. J. F. Wildbahn, Rev. F. V. Melsheimer.

AS far west of the broad Susquehanna as Lancaster lies east, is the city of York. As in England, so in Pennsylvania, the two adjoining counties of Lancaster and York are rich, well-watered, and substantial. Toward the Lancaster boundary in the territory of York, Kreitz Creek, running north and east, and the Codorus Creek, running east and north, both emptying into the Susquehanna, mark the territory of the first German settlements.[414]

[413] *The Lutheran Church in York, Pa.*, by Beale M. Schmucker, D.D., an historical discourse delivered September 23, 1883, at the one hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Establishment of Christ's Church. Gettysburg, 1888. See also *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 563-575.

[414] Glossbrenner and Carter's *History of York County* states that the first authorized settlement in the county was made in 1729, on Kreutz Creek, by John and James Hendricks. But G. R. Prowell informs us that there were no authorized settlements in the valley between York and the Susquehanna before the treaty with the Indians at Albany, N. Y., in 1736. All persons who appeared in the county before that date were squatters. What is known as Blunston permits to make surveys west of the river were issued first in 1733. These were given to prospective settlers in the northern and central sections of the county. There were settlers in the lower end of the county under Maryland

Of the earliest members of the definitely recognized Lutheran church on the Codorus, four arrived at Philadelphia before 1731, six arrived in the fall of 1731, and six in the fall of 1732.[415]

In the month of September, 1733, after the Rev. John Caspar Stoever had been ordained, and had come back to New Holland, he visited the Lutherans in the neighborhood of the Codorus and gathered them into a congregation under the name of "Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinde an der Kathores." As in the case of the other congregations organized by Stoever, a church record was purchased, on the fly-leaf of which the names of twenty-four persons are recorded who contributed to the purchase of the book.[416] The congregation had a book but no church. It worshipped in private houses for eleven years.

What led Stoever to go as far west as York, was possibly his acquaintance with two of the early settlers in York County, Sebastian Eberle and George Schuhmacher. Here now was the first little congregation west of the Sus-

grants as early as 1732. The first authorized settlement in York County by the Germans was made around the present site of Hanover in 1730. It was that year that Adam Fahrney Forney and other Germans obtained a bond of agreement to make the settlement on "Digges Choice," which was a tract of ten thousand acres granted John Digges, a petty Irish nobleman, by Lord Baltimore. As a temporary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland did not decide in what province this land was situated, this fact was not determined until after 1763.

[415] Compare Stoever's records with the list of entries into Philadelphia. Of the forty-nine heads of families in Stoever's baptismal register, five came in 1727, two in 1728, one in 1730, eleven in 1731, twenty-two in 1732, six in 1733 and two in 1734. (B. M. Schmucker's *Lutheran Church in York, Pa.*, p. 4.)

[416] The record contains Stoever's baptisms and marriages. There is no record of burials prior to those entered in 1748 by Pastor Schaum, nor any record of confirmations or communions. This original Stoever book is still in existence, and is in the possession of Rev. Dr. G. W. Enders, the present pastor of Christ Lutheran Church. We very much regret that neither the fly leaf, containing the names of the original members in Stoever's handwriting, nor the second page, containing the first baptisms would reproduce well by photographic process.

quehanna. It was gathered from the whole district along the Codorus, and came to full development before there was a single house within the present limits of the city of York, and fully eight years before the first survey for laying out the town was made in October, 1741.[417] Rev. Stoever visited York and held services once a month as a rule.[418] This he did for nearly ten years. During his pastorate he baptized 191 persons and married 34 couples. His labors here ended in April, 1743. He had already removed from New Holland to his new home on the Quitopahila in 1740. From the Quitopahila home the distance to Lancaster was 25 miles, and across the hills; the distance to York was greater still, and it was evidently beyond his power to continue its care.[419]

On the day when Pastor Stoever baptized for the last time, viz., April 28, 1743, the baptisms of his successor, Pastor Candler, began. Rev. Candler's pastorate was very short. His health failed and he died in December, 1744. When York was laid out in 1741 a lot had been

[417] James Logan in a Letter To The Proprietor under date of 1743, writes: "Wee have got eleven houses already Built in it, & several others setting on foot. * * * You may be pleased to remember that the centre of ye Town is two squares to ye eastward of ye Creek. The Houses built are from ye Creek towards ye Centre, and several Lots are taken up to ye eastward of ye Centre. * * * The 2 Religious Societies of which The Town & Country adjacent consist, (viz.) ye Lutherans and Calvinists, have apply'd each for a lot for a House of Worship, which in your name, I have promisee them, and they are going to build immediately." The Reformed appear to have gone to church with the Lutherans. They are said to have organized about 1742, and to have erected a log church in 1746. The elders of the Reformed Church had called Rev. Jacob Lischy as pastor on August 12, 1744.

[418] The entries of his baptisms at York show this to have been the case.

[419] Dr. B. M. Schmucker, in his *History of the York Congregation*, is of the opinion that Pastor Stoever, finding that many settlers who had gone beyond York to the Conewago and Monocacy Creeks and from there down toward Maryland, also needed to be looked after and organized into congregations; therefore sought some one who could be settled beyond the Susquehanna and take charge of this new field. This view is suggestive but not quite correct.

secured from the Proprietaries within the limits of the town plot for the Lutheran Church and a building was erected in 1744. This old log Lutheran Church was the first Church structure in the town. On its site now stands the third or present Christ Lutheran Church. In the spring of 1745 the congregation received the first church bell in this whole vicinity. It came all the way from the Lutheran Church in New York city, and was used in its new abode for the next ninety years.

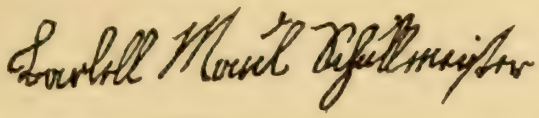
Having heard the eloquent Pastor Nyberg preach at the funeral of Candler in the Conewago Church, those present from the congregations of the charge made arrangements with him that he should serve them temporarily and should secure an Evangelical Lutheran minister from Sweden for them to be their pastor. But as soon as Pastor Nyberg, in the close of 1745, openly united with the Moravians, the York congregation, with the others, rose up in resistance against him.[420] The Swedish pastor Naesman came upon the scene early in 1746, but effected no results.

In the absence of any pastor during this period of struggle, the old schoolmaster, Bartholomaus Maul,[421] who was prominent among the stalwart Lutherans in opposing the

[420] In York the struggle was an especially severe one, as the Reformed pastor, Jacob Lischy, was of the same mind and in the same concealed relation to the Moravians with him [Nyberg]. They worked together with great heartiness and were assisted by brethren from Bethlehem. In and all around York they brought many to take sides with them. In 1746 a Moravian Synod was held at Kreutz Creek. Nyberg brought two Moravian missionaries from Bethlehem and tried to settle one as pastor of the Lutheran church at York and the other at Monocacy. (B. M. Schmucker's *The Lutheran Church in York, Pa.*, p. 10.)

[421] Barthol. Maul came to America in 1732 in the same ship with Christian and Conrad Lau and Nicholas Koyer, who were original members of the congregation. Maul was still living in 1754, but was dead before 1759. (Schmucker, *The Lutheran Church in York*, p. 16.) He owned part of the land adjoining the town of York on the east. Maul was one of the first county commissioners for York County.

efforts of Pastor Nyberg, held services regularly for the congregation. He read a sermon at church services and carefully instructed the young for future confirmation. Fortunately there is still in existence a sketch of the original old one-story log school house, with its three small windows and a door on the one side, and its two small windows on the other side, in which the sturdy schoolmaster gathered together and fostered the first beginnings of Lutheranism in York. The picture of this school house is shown on a later page in connection with the first stone



AUTOGRAPH OF B. MAUL.

church and the dwelling of the pastor who built the church. It stands in the church yard between these two structures.

Meantime the congregation applied to Mühlenberg for a pastor and asked to be visited and cared for through him until they might receive a pastor.

In answer Mühlenberg himself made his first visit to York in May, 1746. He had come thither fresh from the Moravian difficulties in the Lancaster Lutheran congregation. He had just taken possession of the Lutheran Church at Lancaster in the manner described in a previous chapter. At York he encouraged the congregation and confirmed the children whom the schoolmaster had instructed. He also baptized a number of children. He found that the organization already consisted of one hundred and ten families, and that the unhappy strife was still raging with great earnestness. Mühlenberg had not a single minister whom he could send to these people, and the best that could be done was to continue the services held by the old

schoolmaster. The Moravian party was very active and succeeded in gaining the sympathy of many of the townsmen. Thus matters went on for another year, until June, 1747, when Mühlenberg again appeared at York, and from thence journeyed through the whole West-Susquehanna circuit—Conewago, Hanover, Monocacy and down to Frederick to encourage and reorganize the Lutherans. He had reached York late on Sunday night, and some of the people came together at midnight to welcome him and express their joy that the Lord's Supper would be administered to them on the following Sunday.[422] He spent the

[422] The following is Mühlenberg's own account, in his diary, of the position in which he found himself: "June 21, 1747. In the afternoon we rode from Lancaster twenty-two miles and in the night reached the newly laid out town called York. Some of the people came together in the middle of the night and rejoiced at my arrival and expected that the Lord's Supper would be administered to them on the following Sunday, as it had long been promised them. I was now in the district in which the Lutheran congregations had commissioned Mr. Nyberg, when they still had supposed him to be a genuine Lutheran, to secure an orthodox minister for them from Sweden. Mr. Nyberg had promised to get them one who was even better than himself. In the meantime he often visited the congregations as far as into Maryland, and one and another soul was awakened under his lively preaching. When he thought that his party had become strong enough, he tried to introduce two brethren from Bethlehem here and in Maryland. The opposite party however proved unexpectedly too strong, resisted him and said that they had asked for Lutheran ministers from Sweden and not for Moravians from Bethlehem. Thereupon a great division arose. The people who had been awakened by his method clung very closely to him, were ready to live or die with him, and, being so persuaded by him, declared that we were false teachers. The stronger party nevertheless locked the church against him and said that they would connect themselves with our united congregations. Nyberg's party were supported and strengthened by the Reformed minister, Jacob Lischy and others from Bethlehem. Lischy had for some time labored in the Reformed congregations in this district, but after it became known that he was of Moravian tendencies, his congregations also were distracted. Under these circumstances I was in a difficult position. Awakened souls of both parties showed spiritual hunger, were well disposed toward my preaching, except that those of Moravian tendencies were not pleased with the preaching of the law, repentance, prayer and spiritual conflict, although I maintained these points clearly enough with proofs from the Scriptures and our Confessions, and when I was constrained to give testimony against Nyberg and other Moravians, they considered it as almost the sin

week in visiting the congregations along the line into Maryland and returned to York again by Saturday noon.

The members of the congregation were already assembled to meet the pastor personally and to hand in their names prior to the preparatory service which took place at three o'clock that afternoon. In the interview which he had with these people, investigating the nature of their church difficulty and ascertaining their spiritual fitness to partake of the Holy Supper, the wise, earnest, pious and judicious character of Mühlenberg is beautifully manifested.[423] At three o'clock the Confessional Service was

against the Holy Ghost. I was glad to find that the Lutherans had been driven to the Bible and the Catechism, '*Denn die Anfechtung lehret auf das Wort merken.*' Their zeal for orthodoxy also was to be commended, if only it was kept in the reasonable bounds of moderation, and pure doctrine was accompanied by a holy life. At the same time I can safely affirm that some of our people in the severest conflicts with the disingenuous Moravians, stood so firm and acted with such Christian moderation and wisdom, that it must be ascribed to the especial grace of God which protects the simple-hearted." (*Lutheran Church in York*, pp. 12, 13.)

[423] "I went into the home of a deacon, called in those deacons and elders who, up to this time, had been taking great pains that the church and congregation should not fall into the hands of the Moravians. I requested that they should let go all disturbing thoughts and turn themselves heartily to God, seeking grace and forgiveness of sins through Jesus Christ, and that they should also, according to their best knowledge and conscience, tell me impartially how each one who now desired to partake of the Lord's Supper had conducted himself. Their old schoolmaster, who up to this time had exercised great diligence in instructing the children, and also had read sermons on Sundays and thus kept the congregation together, was present with the rest, and was questioned regarding some complaints against him. Because of his faithfulness and stability, he was a thorn in the eyes of the other party, who accused him of many gross sins and iniquities. But in the examination it was discovered that most of what had been said against him was inspired by hatred, although indeed he himself admitted that he had made a slip once or twice. He promised to ask God for an entirely new heart and for His Holy Spirit, and to walk more cautiously in the future. Here and there a deacon also had been too heated and boisterous in the Moravian conflict, which was disapproved of in love and gentleness. As these persons one after another handed in their names there were found to be three kinds. Of some it was testified that up to now they had diligently hearkened to God's Word, and had conducted themselves in an orderly and quiet manner. Of others it was stated

that they lived in conflict with their neighbors and had not diligently hearkened to God's Word. Of these it was required that they should come with their opponents and should reconcile themselves. Some did so and promised to give God's Spirit and Word a place in their hearts. The Justice of the Peace himself came and complained concerning a scolding neighbor. But the latter was coarse and wild and would take no advice, therefore he was not permitted to partake of the Lord's Supper until he had prepared himself.

"The third class consisted of some who had been partially awakened by the sermons of Mr. Nyberg and his adherents. The deacons complained that such did not attend church regularly on Sunday, but on the contrary ran after Mr. Nyberg and others. They replied that the above-mentioned preachers stirred their hearts; and that they had been awakened from the sleep of sin by such sermons, had acknowledged themselves as poor sinners before God, and desired nothing more than to be rid of their sins and to receive grace for a new life. They furthermore testified that they had a desire to receive the Lord's Supper and had not departed from the evangelical [Lutheran] religion, but had become all the more firmly established in it, since now for the first time God's Word and Luther's catechism were thoroughly relished by them. The deacons desired that they should promise that hereafter they would go to church more faithfully and attend the reading of the sermons and would not run after Mr. Nyberg any more. They replied that they ought not to be bound down so tight. But they would promise that if a good teacher from our collegium would come thither and preach, it would be a joy to them to hear him and follow him in so far as he was God's follower. In the reading of sermons they did not discover any power or edification. * * * I saw very well how the matter stood on both sides; and then desired to speak with the deacons alone and afterwards also with these people. The deacons stated that they rejoiced if souls were awakened and brought to better thoughts, but they were obliged to be somewhat sharp, otherwise the congregation would, on the one hand, be scattered, and, on the other hand, would be gathered by such impostors as Karl Rudolph and his like, who were in the neighborhood, and in this latter case, the small harvest which could be hoped for, if in time a preacher out of our collegium were sent to them, would be lost entirely. They had no enmity toward Mr. Nyberg and other persons, and also loved the gifts of these preachers, but inasmuch as the latter were committed to the Moravian sect, the souls awakened by them did not remain in their original symplicity, but were gradually led away. I assented to this, and said that they must nevertheless be somewhat cautious and not spoil things on either side. But I drew their attention to the fact that generally at the first awakening there was an attachment of love between teachers and hearers, which gradually became more and more strong. Their intentions and conduct were good, for they had not done anything out of hatred or enmity, but had the real welfare of the congregation as their object. Afterward I spoke with the newly-awakened people, and admonished them to continue in the good work that had been begun, to prove all things according to God's Word and the catechism, not to build their hopes on human opinions, but on the rock Jesus Christ. Three or four such persons went to the Lord's Supper and have promised obedience."—*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 357.

held, Mühlenberg preaching on Matt. 11, 8.[424] After the service he examined the candidates for confirmation, and in the evening "refreshed and edified" himself in conversation with the Church Council.

The next morning the church building proved to be too small. A great congregation had gathered from a radius of ten to twenty miles. Nearly half the audience had to stand outside the building. Mühlenberg again held Confessional Service, preached on the gospel of the Great Supper, baptized young children, confirmed the class of fifteen catechumens,[425] and administered the Lord's Supper to 200 communicants. In the evening Mühlenberg was invited as a guest to the house of the justice of the peace[426] of the town, where he was asked to give an account of what he knew of Pastor Nyberg and the Moravians, and where he narrated what we have already told in the chapter on the history of the Lancaster church. We can imagine how dramatic this night-scene at the little town's squire's house must have been, and how breathlessly faces peered in the firelight over the shoulders of the small assemblage and gazed upon the impressive speaker before them, eager to get every word as he gravely unfolded to them his knowledge and convictions.

This was in 1747. It was another year before Mühlenberg was able to make provision for the church at York.

[424] He says: "The people were all very attentive and enhungered and drank in the Word as a dry land does the warm rain."

[425] "Amid plenteous tears."

[426] George Swoabe, written Swope as early as 1749. He was one of the early provincial justices of York County, appointed at the same time with John Day, Michael Tanner, N. Hussey, who also were the commissioners to "lay off" York County. Swoabe was one of the original and most prominent members of the Lutheran Church. In fact, his name appears first on the list of members who purchased the original Stoever Record book.

WE must now turn back to the 26th of January in the year 1745. On that day there landed at Philadelphia a group of three young Germans, fresh from their schooling at Halle, who were destined to play an exceedingly important part in the firm establishment and expansion of the Lutheran Church of Pennsylvania, and who in the hand of Mühlenberg served as tools to build up the weaker parts of the walls of Zion. One of them was to become the new pastor of the languishing congregation in the little town of York.[427] His name was John Helfrich Schaum.

Shortly after Schaum had landed he had become the German schoolmaster in the Philadelphia church. He



AUTOGRAPH OF SCHAUM.

resided with his comrade Brunholtz, who was now the Philadelphia pastor. He taught school in the house in which he resided, and preached occasionally under the pastor's direction.[428]

Catechete Schaum[429] had been in America for a little

[427] The other two comrades in this company of helpers were the distinguished Rev. Peter Brunholtz and Catechete Nicolas Kurtz, of whom we shall hear much hereafter.

[428] At Germantown and at Cohenzie, N. J. In the spring of 1747 he was commissioned to go to Raritan, N. J., as a *diaconus* or unordained helper or vicar. His instructions for the work at Raritan were very minute, and gave him authority to teach, preach, baptize and marry.

[429] LIFE OF SCHAUM.

According to Sprague's *Annals*, John Helfrich Schaum was born at Giessen, in Hesse-Darmstadt. "When he was selected for labor in America his father, John Phil. H. Schaum, was Preceptor of the school at Münchholzhausen, in the domain of the Count of Solms-Braunfels, not far from Giessen, and was an intimate friend of John George Kurtz, teacher, at Lützellinden, nearby, and father of Nicholas Kurtz, who was sent over with Schaum. Schaum was educated in the schools of the Orphan House and at the University at Halle.

more than three years. It was the spring of 1748, and the small force of Lutheran clergy was strengthened by the arrival of another auxiliary from Halle, in the person of Rev. Mr. Handschuh. Thus unexpectedly Mühlenberg was in a position to act in the supply of the long-neglected backwoods regions of the Conestoga and the Codorus. Quickly enough he decided to send Handschuh to Lancaster and to take Schaum from the Philadelphia school and send him to York. Schaum was furnished with exact prescriptions as to how to proceed in the conduct of public services, of his pastoral life, and in his official and private career.[430]

Schaum looked forward to his new responsibility with considerable trepidation. We have his own language, narrating in very lively style, his first experiences in connection with his arrival at York. He had reached Lancaster and was sojourning there with Pastor Handschuh. It was the 17th of May. The two pastors and schoolmaster Vigera of Philadelphia waited the whole day for a

When he was a student of theology he was selected from other scholars by Dr. Francke and his associates, licensed as a catechete and sent over with authority to teach in the congregational school, to instruct the catechumens and occasionally to preach under the oversight of the United Pastors." (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 88–90.)

[430] These instructions as still preserved and handed down by the descendants of Schaum, were in the hands of Dr. Schmucker and, on a comparison with the letter to the congregations at Raritan, were found to be substantially the same. Schaum was to keep an exact and connected diary of each day's events and official acts to be submitted to the ministers and to send occasional reports of affairs. He was to conduct all services in exact accordance with the prescribed order given him. Minute directions as to the length and mode of preaching were given. Schaum had authority to baptize, but must use the exact words of the Agenda. He also had authority to marry those of the congregation after three-fold publication of the banns. It was his duty to instruct carefully the young as the most important matter committed to him, and finally he is minutely charged as to his couduct and conversation. He had no authority to confirm or to administer the Lord's Supper. One of the ordained pastors would come from time to time for these purposes.

delegation that was to come over from York and to take them to the new field. No one appeared. They could not imagine what this meant. Many thoughts arose in the minds of the two waiting brethren to trouble them. They finally decided to start for York on their own account, and found a way by means of which they could proceed on their journey. As soon as they had crossed the Susquehanna, they were greeted by two persons who proved to be the missing delegation from the York church. They at once asked these two deputies why no one had come to Lancaster. The reply was that the York people had not received the expected word, and that it was only this morning they had heard through Pastor Schlatter that Schaum would probably arrive.

Poor Mr. Schaum was very much troubled at these tidings. The next day was the date set for the preparatory service, but if the people had not received the notice of his intended arrival, how could they assemble? Meantime, continuing on their journey, they at last set foot in the little town of less than sixty wooden dwellings,[431] and were received with hearty welcome and great joy, and taken in at the house of Mr. Billmeier.

The next morning Schaum and Handschuh walked down the street and visited several of the members, inquiring concerning their spiritual condition. Schaum also on this day, at the very outstart, presented and effected the adoption of the congregational constitution of the United Ministers. In the afternoon Pastors Schlatter and Lischy were requested to announce from the pulpit that Schaum had arrived and that Lutheran services would be held next day. The following day was the Festival of Ascension, and a great crowd of people gathered at the Luth-

[431] But one of these had an open fireplace and hearth.

eran service. Mr. Schaum installed the newly elected elders and deacons. At the same service Handschuh confirmed sixteen catechumens that had been instructed by schoolmaster Maul. On the day following the Lord's supper was administered by Handschuh, after a sermon by Schaum, and seven children were baptized. On Saturday Handschuh and Vigera journeyed to Conewago (Hanover) and connected it, together with the Lower Bermudian congregation, with Schaum's charge at York.

Mr. Schaum has left very interesting diaries of his daily experiences in his work at York, which are still preserved in the archives at Halle, and in which the names of a number of the early citizens of York are mentioned. He has also left an extended correspondence.

A letter of Pastor Handschuh, from Lancaster, dated July 9, 1748, indicates that already in two short months Schaum had begun to have difficulties at York. Handschuh encourages him, and tells him that all will turn out for the best. In January, 1749, Pastor Brunholtz writes him in a beautiful and brotherly manner and tells him to keep his daily course of life above suspicion. "You know well how necessary it is to be careful in the presence of others. One has enemies on all sides. Recall this fact. Live daily in Christ. Cherish the office you have received from him. If God be for us, who can be against us. Your most faithful friend and brother, Peter Brunholtz."

It was no wonder that Schaum met with difficulties in his new pastorate. For nearly five years there had not been a settled pastor in this congregation. Amid the distractions brought about by Nyberg and Lischy there had been no services in the church, except those conducted by the schoolmaster. Dissension now arose and finally be-

came so great that in 1748 Mühlenberg proposed to take Schaum away and send him to Raritan, New Jersey.

When the York congregation heard this fact, it became more docile and tried to settle its difficulties; and things went so well that at the meeting of Synod at Lancaster on June 4, 1749, after a sermon by Mühlenberg, Schaum was ordained to become pastor in York church, the elders and deacons of the York congregation being witnesses.

Schaum had now gained the love and respect of the larger part of the congregation, and his ordination, which was to have taken place with that of Kurtz, on August 15, of the previous year, but of which neither he nor his people had heard in time, had been universally desired.[432]

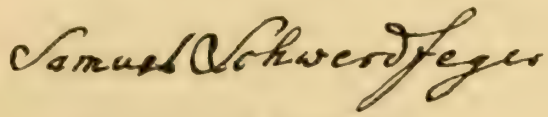
It was in this summer that the county of York was formed. Immigration became stronger, and prosperity dawned, to shine on the congregation for several years.

In November, 1750, Pastor Schaum was disabled on his wedding journey and was obliged to use crutches for many years. He was unable to preach during the whole winter. In 1752, after he attended Synod at Germantown, he buried his wife and child. In 1753 he again was ill, and Nicholas Kurtz preached for him. Considerable opposition now manifested itself against Schaum on the score of his ill health, and also because some of the wealthier part of the congregation were opposed to the strict discipline exercised by the Halle pastors. Meantime the town was growing rapidly, the number of houses in it having increased nearly fourfold since the advent of Pastor Schaum five years before.

It was at this juncture that the disaffected party brought young Schwerdfeger, a polished German speaker, whose

[432] For details respecting this and other parts of life of Schaum and a history of the congregation see *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 566–567.

life has already been narrated in the chapter on Earl Town, from Baltimore as their intended pastor. Schaum con-



AUTOGRAPH OF SCHWERDFEGER.

tinued to hold services for the majority, and maintained possession of the church until the spring of 1755, when he removed to Tohickon, and became pastor there on the advice of Mühlenberg.[433]



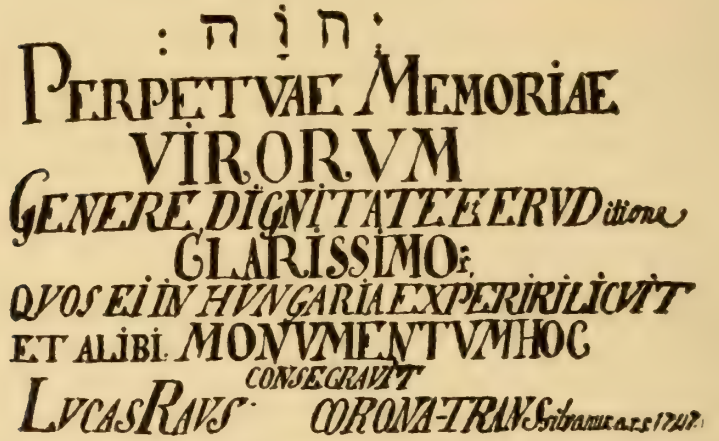
AUTOGRAPH OF RAUS.

MÜHLENBERG succeeded in uniting all parties in the choice of a new pastor in the person of Rev. Lucas Raus, of New Goshenhoppen. But after Mr. Raus' election, the latter changed his mind and was unwilling to go from Goshenhoppen to so distant a spot as York. This declination of Raus threw the people of York into great confusion. Raus put the blame for the whole affair on Mühlenberg, and thus greatly incensed the York people against the helpless and well-meaning patriarch. Mühlenberg appears to have done the best he could, and sent the young William Kurtz to York, where he taught school in 1756, in place of old Bartolomaus Maul, and also supplied the congregation with preaching. But in 1757 Mühlenberg withdrew Kurtz and sent him to Tohickon.

After this and other brief and irregular pastorates be-

[433] Mühlenberg is able to write in 1754: "I have been confidently informed that Mr. Schaum still has his church crowded with hearers and receives adequate support, though a portion of his members have separated and taken for their pastor a young man formerly connected with the public school."

tween 1756 and 1758[434] the York people again opened correspondence with Mr. Raus, and he finally consented to come as pastor to York in 1759. He was eminently successful in his work here. Party spirit disappeared at once and the congregation became united. In his first year he baptized 132 children, and 161 children were bap-



TITLE PAGE, IN HANDWRITING OF LUCAS RAUS, OF AUTOGRAPH BOOK USED BY HIM IN 1747 WHILE A STUDENT OF THEOLOGY AND MEDICINE AT JENA; NOW IN COLLECTION OF YORK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

tized by him in 1761. The church grew too small for the 300 adult and the 250 young members. On June 2, 1760, the cornerstone of a new building was laid, which was completed in the fall of 1762, and was consecrated by Provost Wrangel and Pastors Borell, Gerock and Nicholas

[434] In the spring of 1756 the York people seem to have taken a George Lewis Hochheimer, who in Germany had been a school teacher and barber, and who had arrived in the November of the preceding year, as their pastor, Pastor Gerock at Lancaster refused to ordain him, but he performed ministerial acts and entered them in the church record up to November, 1756.

John Casper Kirchner also settled in York County in 1757.

In 1756 the growing town of York received its Court House. Two years later the market house was erected, west of the Court House. It stood until 1842, when it was torn away.



Sketch of D. Spangler Wagner. From the drawing of Lewis Miller. From the Annals of the Spengler Families, with permission of the author, E. W. Spangler, Esq.

Original Old Log School House.

Dwelling of Rev. Lucas Raus, Built in 1762.

THE ORIGINAL STONE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN YORK, 1762-1812

Kurtz.[435] We are glad to be able to present a picture of this original church, built during the period of expansion of the Lutheran Church in York, under the ministrations of Rev. Raus. Rev. Raus built a dwelling house for himself in the same year, to the right of the church. This dwelling is also shown on the picture.[436]

When Mr. Raus took charge at York he failed to communicate with Mühlenberg respecting either the congregation he left or that to which he came. In 1761 Pastor Gerock invited Raus to the meeting of Synod at Lancaster. Just before the close of the meeting Mr. Raus arose and presented direct charges against Mr. Mühlenberg, offering to furnish proofs. Mr. Raus was told to present the proofs to Provost Wrangel and Rev. Andrew Borell, who would act as arbitrators. The charge of heterodoxy was made by Mr. Raus, and seems to have been to the effect that the Halle pietists were not good Lutherans, and that Mr. Mühlenberg had stated that the Lutheran Church was not perfect. The charges against Mr. Mühlenberg's life appear to have consisted of the complaint that he had not treated Mr. Raus right.[437] The arbitrators reported that the charges were not sustained and demanded an apology

[435] The building was 40 by 65 feet. The gable was toward the street, with the front door in the center, and one window on each side in the first story. In both the galleries there were three windows and in the rear there was a steeple which held two bells. In 1805 the steeple had to be taken down as far as the bells, because of decayed timber. The church remained standing until 1812, and occupied the lot on which the present church is built, but it was situated nearer the street.

[436] This dwelling is still standing and is owned by Dr. Samuel J. Rouse, the great grandson of Lucas Raus.

[437] Mühlenberg himself felt that Mr. Raus was under the impression that the Halle ministers received sums of money from Europe for their support, and divided it among themselves, giving him none. Mühlenberg believed that this impression in the mind of Raus was at the root of the trouble. As a matter of fact the money received from Europe was not divided among the clergy, but was used to pay the expenses of the journeys of new ministers brought to America, and also to aid in the erection of churches and schoolhouses.

from Mr. Raus. He violently refused to make the same, and withdrew from Synod. He did not remain pastor long at York, but gave up the congregation in 1763. He had begun the practice of medicine already at Goshenhoppen, and continued this practice at York, while also retaining some country congregations until the close of his life. Rev. Raus was a student at Jena in 1745, and an autograph album which he then owned is still in existence. So is, likewise, the elaborate medical work which he used as the basis of his practice. It is entitled Dr. Tuchsen's Medical Botany and was printed in 1543. It contains eleven hundred folio pages, including five hundred and fifteen hand-painted colored plates, made by good artists. It is said to be one of the rarest books in this country. There is in fact no other known copy of the book in America. Through the courtesy of G. R. Prowell, of York, we are able to reproduce a facsimile of its title-page, containing Rev. Raus' own statement of the fact that it was brought by him from Germany in 1757.

From July, 1763, to July, 1765, a Swedish pastor by the name of Rev. Nicholas Hornell was in charge of the church at York, but he resigned under a cloud.[438]

[438] Pastor Hornell had been ordained in Sweden, turned up in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1763, spent a month with Pastor Borell there, and then came to Provost Wrangel in Philadelphia, having with him an invitation to take charge of the York church. The next day Hornell called on Mühlenberg and desired to borrow some German books. Mühlenberg wrote to Pastor Gerock at Lancaster, informing the latter that Pastor Hornell would pass through there on his way to York. Hornell bid Mühlenberg farewell with tears. That fall a call was made out to Pastor Hornell and approved by the Synod. But in 1765 it was discovered that, five years earlier, Hornell had been arrested in Sweden on a charge of serious wrong-doing, and had fled to Denmark before judgment was pronounced. Mühlenberg advised the church council at York quietly to forbid Mr. Hornell any further performance of ministerial acts or to advise him to resign. Provost Wrangel wrote directly to Mr. Hornell in a similar manner, and Mr. Hornell resigned and retired from the ministry.

NEw Kreüterbüch/in welchem nit allein die gantz hiſtori/das iſt/namen/geſtalt/ſtatt vnd zeit der wachſung natur/krafft vnd würckung des meyſten theyls der kreüter ſo in Teutſchen vnnd andern Landen wachſen/mit dem beſten vleiß beſchriben/ſonder auch aller derſelben wurtzel/ſtengel/bletter/blümen/ſamen/frucht vnd in ſumma die gantze geſtalt/alſo artlich vnd künſtlich abgebildet vnd contrafayt iſt das deßgleichen vormals nie geſehen/noch an tag kommen.

Durch den hochgelerten Leonhart Fuchſen der artzney Doctorn/vnnd derſelbigen zů Tubingen Leſern.

Mit dreyen nutzlichen Regiſtern/auff welchen die zwey erſten/aller kreüter darvon hierin gehandlet/Teutſche/Lateiniſche vnnd Griechiſche namen/auch deren ſich die Apoteckher gebrauchen begreiffen. Im dritten aber mag man zů allen kranckheyten vnd gebrästen ſo dem menſchen/vnd auch zum teyl dem viech/inmaſſen zůfallen/einfeltig artzney/vnd radt finden/ſampt etlichen andern ſtucken zur haußhaltung treffenlich nutz vnd dienſtlich.



Mit Keyſerlicher Maieſtat freiheyt in fünff jaren weder nach zů trucken/noch durch an auffzug zů bekurtzen/bey der peen ſo die ſelbig/gluch auffs Regiſter volgend/außweiſt.

Getruckt zů Baſell/
durch Michael Iſingrin/ 1543.

FACSIMILE TITLE PAGE OF TUCHSEN'S MEDICAL BOTANY, ONE OF THE RAREST BOOKS IN THIS COUNTRY. THIS BOOK WAS BROUGHT TO AMERICA BY REV. LUCAS RAUS IN 1757, AND USED BY HIM HERE AS THE BASIS OF HIS MEDICAL PRACTICE.

John George Bager was pastor of the congregation from 1767 until 1769. A full account of Pastor Bager's labors will be given in connection with the history of the church at Hanover.

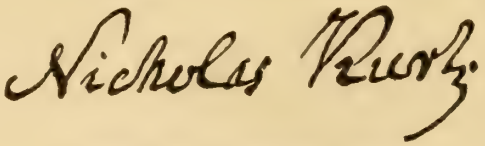
In May, 1769, Mühlenberg visited York and found the



SIGNATURE OF PASTOR BAGER.

church adorned with all sorts of paintings, "Among which is Dr. Martin Luther in life size, and can be recognized pretty well because his name is written beneath the painting in large letters."

In April, 1770,[439] the York congregation gained as its pastor a second one of the trio of useful helpers that had been sent from Halle to the aid of Mühlenberg over twenty years before. Schaum had left York in 1755. Pastor



SIGNATURE OF NICHOLAS KURTZ.

Brunholtz had died in 1758. And now the third man, the Rev. John Nicholas Kurtz, after a long pastorate in the Tulpehocken, removed to York and was made pastor of the York congregation.[440] He was in charge of the church

[439] In 1770 the following were the pastors living west of the Susquehanna connected with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania:

1. Charles Frederick Wildbahn at Hanover, who served a large number of congregations south and west, *e. g.*, Taneytown, Thomas Creek, Point Creek, St. John's, near Littlestown, Owen's Creek and even Conococheaque in Maryland, and one named Codorus.

2. Pastor J. G. Bager, who lived near Abbotstown and whose field of work was north of Wildbahn's.

3. John Andrew Krug, whose field was at Frederick, south of Wildbahn's.

4. In 1776 J. G. Goering settled in Carlisle and served upper and lower Bermudian, Dover, Paradise and Lower Settlement. *Hall. Nachrr.*, I.

[440] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 569, 570.



THE OLD COURT HOUSE AT YORK IN WHICH THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS MET

It was erected in 1756. The Market House to the west was erected in 1758 and stood until 1842. From Annals of the Spengler Families, courtesy of E. W. Spangler, Esq.



THE TOWN OF YORK IN 1850

Showing the Christ Lutheran and the Reformed Church Spires. From the Annals of the Spengler Families with permission of the author, E. W. Spangler, Esq.

during the Revolutionary period, and when Congress met at York. In 1776 he was naturalized and became an American citizen. During the meeting of Congress at York his house was the home of Bishop White, and then of the Spanish Minister, later of the French Minister, and then finally of a Member of Congress from South Carolina. In 1777 Mr. Kurtz, after preaching a suitable sermon, had articles of clothing and stores of every description gathered and sent to the Continental army. We present a picture of the Court House where Congress met.

In 1781 the constitution of his congregation was revised in accordance with the newly revised constitution for congregations adopted by the synod. All the changes are in the direction of stricter discipline.

Synod assembled for the second time at York, June 15, 1783.[441] Thirteen pastors were present. Goering had just accepted the call to York to be assistant pastor, having married Kurtz's daughter the year before. The double pastorate worked well.

By 1783 the church building at York had decayed in such a dangerous manner that many of the members were afraid to enter it. The walls spread, the roof sank and was bowed, and the rain entered the building. There was some talk of building a new church at this time. The Moravian Diary reports that certain soldiers at York, at this time, learning of the new project, prophesied that when the old people were dead, their churches would be left empty! In 1784 a new roof was put on and the walls repaired.

Pastor Kurtz not only ministered at York, but his general charge covered a large district. He is said to have done considerable work in exploring and ministering to Lutherans

[441] At this time the town contained about 1,800 inhabitants and 293 houses.

west of York in the sparsely settled country. His ministry closed on October 6, 1789, when he removed to Baltimore to reside with his son, the Rev. J. Daniel Kurtz, until his death on the 12th of May, 1794, at the age of seventy-four years. Pastor Goering writes of him in the church record at York: "He was a great preacher, had eminent gifts, much zeal and a sincere desire to secure his own salvation and that of his hearers. He led a pious life, was a very upright man, and very biblical in his belief. He died suddenly of apoplexy in the city of Baltimore where he lies buried. America had in his time very few preachers equal to him." He had been Secretary of the Ministerium in 1763, President in 1778, and after Mühlenberg's death became the senior of the Ministerium.



SIGNATURE OF GOERING.

Pastor Kurtz was succeeded at York by his son-in-law, the Rev. Jacob Goering[442] in 1783.[443] Rev. Goering was

[442] LIFE OF REV. JACOB GOERING.

Goering was the son of a German farmer on a small scale. He had an early desire to be educated and to become a clergyman. At the age of eighteen his father took him to Dr. Helmuth at Lancaster and told Pastor Helmuth of his boy's studiousness and longings. Dr. Helmuth generously received him into his own home for two years and educated him. On August 25, 1775, Dr. Helmuth wrote: "For a half a year he has worked out his own sermons, delivers them with dignity and acceptance and serves several smaller congregations, not without good result." Goering was examined and licensed at Synod in his twentieth year. He preached at Carlisle and congregations between there and York. In 1776 he was ordained as Diaconus and settled at Carlisle. When he resigned this charge in 1783, he preached in six congregations.

"Pastor Goering was a man of a very acute and active mind, with no little fondness for adilectic discussion." Three controversial treatises of his were



FRONT ENTRANCE TO CHRIST LUTHERAN CHURCH, YORK, PA., IN 1800

FROM A DRAWING IN POSSESSION OF THE HIST. SOC. MADE BY JOHN MILLER, A LOCAL ARTIST, IN 1800.

a very active Lutheran and a scholar. We present an interior view of Christ Church in 1800 drawn by a contemporary artist showing the congregation seated with the Rev. Goering in the pulpit.[444] In the year 1809 Rev. J. G. Schmucker became pastor of six congregations with York as a center. In 1814 a new church, named Christ Church, was consecrated, upon which a debt still rested as late as 1833. In 1817 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania met for the fourth time at York. Thirty-eight



AUTOGRAPH OF J. G. SCHMUCKER.

ordained pastors, 18 licentiates and 34 delegates were

published, *Der Besiegte Wiedertäufer*, 1783; *Der Ver Rappte Priester Aaron*, 1790 (against the Seventh Day Baptists); *Answer to a Methodist's Remonstrance*. We have no doubt that the curious book offered for sale in York and Hanover on December 25, 1793, in a public print under the title "Controversy Or Written Dispute, "Which took place in Hanover Town, York County, in the year 1793 between "A Lutheran Minister And a Number of poor "Tradesmen "Who hold the Doctrine of *Universal Salvation*," referred to one of Rev. Goering's disputations. He was Dr. J. G. Schmucker's teacher of Hebrew. His sermons were of a spiritual character. He was secretary of the Ministerium in 1797, 1804–1806, and was president when he died.

On February 22, 1800, pastor Goering delivered a discourse on the character of George Washington as recommended by the president of the United States, in the new Reformed Church. His discourse was requested for publication. The Lutheran and Reformed choirs furnished the music for the occasion. The following are said to have been the members of the Lutheran choir on this occasion. Ludwig Miller, Sr., John Barnitz, George Snyder, Christopher Stoehr, Daniel Lauman, Lewis Shive, William Fornshild, George Barnitz, Steffe Horn, George Miller, Michael Eurich, and the Misses Herman, Laub, Stoehr, Cramer, and Hay; organists, John Morris, Charles F. Fisher.—*The Spangler Families in York County*.

[443] In the year 1804 the congregation at York was incorporated under the title of "preacher, elder and church warden of the German Lutheran congregation in and at the borough of York County, in the State of Pennsylvania."

[444] This interior is by Lewis Miller. It is an excellent water-color painting and very attractive. The women are shown on the one side, and the men on the other. The choir and vestry also appear. Each member is designated by a name and church relation.

present. Dr. George Lochman was president, Dr. Christian Endress, secretary, and Rev. H. A. Muhlenberg was treasurer. It was the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. The Ohio conference asked for the right to form a separate synod at this meeting.

York church was one of the earliest inland congregations to introduce the English language. This probably was in the year 1820. A Sunday-school was in existence as early as 1827.[445] In 1829 lamps were purchased for the church for use at evening service. In the same year Rev. J. Oswald was elected assistant to pastor Schmucker. He was a zealous advocate of the temperance cause and much excitement was stirred up in the congregation on this issue.

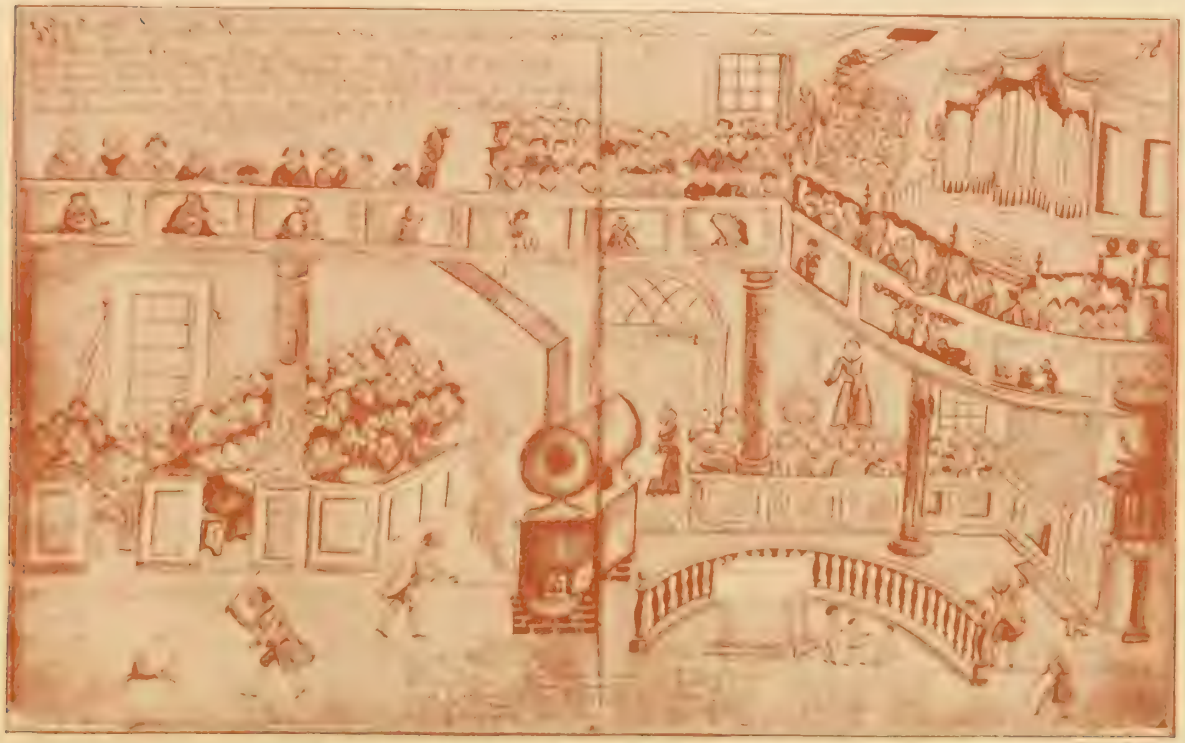
When Dr. Schmucker resigned in 1836, the German part of the congregation feared that if Rev. Oswald were elected pastor, the English interests would become too strong. Therefore the Rev. A. H. Lochman was elected. He remained pastor for forty-four years. In 1850 a corner-stone of an English branch church, named Zion's, was laid. In 1869 the corporation decided that one half of the services should be English. The case was taken to court and decided in 1873 in favor of the corporation. A new German congregation was organized which called a pastor connected with the Synod of Missouri.

In 1880 Dr. Lochman resigned as pastor of the old Christ church, and in 1882 Dr. Enders arrived and began the pastorate which has extended to the present day.

Hanover and the South.

FROM York southward there was a steady stream of immigration across the borders of Pennsylvania and into the heart of Maryland. Among these immigrants were

[445] Dr. Betts states that the Sunday-school of Christ Church dates from 1819.



INTERIOR OF CHRIST LUTHERAN CHURCH, YORK, PA., IN 1800.

FROM A DRAWING MADE BY LEWIS MILLER, A LOCAL ARTIST OF YORK.

many Lutherans. The first Lutherans to settle in Maryland were Swedes.[446] At a very early date some of the Palatines from Philadelphia are said to have come over the "Susquehanna and Monocacy" road and settled from "the Glades to the Conococheague." The first Lutheran church in Middletown Valley is said to have been built about 1720, but this evidently is a mistake. The Middletown region was settled by Germans who came by way of Lancaster and York about 1735.

About half way down from York toward the Maryland State line lies the beautiful little town of Hanover. Here the Germans took up land probably about 1730 or 1731.

The indefatigable missionary, John Caspar Stoever, followed them as soon as they were fairly settled. Traveling as far south as Conewago he reached there on or about February 4, 1733. Here and on this day he baptized a six weeks' old son of John George Frosch, whose sponsors were John Morgenstern and wife, a son of Andreas Herger, a son of Peter Ohler, a son of Johannes Lehman, a son of Conradt Eckert, a daughter of Peter Mittelkauf, and a daughter of Caspar Bergheimer.

On this tour he went as far south as the Monocacy where from year to year he baptized many children. Between 1733 and 1741 he made the journey to the Conewago twice a year, as a rule.[447]

But between the years 1738–1742, the Hanover people found a nearer and more regular spiritual ministrant in the

[446] They came to what is now Cecil County, and built the first Lutheran church there in 1649.

[447] He was there in the fall of 1735, the spring of 1736 (when he also reached Monocacy), the spring of 1737, the fall of 1738, the spring of 1739, the spring of 1740 and the spring and fall of 1741.

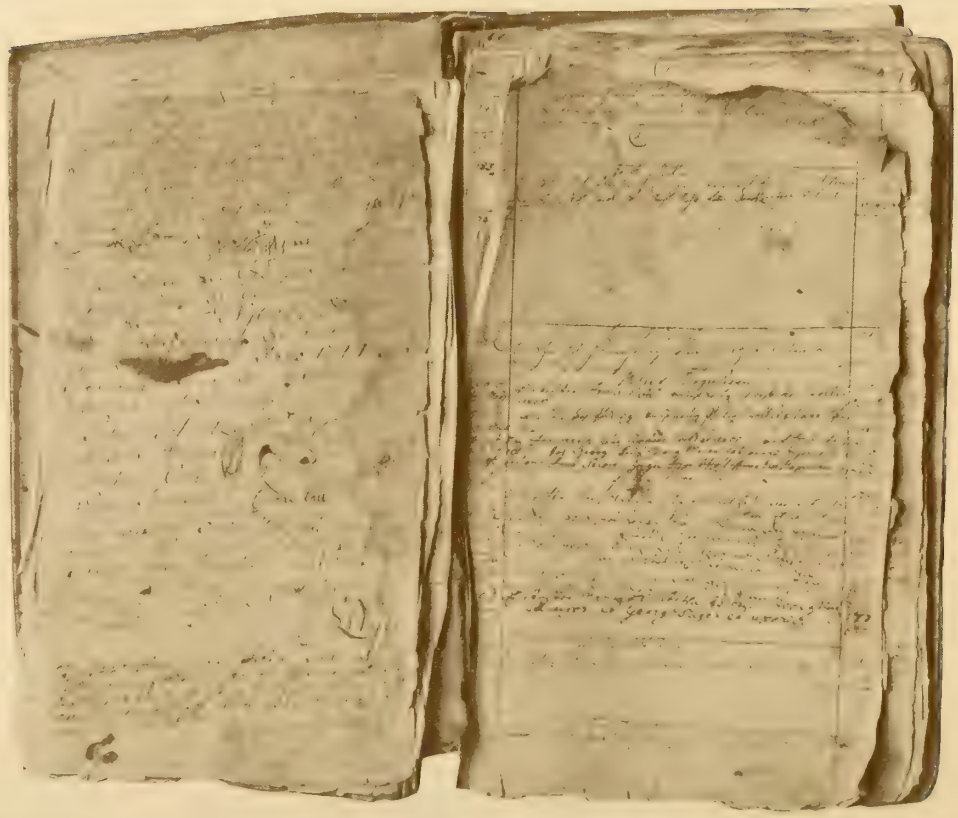
person of Yost Mohr, "an energetic and godly layman who is said to have had authority to perform *Nothtaufen* and who conducted meetings from house to house, read prayers and sermons, and the service with the people."[448] In 1743 Rev. David Candler baptized the first child whose name is recorded, John Frederick Euler. The first church council at this time was composed of Elders Lenhart Barnitz, Johannes Morningstar, Andreas Herger and Frederick Gelwicks.

We present a facsimile of Rev. Candler's Church Record. The first page contains a statement of his coming to this territory to do mission work about 1738, or later; together with the organization of the congregation, with officials' names attached. Then comes the "call" of Rev. Lars Nyberg (with his autograph) and his attestation of work done by Candler. At the foot of the page is a brief account of Rev. John George Bager's (Baugher's) presence and work here. On the next page the names of the members are entered.

When Pastor Candler came to Hanover to reside, he held services in his own house. His house was on the Conewago Creek, about one mile southwest of where Hanover now is. He lived in the midst of a vast parish, extending from the Susquehanna on the north to the Potomac on the south. He ministered to one flock, in York, to another on the Monocacy Creek ten miles on this side of Frederick, and went as far south as Frederick, Maryland, itself,[449] organizing the congregation there.

[448] Koller's *St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, Hanover.*

[449] Frederick was the farthest point south reached by the patriarch Mühlenberg in his travels through Pennsylvania. The large and flourishing Lutheran congregation now at Frederick is the direct successor of the one that worshipped in the famous old log church on the Monocacy more than a century and a half ago. The old church book of Mühlenberg, in which he in English, wrote the doctrinal basis to which members of the congregation were asked to



THE EARLIEST CHURCH RECORD OF THE HANOVER LUTHERAN CHURCH, BEGUN BY THE REV. DAVID CANDLER IN 1738 OR 1740, AND CONTAINING HIS AUTOGRAPH AND THAT OF REV. NYBERG.

Returning to the Hanover congregation, under the care of Rev. Candler, we find that, in the summer of 1743, it erected a log church on the north side of the McSherrystown road. There is still a list of the most prominent subscribers in existence. "The building was solemnly dedicated to the worship of God as a church of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. The Reformed claimed no right of ownership, but certain privileges were accorded them. This sanctuary served the congregation for thirteen years. Some traces of the graveyard in which it stood are still visible."[450]

In this first year of his ministry, Pastor Candler baptized seventy persons, also organizing congregations and completing churches at Monocacy and Frederick at the same time, as we have seen. Soon his health failed. He became more feeble during the summer of 1744, and died in December. He was buried in the graveyard at his own residence near Hanover, the funeral sermon being preached by the Rev. Mr. Nyberg, whom we have already met in the Lancaster and York congregations.

Mr. Nyberg made such a favorable impression at the funeral of Candler that the people of Hanover besought him to become their pastor. He consented and agreed to secure a minister from Sweden to take charge of York, Upper Bermudian and Conewago (Hanover). Nyberg made the following entry at this time in the Hanover church record, "After the death of Rev. Candler the inspection of the Conewago congregations was transferred

subscribe, after expressing appreciation of the *liberty of conscience* which the people enjoyed under the protection of King George II., goes on to say: "We have used this liberty since our first settlement here at Munakesay till this day in worshipping God Almighty according to the Protestant Lutheran persuasion grounded in the Old and New Testament and in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books."

[450] Koller's *St. Matthew's, Hanover*, pp. 11–12.

to the Rev. Mr. Nyberg, city preacher in Lancaster, who promises to call another minister, Anno 1744." "He immediately began a secret movement to alienate the congregation from the Lutheran faith."[451] But the congregation locked the church doors against him. Distressed and perplexed, the Hanover people applied to Mühlenberg, who visited York in May, 1746. Meantime the worthless Carl Rudolph now officiated here for about a year, and the Rev. Valentine Kraft, toward the end of 1747, was accepted as a pastor for a year. Of him the historian says:[452] "He was a troublesome and self-willed preacher, forced upon the people without their consent. * * * During his brief pastorship here he displayed his crafty and domineering spirit, and after being rejected, continued his interference until the close of 1749, when he was arrested for the violation of some civil enactment and deprived of all his property."

LIFE OF VALENTINE KRAFT.

Valentine Kraft was the self-appointed bishop of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, who set himself up before the Philadelphia Lutherans as having been sent out from Europe in response to the call for aid from the congregations here; and who, in spite of a loose life which belied his claims, was, with Zinzendorf, and in opposition to the Count, holding the Philadelphia field when Mühlenberg arrived.

A few hours after his landing in Philadelphia Mühlenberg learned of Kraft, in a conversation with a druggist. Before he laid his head on his pillow that night, at a German inn some ten miles from Philadelphia, Mühlenberg heard from some Germans that "the old parson, Valentine Kraft, had been accepted at Philadelphia, Germantown and Trappe."

The next day, at New Hanover, some of the elders and deacons thought Mühlenberg should come to an understanding with Kraft, that the one pastor serve Philadelphia and Germantown, and the other New Providence and New Hanover. Both Philadelphia and New Providence had already made terms with Kraft, and these New Hanover people doubted whether Mühlenberg would be able to get possession without trouble. "Poor consolation!" exclaims Mühlenberg in his diary. This was at New Hanover. At New

[451] *St. Matthew's, Hanover*, p. 14.
[452] *St. Matthew's, Hanover*, p. 15.

Providence, which Mühlenberg reached several days later, the oldest church officer advised Mühlenberg to consult with Kraft, and to take either the two city or the two country congregations. This officer told Mühlenberg by way of explanation that these congregations had not heard from Halle since 1739 and expected no help from that source; that therefore they had petitioned the consistory of the church of Hesse-Darmstadt; that only a short time ago this old preacher Kraft had arrived, who maintained that the consistory had sent him. He brought no testimonials; he stated that they would be sent on. There were also some people here in Pennsylvania who had known Kraft as a pastor in Germany.

Valentine Kraft had indeed been a pastor in the Palatinate until, at a somewhat advanced age, he was dismissed by the authorities of the duchy of Zweibrüchen (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 15). He had then turned his steps toward America, landing here at Philadelphia, as the first passenger on the list, in the vessel Mary, commanded by Captain Mason, on August 25, 1742. (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 38).

This was three months (not five weeks as the *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 98 states), before the arrival of Mühlenberg. On his arrival he made it known to the Lutherans in Philadelphia that he had been sent thither by the consistory of Darmstadt in order to bring the congregations in Pennsylvania into order. At first he was received with tears of joy by some. He sought to ally himself with the wandering and often worthless preachers already in the field and attempted a general organization which, of course, failed with the arrival of Mühlenberg, whose testimonials exposed Kraft's deception. He had planned a sort of Pennsylvania ecclesiastical consistory with himself at the head as superintendent.

Returning now to Mühlenberg's first visit to New Providence, a deacon took him, the day after his arrival there, to a German tavern, where Rev. Kraft was staying. Here Kraft publicly blamed Mühlenberg for having come to New Hanover and New Providence without first seeing himself, but stated with a patronizing air that he would give him a place for which he was best suited. Kraft told him that he had established a general and special presbytery, and had organized a consistory to be presided over by himself. He also stated that he had already reported his ecclesiastical arrangements to the consistory of Hesse-Darmstadt, and expected to have them confirmed. So strongly entrenched was Kraft in the confidence of the Lutherans at Philadelphia that the elders and deacons would not permit his credentials to be read without Kraft's permission. It was only in fact when Mr. Mühlenberg plainly stated to Kraft that he would not deviate from the instructions given him in Halle that Kraft permitted Mühlenberg to preach at Philadelphia at the old butcher shop on Arch Street near Fifth. Having been invited with Kraft to a dinner at the house of Peter Koch, a leading layman, Mühlenberg was at last able to present his credentials.

After Mühlenberg had preached once, Kraft lost influence. He tried to persuade Mühlenberg to join his consistory. He advocated a division of labor between the two. He offered to introduce Mühlenberg at Lancaster. He accompanied Mühlenberg into the country districts. He even made himself busy about procuring a wife for Mühlenberg. At last Mühlenberg was asked

whether the old man Kraft were his superior; and now Mühlenberg read his call, and told the people that he had no connection with Kraft whatever. Kraft tried to smooth things over. Returning to Philadelphia, he proposed to preach in the Lutheran Meeting House, but Mühlenberg took the keys and kept them. Kraft became very angry, associated himself with a low class of people, and indulged in a fit of intoxication.

Kraft now left Philadelphia for the country districts, but still held on to the congregation at Germantown for a time. We find him already at this early date (1742) on the side of John Caspar Stoever's party in the conference with the Moravian Meurer at the Tulpehocken. He must in fact have had some understanding with John Caspar Stoever after his arrival here in 1742 in regard to the Lutheran work in Philadelphia, and it is natural, when driven from there, that he would be in sympathy with Stoever and against Zinzendorf in the Tulpehocken trouble. At Lancaster, also, Stoever's resignation and Kraft's appearance on the scene are closely linked.

Toward the end of 1742 Kraft proceeded to Lancaster and became influential there. He promised to preach there twice a month; but in 1743 the Lancaster congregation dismissed him. On the 20th of January, 1743, he consecrated Moselem Church in Berks County, and it is said that he remained pastor there for several years, that is until the election of Rev. Wagner (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 38) in the spring of 1745.

After this Kraft appears to have made Lancaster the center of his operations. When Stoever resigned at Lancaster in 1746, Kraft became pastor in May, 1747, and remained so until March, 1748. He preached and performed pastoral acts in and about the town. "Toward the end of 1747 Rev. Valentine Kraft was accepted by the Hanover Church as pastor for only one year, for he quickly revealed his disloyalty to the Lutheran Church. He was also a notorious proselyter."

Handschuch in his diary (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 169) tells us that he met Kraft at Conewago on the first of June, 1748. He says: "as soon as I came into the region with a deacon from Conewago, I had the remaining deacons, who lived three or four miles apart from each other, assemble as quickly as possible. But one of them who was an adherent of old Mr. Kraft, now for the last quarter of a year, excused himself. When I discovered this division in the congregation and understood that Mr. Kraft was to preach the next day, I declined preaching. After much pleading by the others, I promised to do it on condition that all would agree. Thereupon we rode to the house of the absent deacon, who was a man of considerable influence. When we came to him, I revealed the nature of my call, and that it was not our object to suppress Mr. Kraft. But I then and there made a plea for him that they should give him some certain stipend on account of his great age and his disabilities, since indeed a rather large portion of their congregation had accepted him in writing for a year. At this the old man himself stepped into the room. I at once related to him the nature of our conversation, but could not gain from him any answer relative to the matter, except this, that it would be agreeable to him if I would preach for him to-morrow, but that for him to abandon the congregation would be ridiculous, since many had accepted him as their regular teacher for one year. I also spoke much with him concerning the office of teaching and the

heavy responsibility of ministers who are unfaithful and labor with carnal intention, to which he said not a word. On the second of June I preached in Conewago, at the schoolhouse under the open sky. Pastor Kraft sat at my right at a little table, and a large multitude of people of all kinds of sects were gathered around us, among them also a Moravian preacher. I also baptized two children and, God be praised, everything passed off quietly and in an orderly manner. After the service was ended, old Mr. Kraft and the abovementioned deacon were uncommonly courteous toward me, so that I wondered at the matter."

Rev. J. C. Koller, D.D., in his excellent historical discourse on St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, Hanover, adds the following information on Valentine Kraft: "Toward the end of 1747 Rev. Valentine Kraft was accepted by them as pastor for only one year—for he quickly revealed his disloyalty to the Lutheran Church. He also was a notorious proselyter. He continued his interferences until the close of 1749, when he was arrested for the violation of some civil enactment and deprived of all his property."

Kraft settled at Frederick in 1749, but was not acknowledged as pastor there. He was aided financially by the English people of the community and died there in 1751 in extreme poverty.

Throughout his sad career he continued a violent opponent of Mühlenberg. Even at this early day he must have worn a gown while preaching, for Mühlenberg narrates that on one occasion it was stolen by another worthless party from Kraft (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 39). The only other important reference to Kraft in the *Hall. Nachrr.*, is to be found in the Fourth Continuation, I., 25, where Kraft is criticised as "a disorderly wandering old German preacher, who has been the cause of much restlessness and disturbance, since he knowingly broke the laws of the state, and was arrested in an affair concerning his plantation and property."

Mühlenberg reached the Conewago on the 22d of June, 1747, and found the congregation in pitiable disorder. "The divisions were sharp and uncompromising. Mühlenberg earnestly endeavored to unite them." He preached the next day in a large barn, baptized children, but would not administer the Lord's Supper. With two men from Maryland he rode through a violent rain storm to the Monocacy and returned on the 26th of June. Through Mühlenberg's influence Rev. Schaum of York became pastor here from 1748 to 1752 and was obliged to face the discussions stirred up by the disorderly Kraft. * * * During this period Frederick Gelwicks, schoolmaster and elder of the Conewago church, kept the baptismal

record from 1744 to 1752. Schoolmaster Vigera, of Philadelphia, who accompanied Mühlenberg on his journey, also rendered material service in adjusting church troubles.

In 1753 Rev. J. G. Bager came to the Hanover region as its pastor, and remained here for ten years, when he was called to New York. In 1769 he returned to the vicinity of Hanover and settled in the Pigeon Hills, residing, until June 9, 1791, on a farm which he purchased with an inheritance received from his father. He lived in a house built for himself, of massive construction, and which is still standing to-day; but has been so changed by alterations that all marks of antiquity are destroyed.

Pastor Bager's residence was the center of new missionary activity for this whole region. He preached at times at York toward the north. He preached six times a year at Baltimore toward the south. He built the church at Upper Bermudian already in 1753. He made missionary tours westward in the region of Chambersburg. From his efforts sprang "more than one hundred churches of Baltimore, in Maryland, and of Franklin, Cumberland, Adams and York counties in Pennsylvania."[453] From 1777 to 1785 he became pastor of the Hanover congregation a second time. He was buried in the old graveyard of the second church at Hanover. Mühlenberg termed him "an orderly, learned man, finely educated, regularly examined and ordained by the highest consistorial authority."[454]

Pastor Bager erected the second church building at Han-

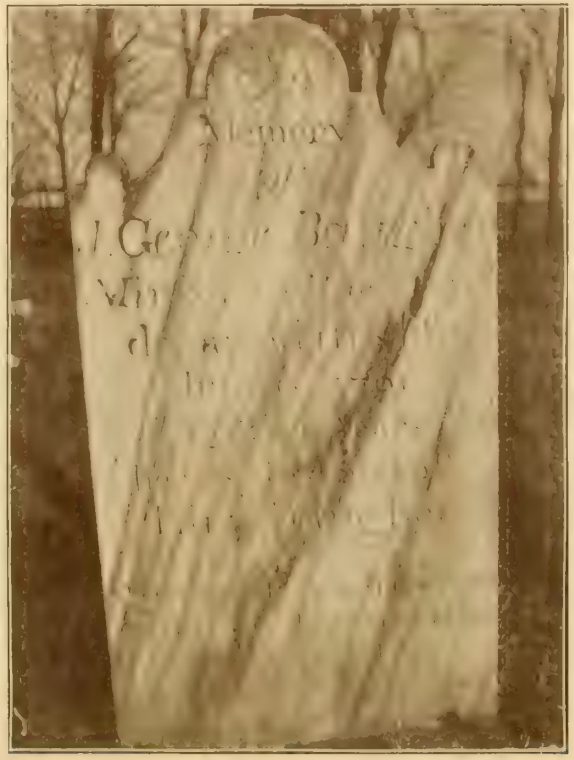
[453] *St Matthew's, Hanover*, p. 20.

[454] LIFE OF REV. J. G. BAGER.

Mr. Bager was born at Niederlinxweiler, near Ottweiler, in Nassau-Saarbruck, March 29, 1725. His father was a pastor and in comfortable circumstances. He studied theology at Halle under Dr. S. J. Baumgarten. Mr. Mühlenberg in a letter to the New York congregation says of him: "He is a worthy and learned man, who was examined and regularly ordained in Germany according to our Evangelical *Kirchen-Ordnung*." He was settled as

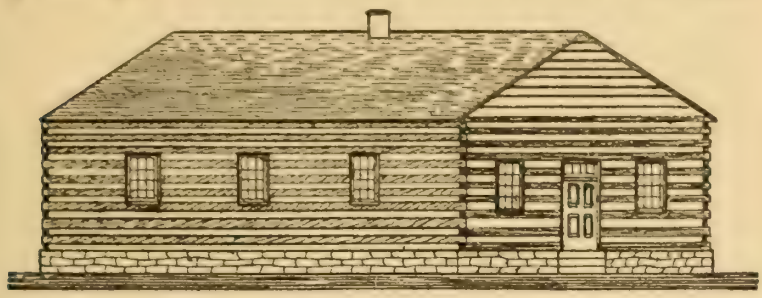


TOMBSTONE OF REV. VALENTINE MELSHEIMER.
1749-1814.



TOMBSTONE OF REV. J. G. BAGER.
1725-1791.

over in 1756. On the day of the dedication of this structure, Palm Sunday, 1756, he read to the assembled gathering a declaration of the doctrinal basis of the con-



THE OLD CHURCH OF 1756, ERECTED UNDER PASTOR BAGER AND DEDICATED ON PALM SUNDAY OF THAT YEAR.

The cut above was drawn by Mr. Gitt an old civil engineer, who died in 1901, and who vividly remembered the descriptions of the church given him by his father and grandfather. The Hanover people believe this picture to have virtual historic foundation.

pastor at Simmern, on the Hundsrück, in the Electoral Palatinate. He was married to Anna Elizabeth Schwab, born Dec. 4, 1728, at Giessen, in Hesse Darmstadt. They had two children born at Simmern, John George William, born April 15, 1750, and Charles Theodore Frederick, born Sept. 5, 1751, and buried at Helvoetsluys, the seaport in Holland from which they sailed. He was met at Philadelphia on his arrival, Oct. 23, 1752, by Rev. John Casper Stoever and taken by him to Lebanon County, where he found a home on the Quitopahila, and where his third child, Catharine Margaret, was born June 9, 1753, at whose baptism Mrs. Stoever stood as sponsor. In Dec., 1752, he visited Hanover and received a call on the 16th, but did not assume charge until March 10, 1753, and may not have removed his family until after June. He was in that charge until his removal to New York. His fourth child, Christian Frederick, born Aug. 29, 1754, was baptized by Pastor Schwerdfeger, whom he calls "Lutheran Minister in Yorktown." At the death of his father he inherited money with which he purchased a farm, probably that in Berwick Twp., now Adams County, on which he lived. He resided in his old neighborhood after leaving York until his death, June 9, 1791. During many years he journeyed far and wide, ministering to the scattered Lutherans from Baltimore, where for some years he preached once in six weeks, to Grindstone Hill, now in Franklin County. His descendants are well known in York and adjoining counties and among them have been distinguished professors and pastors. We shall find one of them in Harrisburg as one of the founders of the Lutheran Church there.

gregation which asserts that the church was built by the Evangelical Lutherans, "living on the Little Conewago," and was dedicated as the house of worship of the Evangelical Lutherans and their descendants then living in the neighborhood, "as long as they remain true to the pure, genuine and Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books."[455]



SIGNATURE OF WILDBAHN.

From 1765 to the return of Pastor Bager the congregation was served by the Rev. John Frederick Wildbahn,[456] who resided in the neighborhood until 1782, and served many country congregations.



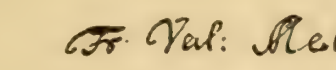
SIGNATURE OF DANIEL SCHROETER.

In 1782 Rev. Daniel Schroeter, a licentiate of Dr. J. C. Kunze, became pastor in the *Landgemeinen* in and around McAllisterstown, but he has left no records. For a period

[455] "Although the church was for the exclusive use of Lutherans, the Reformed were accorded, on strict conditions, the privilege of holding all regular services by their legitimate ministers. From the use of this house were excluded all deists, atheists, unitarians and such professing no faith — otherwise called 'Pennsylvanians,' also all sects, teachers of heresy, factious spirits, even if they are our own descendants according to flesh.'" (*St. Matthew's, Hanover*, p. 21.)

[456] Wildbahn was a school teacher at Winchester, Virginia, who had been licensed by Mühlenberg to perform ministerial acts. "He was a man of considerable ability, a painstaking and methodical clergyman, and a careful preserver of the church records, as his bold and beautiful penmanship indicates. In 1778 he served nineteen congregations at one time. In 1782 he removed to Reading, where he remained until 1796. In 1804 his death was reported at Synod." (*St. Matthew's, Hanover*, p. 23. *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 195.)

of six or eight years there was no regular pastor in the Hanover district. General Peter Muhlenberg, who had gone down to Virginia through this region, and had left his congregation at Woodstock and become a general in the Continental army, had many companions and followers from these parts, loyal Lutherans who swelled the ranks of the Continental army on the battle-field. "The Monocacy road, which led from Wrightsville to the Potomac River," says Dr. Koller, "became the main thoroughfare for the transportation of troops and munitions of war." The congregation suffered naturally, and the wave of skepticism that filled the country at the close of the Revolutionary War reached this region also.



SIGNATURE OF MELSHEIMER.

From 1790 to 1814 Rev. Frederick Valentine Melsheimer became pastor of the Hanover church.[457] At his

LIFE OF REV. F. V. MELSHEIMER.

[457] Frederick Valentine Melsheimer was born in Regenborn, in the Grand Duchy of Brunswick, Sept. 29, 1749; was educated at Helmstadt; came to this country during the Revolution as the chaplain of a German regiment; and landed at Quebec on June 1, 1776. Having resigned his chaplaincy before the close of the war in May, 1779, he became pastor of five Lutheran congregations in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, and served them until 1784 as a licensed preacher. He became pastor of the Warwick charge at Manheim, as we have seen, in 1784, and was ordained by the Ministerium in 1785. From 1786–89 he was pastor at Earl Town. In 1787 he was made Professor of Languages and the first President in the German College at Lancaster. From here he was called to Hanover (1790–1814). He was now forty years of age. He died on June 30, 1814, and lies buried in the Hanover graveyard. (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 195.) For his educational influence and attainments see Chapter XIII.

The great event in his pastorate at Earltown, was the establishment, under his inspiration and direction, of a public school and the erection of a large school building designed for the accommodation of two schools, a German and an English, the latter, by the conditions of the gift, to be in some sense a parochial school.

Both Melsheimer and his son were celebrated naturalists and were in cor-

first communion, May 13, 1790, 117 persons partook of the Lord's Supper. In 1801 it was resolved to erect a new church building, which was built of brick [458] and without a basement, and was dedicated in May, 1807. A printed program, costing $20, was used on this occasion. The cost of the building was something over $10,000. A white spire and bell were added to the building shortly after its dedication, at a cost of $1,900. The later history of the Hanover congregation is given in the accompanying footnote.[459]

respondence with entomologists of Great Britain and the Continent. They had a library and extensive collections on this subject. The elder Melsheimer published the well-known catalogue of "Insects of Pennsylvania" in 1806. It contains sixty pages and is now very rare. It contained a description and classification of 1,363 species of beetles and was the first work of the kind ever published in America. Dr. Knoch, of Germany, published a book in 1801, dedicated to the elder Melsheimer whom he called the "Father of American Entomology." The son, Rev. J. F. Melsheimer, died about 1830. His father's book was well known and mentioned in German, English and French works. Dr. Carl Zimmerman, of Harvard, walked from York to Hanover in 1834 to see the elder Melsheimer, but learned that he had been dead for twenty years. The Melsheimer collection was bought by Louis Agassiz, for Harvard University, and occupies a prominent place in its museum. The collection filled forty-one wooden boxes 10½ by 14 inches, and two inches high. They contained 5,302 species and 14,774 specimens.

Mr. George R. Prowell, curator of the York County Historical Society, writes: "I saw this collection near Hanover when I was a small boy. It was kept intact in the Harvard Museum until three years ago. When I visited Boston in 1898, I helped to distinguish between the handwriting on the labels written by Melsheimer himself and that of the son." For a full treatment of Melsheimer's career see the large pamphlet that is to be issued at York by Mr. Prowell.

[458] There is a well-founded tradition that the women carried the brick and mortar while the walls were being erected.

[459] The Rev. Melsheimer was succeeded by his son, John F. Melsheimer, who remained pastor until 1826. He is said to have been an eloquent preacher in German, and the first pastor to agitate the question of English preaching, and to introduce the organization of a Sunday-school in 1821. In 1825 the Rev. Jonathan Ruthrauff became pastor of the Hanover charge at the age of twenty-eight years. He introduced English preaching, organized a Union Sunday-school Society, began public prayer-meeting, and fearlessly advocated the temperance question. The text of his inaugural sermon was, "I desire to know nothing among you save the Lord Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." In



AN EARLY COLONIAL FOOTWARMER FOR WOMEN IN CHURCH.

WE have traversed the line of Lutheran churches established on the Cocalico, the Conestoga, the Codorus, and the Conewago, in Lancaster, York and Adams counties, extending downward into Virginia. We shall round up the history of the whole southern and western belt of early Lutheran churches with a chapter on Lutheranism in Cumberland County west of the Susquehanna; in Harrisburg on the stream itself, and including a view of the early congregations on the eastern borders of that stream.

1837 the Rev. Jacob Albert, father of Dr. L. E. and C. S. Albert, became pastor. He was succeeded in 1848 by Rev. C. A. Hay, who in turn was succeeded by Rev. D. P. Rosenmiller in 1851. The following have been pastors since that date: M. J. Alleman, 1857; Rev. Samuel Yüngling, 1865; and the present efficient pastor, J. C. Koller, D.D., 1877. The congregation at the present time has about 800 communicant members. The following organizations have sprung from St. Matthew's: St. David's of Sherman's, organized by Rev. Bager in 1753; St. John's, Littlestown, 1763; St. Paul's, St. Mark's, 1865; Mt. Carmel, 1866; and McSherrystown, prior to 1893.





CHAPTER XV.

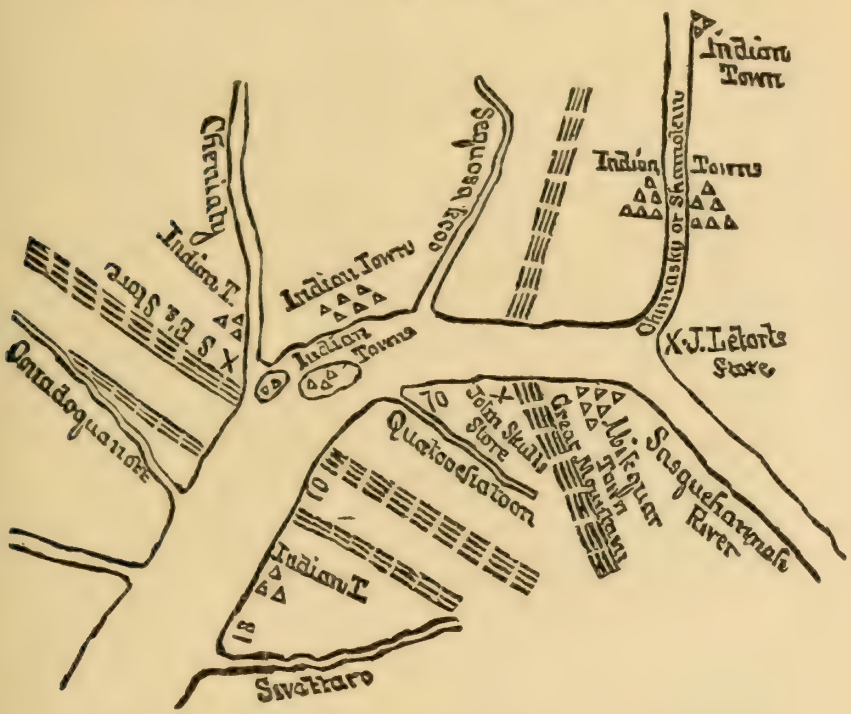
The Susquehanna, West and East.

Carlisle, Harrisburg, Sand Hill Church, Derry Township, Hummelstown Church, Salem Church Millersburg, Old St. John's Lykens Valley. Rev. F. C. Schaeffer, Rev. Frederick Sanno, Rev. Benjamin Keller, Benjamin Kurtz, Samuel Laird, John Fager, John Peter Keller, Rev. Henry Moeller, Rev. F. C. Schaeffer, D.D., Rev. George Lochman, D.D.

WE have now reached the extreme spot in the backwoods of Pennsylvania. Though John Harris had established his trading post at the best fording place on the Susquehanna as early as 1705, yet for three quarters of the eighteenth century the spot remained simply a fording place and ferry; Stoever and Muhlenberg were dead and gone before the first traces of Lutheranism rooted themselves on the eastern shores of the broad-bosomed stream that hems in Dauphin County or in the great tract comprising Cumberland, Franklin and Perry counties on the west of the river.

It was fully a half century after the Palatines and Conrad Weiser had floated their rafts down the Susquehanna, and

more than a third of a century after Weiser had led the Moravian missionaries up the forest trail to the haunts of the Indians beyond the Susquehanna, before the tides of human life began to settle at Harrisburg. Lancaster Lutherans had lived through three epochs, had built two



DRAUGHT OF THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN 1701.—(MADE BY ISAAC TAYLOR, SURVEYOR OF CHESTER CO.)

churches, one of which seated 1,500 people, before the little Lutheran log cabin at Harrisburg began to be erected.

Not that this spot on the Susquehanna where John Harris "seated himself" in 1705 and "erected buildings necessary for his trade," was unimportant. Then as now it

was the cross-roads of the two great interior highways between the north and the south, the east and west.[460] It was an ideal spot for the realization of the dream of the founder of Pennsylvania himself of a city on the Susquehanna.

The development of churches west of the Susquehanna, as might be supposed, was equally slow. Not before the



THE INDIAN FORT SASQUESAHANOK.

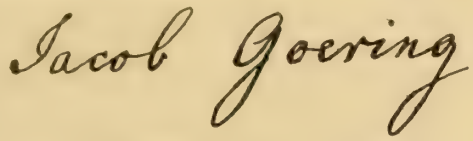
(From the Annals of the Spengler Families with permission of the author, E. W. Spangler, Esq.)

present century did the counties of Cumberland and Perry, from Duncannon to Carlisle, become a Lutheran parish, with the six congregations of Carlisle, Churchtown, Trindle Springs, St. John's below Mechanicsburg, Upper Frankfort and one or two additional posts.

[460] This was the case even for the Indians. The chiefs of the Five Nations annually traveled down from the North as far as the Carolinas, where their vast hunting grounds were located, and returned by way of Harris' Ferry.

But there was a spot west of the Susquehanna, an early frontier town, where Lutheranism was established very early. This was Carlisle. And the borough charter itself of this early town tells us that the Lutheran congregation there was organized about the year 1765.[461]

Carlisle itself was begun in 1751, and in 1753 it already had five log houses. Its growth was rapid and its importance increased greatly because it very early became a frontier military post. For the first ten years the Carlisle congregation probably had no regular pastor, but in 1776 there came to the town a young Lutheran minister, not much more than five feet in height with a pallid but expressive countenance and a large Roman nose. He had just been examined and licensed by the Synod of Pennsylvania. He possessed a strong and acute mind, was a voracious reader, a bookworm in fact, usually taking a book



SIGNATURE OF JACOB GOERING.

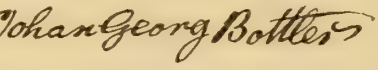
with him to bed that he might use it by the early morning light. He had a taste for natural history. He was the Rev. Jacob Goering.[462]

Whether he had a church to preach in when he arrived we do not know. The first church was a log building erected jointly by the Lutheran and Reformed congregations on South Hanover St., near South, on the lot occupied by the old Reformed graveyard no longer in use. Rev.

[461] *History of the First Lutheran Church of Carlisle, Pennsylvania*, by Rev. Charles S. Albert, Carlisle; Herald Printing Co., 1876.

[462] For biography of Rev. Goering see Chapter XIV., *Lutherans on the Codorus.*

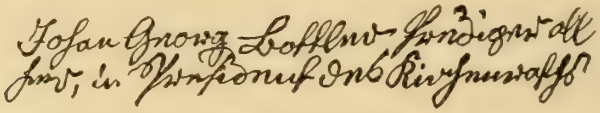
Goering preached entirely in German and rode many miles to the distant stations in Cumberland, York, Franklin and Perry counties. He resigned in 1780, and the congregation extended a call to the Rev. John George Butler, who arrived in that year. Butler was about twenty-six years



AUTOGRAPH OF REV. JOHN GEORGE BUTLER IN CHURCH BOOK OF 1794, CUMBERLAND, MARYLAND. TAKEN FROM A LIST OF MEMBERS SERVED BY HIM.

of age, and not long before had been a soldier in the War of the Revolution, in Virginia.

United States barracks accommodations sufficient for 2,000 men had been built near Carlisle chiefly by the Hessians captured at Trenton as early as 1777.[463] Carlisle at this time was greatly demoralized, as a result of the Revolutionary War and of the prevailing French infidelity.



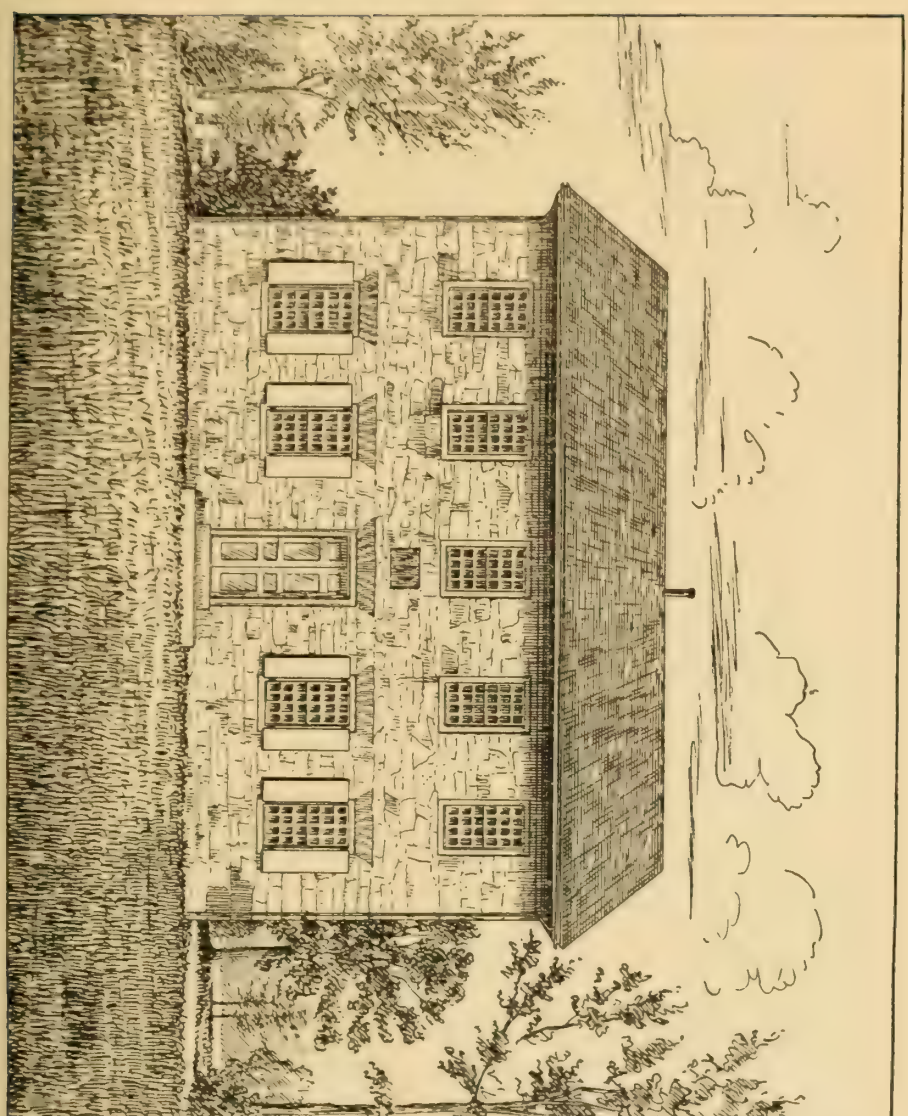
AUTOGRAPH OF REV. JOHN GEORGE BUTLER TAKEN FROM CHURCH BOOK OF 1794, CUMBERLAND, AND SIGNED TO ACCOUNTS RENDERED BY HIM IN £. S. AND D.

But three years after Rev. Butler arrived, in 1783, Dickinson College was founded by the Presbyterians.[464] In 1784 Rev. Butler pubished a sermon on "The Duty of Heart-prayer." After a pastorate of six or eight years he removed to Cumberland, Maryland.[465]

[463] This United States post was long used as a school of cavalry practice and has now become the Carlisle Indian School under Captain Pratt.

[464] It was suspended in 1816, revived in 1822, and transferred to the Methodists in 1833.

[465] He was the grandfather of Dr. Butler, pastor of the Lutheran Memorial Church, Washington, D. C. For the original John George Butler, and remarks on the Butler ancestry, see *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 571.



OLD ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, NEAR SHIREMANSTOWN, PA., ERECTED 1798.

It was probably in 1786 that the young Rev. F. D. Schaeffer[466] took charge of the work in Carlisle. He had come over with his uncle from Germany, and when he died had been engaged as a teacher in York County. Here he was brought under the influence of the Rev. Jacob Goering, who prepared him for the ministry. Having been licensed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1786, he undertook the work of the Carlisle pastorate, preaching also at Harrisburg and at points in Cumberland and York counties.

The next year, 1787, old St. John's near Shiremanstown was organized. The quaint stone building, a fine specimen of square colonial architecture, with excellent walls, heavy locks on the doors, and a large gallery on three sides, is still standing, abandoned and dilapidated.

Pastor Schaeffer was ordained October 1, 1788, and in 1790 was called to Germantown.[467]

It was Rev. Schaeffer who began the first church records in Carlisle in 1787. At the communion on the fourth Sunday of Advent in that year 31 members participated and 12 persons were confirmed.

The successor of Rev. Schaeffer was Rev. Adam Henry Meyer, *Philosophiæ Magister*, whose highest number of communicants was 38. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Herbst who has left no church records. Rev. Herbst is said to have been a faithful minister, traveling far and wide, and one who loved to ride fast on horseback.

A doubtful document tells us that Rev. Frederick Sanno became pastor in 1802. He ran a wool-spinning factory in his house, and was noted as a handsome and popular man. During his pastorate the Lutherans separated from

[466] For autograph of F. D. Schaeffer, see facsimile of Harrisburg Church Record, later in this chapter.

[467] For life of Dr. Schaeffer see chapter on the Germantown Church.



INTERIOR OF OLD ST. JOHN'S SHIREMANSTOWN, 1795, SHOWING COLONIAL WINDOWS IN REAR, PULPIT AND ALTAR.

THE ALTAR COMMUNION TABLE NEAR A MARKED CONTRAST TO THE COMMUNION TABLE OF THE CATHEDRAL, THE ONLY [illegible] MADE BY THE METHODISTS OF U.S.

the Reformed, and erected a church of their own on the present site in the year 1807. After this building burned down in later years, the cornerstone was opened and a very small leaden box was taken out which contained a copy of the German catechism and the following notice:

NOTICE.

"The honorable public in general, and all friends of religion in particular, are hereby invited to meet with us in the laying of the cornerstone of the New German Evangelical Lutheran Church of Carlisle, on the 5th of August next, whereat there will be preaching by strange minister in the German and English languages. As this is something new in this community, a very great gathering is expected.

"Jacob Crever,
"Jacob Matter,
"Jacob Geigly,
"Marks Zeigler,
"Diedrich Uhler,
"*Building Com.*

"N. B. The ceremonies will commence at 11 o'clock a. m. of the above mentioned day." [468]

This old church was entered by two doors on Bedford street. "It was much wider than deep. The pulpit was on the west side, one of the cup-shaped pulpits, with a sounding board above it. Galleries ran around the other three sides. There was ample room for them as the ceiling was very high. Rev. Sanno remained here until 1814. The close of his ministry was a sad one, upon which we will not dwell." [469]

After the one year's pastorate by Rev. J. P. Hecht, the Rev. Benjamin Keller arrived in 1816.[470] At his first com-

[468] *History of the First Ev. Lutheran Church of Carlisle, Penna.* By Rev. C. S. Albert.

[469] *Ibid.*

[470] LIFE OF THE REV. BENJAMIN KELLER.

Rev. Benjamin Keller was born in Lancaster on March 4, 1794. He was confirmed by Dr. Henry Muhlenberg, and studied theology under Dr. D. F. Schaeffer and under Dr. Muhlenberg. Before he had completed his twenty-first year

munion 125 persons participated. He built a parish schoolhouse, founded the Sunday-school, and held the first English communion April 11, 1824. In 1825 English services were introduced alternately with the German.

At this time the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, which had been established in 1820, was looking about for a proper location for its new theological seminary. Carlisle proposed to give $2,000 in money, a house for the professor to reside in for five years, and $3,000 toward erecting a building for the Seminary. The trustees of Dickinson College also made an offer, namely, the use of a room of the college for the lectures of the professor, the use of the college library, gratuitous access to the college lectureships, and a lot of ground 100 feet square on the college campus, provided that the professor of the Seminary act as a member of the faculty and as Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in the college.[471]

In 1827 the faculty of Dickinson College requested that seats in the church be provided for the use of the students of the college, and the request was granted. Rev. Keller in a single year confirmed no less than 84 members.

Early in 1828 Rev. C. F. Heyer became the pastor.[472]

he was licensed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and assumed charge at Carlisle. He labored here in his eight congregations for thirteen years. In 1827 he was sent to the churches of Germantown, Barren Hill and White Marsh, remaining there for seven years. He then became pastor at Gettysburg for seventeen years. Here he raised the endowment of the German professorship for that institution. Later on, settling in Philadelphia, he organized the St. Jacobus church there, and finally undertook the agency of the Lutheran Board of Publication, collecting funds for that institution throughout the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. He died July 2, 1864.

[471] Gettysburg offered the Seminary $7,000 and the institution was located there.

[472] Father Heyer wrote the following at his last communion service in this congregation: "Every member of the vestry, and other persons belonging to this congregation communed with the exception of six or eight young men, some of whom are teachers in S. S. It will perhaps be advisable for my suc-



REV. BENJAMIN KELLER.

In 1830 a son of one of the former pastors, Rev. C. F. Schaeffer, took charge of Carlisle. During his pastorate several legacies were received. Pastor Schaeffer resigned in 1834 and subsequently became professor at Gettysburg and the first professor of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Phildelphia. The subsequent pastorates of the Carlisle church are described in a footnote.[473]

WE turn now to the early churches east of the Susquehanna in the territory now known as Dauphin County, of which the congregation at Harrisburg was almost the last, and the earliest of which was organized a few years before the church at Carlisle came into existence.

These early churches are the Sand Hill Church, near the brownstone quarries, two miles southeast of Hummels-

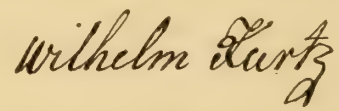
cessor at the next communion to speak to them in particular that he may not have cause at the commencement of his labors here to enter the same charges against them, which I have reluctantly brought forward on this occasion."—Albert's *History of First Ev. Lutheran Church, Carlisle.*

[473] Rev. Ulrich was elected pastor in 1837, and Rev. J. N. Hoffman, who had come from Chambersburg, in 1843. During his pastorate the church became self-sustaining. A basement for lecture and Sunday-school purposes was put into the church building. The German interests sent a petition to synod stating that they do not receive a just share of German preaching. In 1851 the church was burnt and a new building was consecrated on the 30th of May, 1852. Rev. Hoffman is said to have been a man of rare attainment, but lacking in gentleness and meekness. He tutored many who were preparing for the ministry, and was considered the most intellectual of all the clergy of the town. He resigned in 1853 and was succeeded by Rev. Jacob Fry in 1854. During his pastorate the Germans separated from the church and erected a building of their own. In 1856 the parsonage was built, and the church was enlarged in 1860. In 1863 the advance cavalry of the Southern army rode into Carlisle, and took possession of the barracks. Ewell's corps, 16,000 strong, arrived in the afternoon. On the first of July the town was shelled and the church was struck twice. In 1865 Rev. S. P. Sprecher, said to have been a great orator, became pastor. The pastors following that were J. Swartz, D.D., 1868; C. S. Albert, D.D., 1872; W. S. Freas, D.D., 1882; H. B. Wile, D.D., 1886; G. M. Diffenderfer, the present pastor, 1900, under whom a magnificent new church was erected in 1901.

town, 1756; the Middletown Church, already described in the chapter on Lancaster, 1763; the Hummelstown Church, 1765; the Millersburg Church, 1774; the old St. John's Church, Lykens Valley, 1780; the Harrisburg Church, 1788; and the Wenrich's Church, 1792.

The Sand Hill Church, known as the Berg Kirche, in Derry Township, was organized very early and had erected a church building as far back as 1756. This stood for 119 years, until 1875, when it was superseded by the present red sandstone building. It was surrounded by a fine grove of chestnut and oak trees.[474]

The Hummelstown church was organized in 1765 and the first church, a log building, was dedicated on May 16, 1766.[475] In 1769 Rev. Michael Enterline became pastor.[476]



AUTOGRAPH OF WILHELM KURTZ.

Rev. William Kurtz was pastor, 1781–1795. From 1795 to 1804 there was a vacancy in the pastorate. But David Exstein, parochial schoolmaster, held school in the log church for thirteen years. The following are the pastors in this century: J. F. Ernst, 1804; J. P. F. Kramer, 1807; J. H. Vanhof, 1811; Dr. C. R. Demme, 1819–1822. The stone structure still standing, but no longer used by the Lutherans, was erected in 1815–1816.

[474] The congregation has always been small. The number of communicants was 11 in 1812, and 35 in 1892. An old communion set presented by Ulrich Herbscher and Wendel Poh is still in use.

[475] The total expense of the congregation for the first three years, including the erection of their church, amounted to £127 2s 4d, and their total receipts to £ 140 18s 6d.

[476] He remained there for ten years and baptized 21 children during his pastorate.



THE OLD SAND HILL (BERG) CHURCH.

ERECTED IN 17[illegible] AND SUPERSEDED IN 187[illegible]

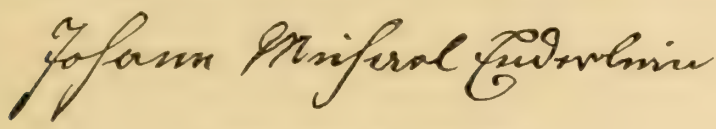


THE OLD STONE (LUTHERAN) CHURCH IN HUMMELSTOWN.

BUILT 1815, AND STILL STANDING.

The Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church, near Killinger's post-office, known as the Millersburg Church, was probably formed prior to 1774. On March 7, 1775, the Lutheran and Reformed congregations had 160 acres of land, named "Good Intent," surveyed for their use. They did not receive their deed until September 22, 1804. In 1792 the two congregations made an agreement as to a future division of the property. In 1794 the first church was built. It stood at the lower end of the cemetery and was a two-story log building, weather-boarded on the outside, plastered on the inside, and with galleries on three sides. Within were the old style pulpit and sounding board. For three years it was unfinished, and in 1797 the contract for completing it was made for a consideration of £108.

The first settlers in Mifflin and Washington townships, Dauphin County, were Germans. On January 5, 1780, they organized a congregation called St. John's. This is St. John's of Lykens Valley, between Elizabethville and Barrysburg. Rev. M. Enderlein,[477] the pastor at Hummels-

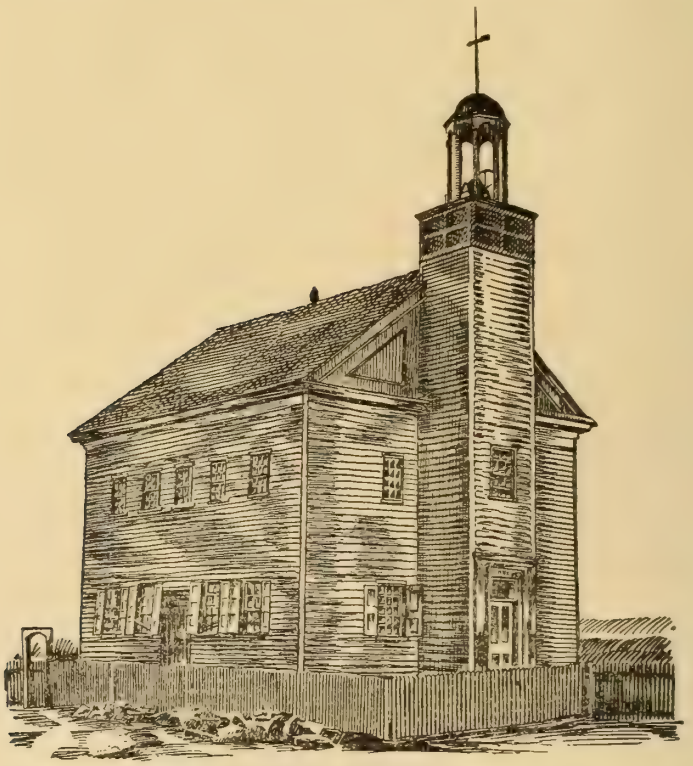


SIGNATURE OF ENDERLEIN.

town, was the first pastor here, and baptized Hannah, daughter of Nicholas Schnug, on December 3, 1780. Services were held in private dwellings until 1791, when a schoolhouse was erected, which also served as a church.

[477] John Michael Enderlein was a Palatine, born in 1726, and educated at the University of Leipsic. He was ordained in Germany in 1751. He emigrated to America about 1760. Toward the close of the Revolutionary War he became pastor of the congregation subsequently known as St. John's. He labored strenuously in his calling. He died in March, 1800, at the age of seventy-four years, leaving many prominent descendants in this locality.

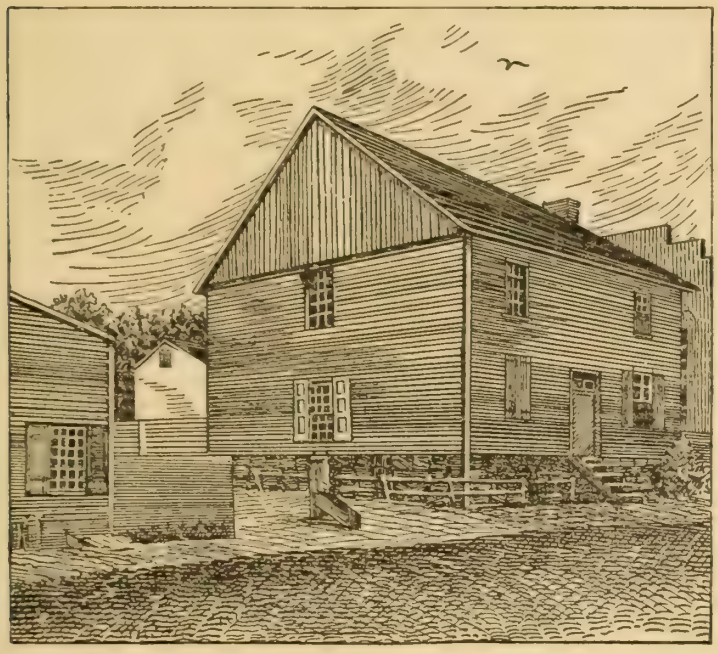
Six years later, on January 19, 1797, a building committee to erect a new edifice was appointed, composed of John Matter, Sr., David Harman, Philip Bechtle and Reuben Wise. The church was built in 1798, but as it was not fully paid for, it was not dedicated until October 24, 1802. We present a picture of the old two-story frame edifice,



ST. JOHN'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN LYKENS VALLEY, BETWEEN ELIZABETHVILLE AND BARRYSBURG, DAUPHIN COUNTY, PA.

with its antique, but venerable steeple, which stood until 1876, when the present building, one of the finest in Dauphin County, outside of Harrisburg, was erected. Op-

posite the church is the fine farm belonging to the congregation. Rev. Enderlein was the pastor for twenty-seven years, after which followed C. Walther from 1809 to 1844, J. P. Shindel to 1844, J. N. Hemping to 1850, C. F. Welden to 1852, N. Jaeger, 1853, J. Waltz, 1864, Jeremiah Shindel, 1870, T. T. Steck, 1875.



THE EARLIEST CHURCH IN HARRISBURG. ERECTED BY LUTHERAN AND REFORMED CONGREGATIONS IN 1787.

The Lutheran Church at Harrisburg.

"THIS is a beautiful town. It contains about 100 houses, all built in less than three years, many of them brick, some of them three-story, built in the Phila-

delphia style; all appear very neat. A great number of taverns with handsome signs; houses all two-story; large windows. About one half of the people are English. People were going to meeting; they met in private houses; have no churches yet. People appear very well dressed, some gay." So wrote a traveller through the infant town of Harrisburg in July, 1787.[478]

At this time there was no church in the town. People of all denominations gathered for services in a small log schoolhouse at the foot of what is now Capitol Hill.[479] But on the 12th of March of this year (1787) there came a change. A subscription[480] was opened for "building a

[478] Rev. Manasseh Cutler.

[479] On the north corner of Third and Walnut streets.

[480] Copy of the German subscription list of the 12th of March, 1787, for building the first church and schoolhouse in the town of Harrisburg: "Zur errichtung und Anbauung eines Schulhauses und Kirche auf einen der besten und tauglichsten plazes allhier in Harrisburg, versprechen wir unterschriebenen die von uns bey gesetzte summe zu bezahlen an George Rettich, Johannes Norton, Christian Kunckel und Henry Brunner, davon der gebrauch allein vor die Unterschriebenen seyen solle, zur begraeftigen dieses haben wir unsere Nahmen nebst der summe welches wir zu diesem Gottes werck widmen wollen bey gesetzet, und wollen solches ohne fehl auf die erste anfrage an gemeldete Georg Rettich, Johannes Norton, Christian Kunckel, und Henry Brunner richtig und ohne widerrede ubertraegen. So geschehen, Harrisburg den 12ten Mertz, 1787.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Henrich Brunner	1	10	0	George Leru	0	15	0
Jacob Zollinger	1	10	0	Frantz Leru	1	2	6
George Fritley	1	10	0	Michael Wolf	0	2	6
Vallentein Horter	1	10	0	Cornelius Cox	0	7	6
Karl ———	0	7	6	Thomas Forster	0	5	0
Henrich Henninger (off)	0	15	0	George Schuetz	0	7	6
John Phul	0	15	0	Michel Kab	0	15	0
Johannes Dentzel	1	15	0	Conrad Bombaugh	0	15	0
Georg Schoederin	1	10	0	Peter Bollinger (run off)	0	0	0
Frederick Clackner	0	9	0	Jacob Welschans	0	5	7
Jacob Silsel (run off)	0	15	0	Henrich Boeder	0	5	0
John Hocker	0	15	0	Jacob Weber	0	15	0
Michael Filbi	0	15	0	Jacob Weber darauf bezahlt	0	12	6
Johannes Huessner	0	15	0	Michael Kab emfangen	0	12	5

church and schoolhouse" in some convenient part of the town of Harrisburg. The subscribers were largely Germans, members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, and though others were granted privileges in it, the building was jointly owned and regularly occupied only by the Lutheran and Reformed congregations. For more than a quarter of a century, twenty-seven years in fact, this building was used jointly by the two congregations.

This ancient building was Harrisburg's first church. It was erected in 1787–88 and was not torn away until 1854. The logs of which it was constructed were hewn and were obtained in the neighborhood. The exterior was weatherboarded later. It stood on the west corner of Third St. and Cherry Ave., on a lot donated by the founder of the town.[481] Its dimensions were thirty-five feet in frontage and thirty feet in depth. It was elevated to a height, and required a flight of steps to enter it. One entered a large double front door and passed through a wide aisle to a similar door in the rear. After entering, immediately to the left there was an open stairway with hand rail which led to the galleries built into the three sides of the building. The aisle was also adorned with a large ten-plate stove provided with a full supply of drums and pipes. The pulpit stood against the rear wall between the wall and northwest wall and was supported by a single wooden column. The stairway leading into the pulpit was enclosed by a partition having a sash door, whose sash was covered by a green curtain. In front of the pulpit was the communion table, made of black walnut with a cupboard in each end. The black velvet collection bags on long poles hung by the back door. A long pew along the northwest wall was assigned to the elders and

[481] John Harris in 1787 gave the Germans two separate lots of ground for their own use. The second lot forms about one third of the old graveyard of the two congregations.

deacons. Sconces holding the tallow candles were hung on nails around the room and on gallery posts, and the pulpit was lighted by candle sticks containing two candles on branches on each side of the speaker. The communion cloth, purchased in October, 1795, and used for generations, is still extant, together with the communion tankard, cup and plates.[482]

Now there was a church and a congregation, but no minister, although it is quite possible that the Rev. F. D. Schaeffer, who had come to Carlisle, 1786, preached at Harrisburg early in 1788, fully six months before he is commonly supposed to have begun service there. The discovery in 1895 of the "Holy Book" for both the Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed congregations of Joseph Church, in the town of Louisburg, Pennsylvania, March, Anno 1788,[483] throws considerable light on this early period of the church's history.

This book shows that services were held twice on the 9th of March, 1788, and once during May, twice during June, and once during July, and monthly for the balance of the year. Which were Lutheran services, and which

[482] From an address by Rudolph F. Keller at the Centennial of Zion Church, November 10, 1895, by Rev. D. M. Gilbert, D.D. The writer desires to acknowledge the helpfulness and courtesy of the Rev. Dr. Gilbert and of Dr. John P. Keller, of Harrisburg, in looking up much material and numerous illustrations for the elaboration of the history of the Harrisburg congregation.

[483] This old account book was found among other old books and papers in the possession of Mr. W. A. Zollinger, and our knowledge of it is due to the description given by the pastor of the congregation, the Rev. D. M. Gilbert, D.D. We append the title and a few of the items:

"Holy Book for both the Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed congregations of Joseph's Church, in the town of Louisburg, 8th of March, Anno 1788."

The items of importance in this book are the following:

"Receipt, Feb'y 27, 1788, Christian Kunkel, Henry Brunner, Geo. Redig and Jacob Zollinger made settlement and had alms money, £ 0, s 11, d 3.

March 9, 1st time, 3 s. 9 d. 2d time, 3 s. 4½ d. May 1st, 3d time, 2 s. 9 d. June 8th, 4th time, 2 s. 11 d. 5th time, June 29, 1788, 2 s. 10 d. July 27, 9 s. 4½ d. Collected 10 s. 10 d."

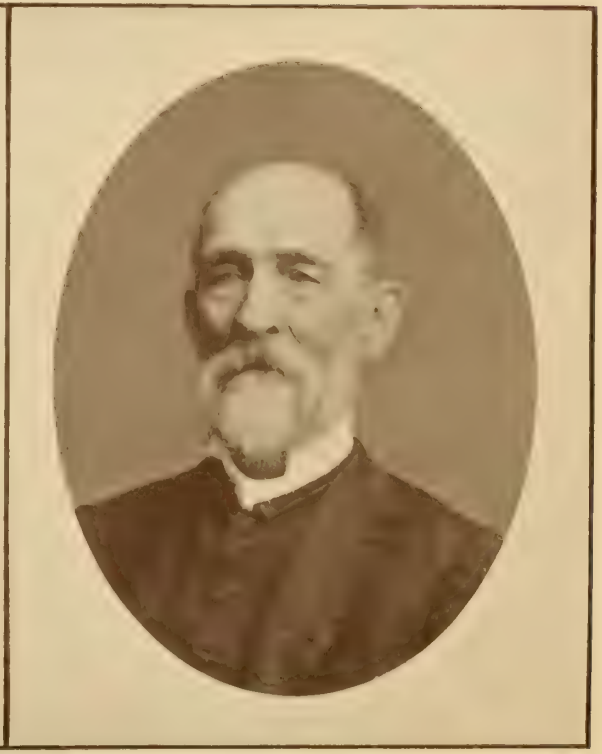


REV. F. D. SCHAEFFER, D.D., AND WIFE.

FROM AN OLD OIL PRINTING.



REV. CHARLES T. SCHAFFER, D.D



REV. CHARLES W. SCHAEFFER, D.D.

Reformed, is unknown. Monthly services were also held in 1789, with more frequent worship in June, July and August. George Hoyer seems to have been treasurer of the Lutheran congregation for the greater part of the time between 1788 and July 31, 1795.

The Rev. F. D. Schaeffer, to whom the first incentives for the erection of the little log church may possibly have been due, at all events opened the first church records of the Harrisburg Lutheran congregation on October 18, 1788, and though he continued to reside at Carlisle he came over to Harrisburg and served the new congregation there until 1790, when he was called to the Germantown field.[484]

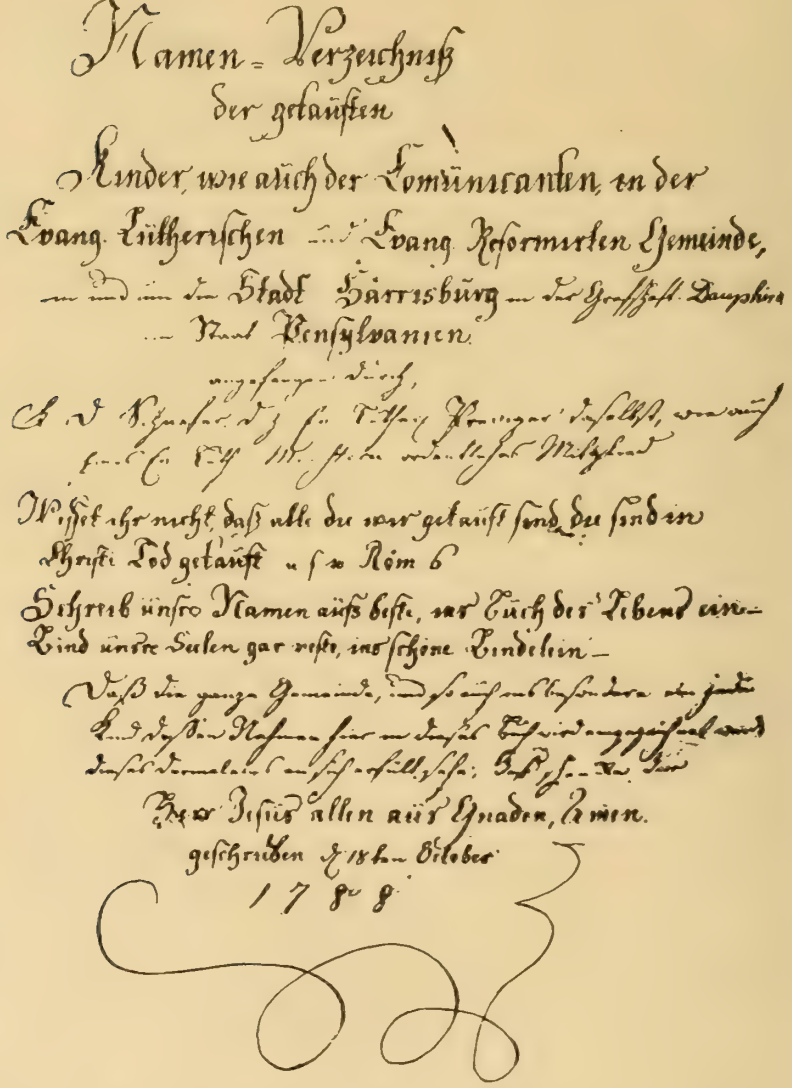
On September 12, 1790, the Lutherans chose the following as their officers:

Trustees.	*Elders.*	*Deacons.*
John Dentzel,	Christian Kunkel,	Michael von Kenen,
George Rettig.	John Hocker.	John Ebert.

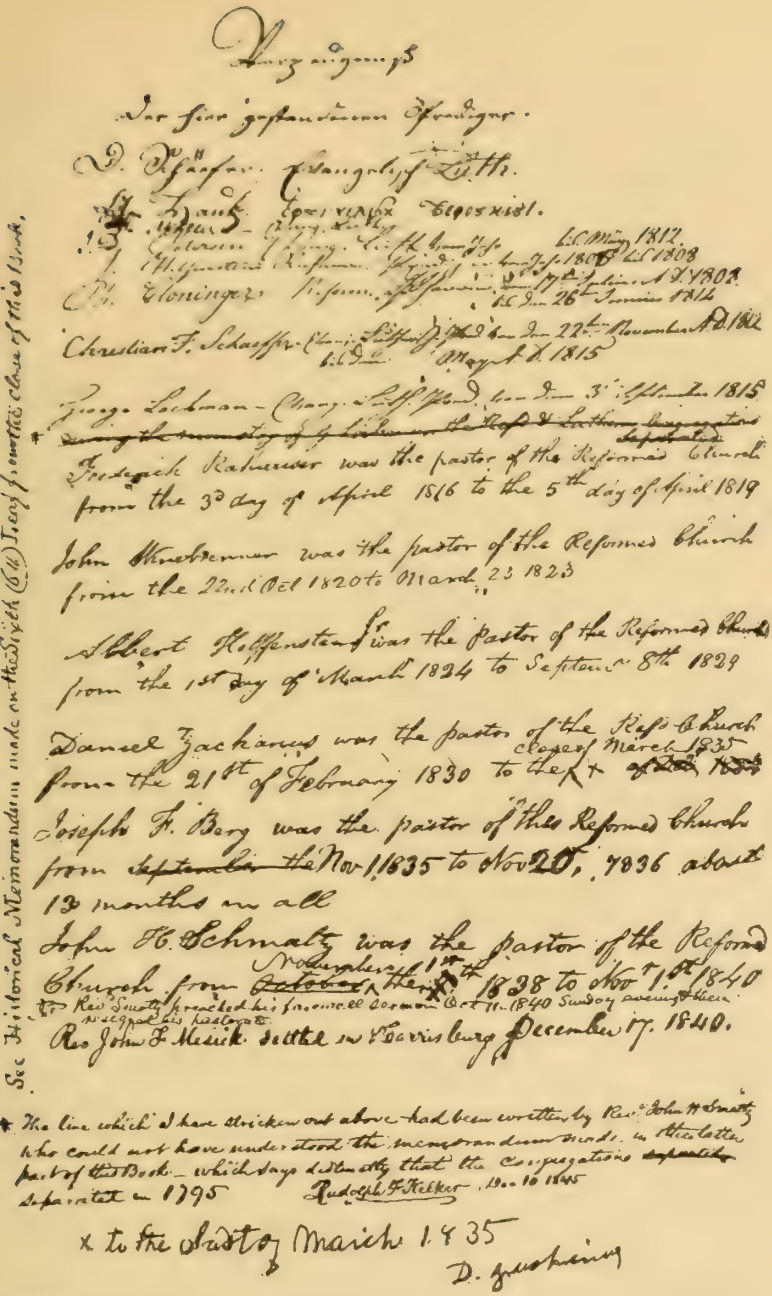
In 1791, though there was no Lutheran pastor here, under the leadership of several active laymen, this union church erected a schoolhouse on the original church property, of which a subscription list is still extant.[485]

[484] The Rev. F. D. Schaeffer was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1760, and came to this country in 1774. He studied theology at York under the Rev. Jacob Goering, and was licensed to preach by the Ministerium in 1786. He was a learned man and an active pastor. After serving at Germantown until 1812 he became pastor at Zion's and St. Michael's, Philadelphia, from 1812 to 1834. He died at Frederick, Md., in 1836.

[485] Heading of the subscription list for the building of German schoolhouse in 1791: "Da zum Nutzen und gebrauch der heranwachsenden Deutsche Jugend ein Schulhaus neben die Kirche erbauet worden und in dasselbige, auch ein stuben ofen gesetzt worden, und nun mehr auch bequem ist Winters zeit Gottes dienst darin zu halten und da es eines jeden Christen sein Pflicht ist, vor seine Kinder zu sorgen damit sie in gutem unterwiesen koennen werden, so werden alle diejenigen freundlichst ersucht einen gefaelligen Beytrag zu thun, damit die dadurch verursachte Unkosten des Baues bezahlt werden koennen. Harrisburg den 19th December, 1791."



TITLE PAGE OF THE ORIGINAL AND EARLIEST HARRISBURG CHURCH RECORD, BEGUN BY THE FIRST PASTOR OF THE LUTHERANS, THE REV. F. D. SCHAEFER, AND CONTAINING HIS AUTOGRAPH. (V., p. 411.)



See Historical Memorandum made on this Sixth (6th) Page of this Book.

FRONT FLY LEAF, FACING FIRST PAGE, OF THE EARLIEST HARRISBURG CHURCH RECORD, SHOWING AUTOGRAPHS OF F. D. SCHAEFER, H. MOELLER, J. D. PETERSEN, C. F. SCHAEFFER AND GEORGE LOCHMAN, THE LUTHERAN PASTORS DOWN TO THE DATE OF THE SEPARATION OF THE LUTHERAN AND REFORMED CONGREGATIONS.

1790.

Geb. Tauf.	Eltern.	Pathen.	Anmerkungen.
Nat. d. 31 ten May 1790.	Christian Gingrich Anna Catharina.	Johanna.	Anna Johanna Gingrich.
Nat. d. 18 ten May 1790.	Gottlieb Gottl Hall Maria.	Salome.	Die Eltern.
Nat. d. 24 ten Merch 1790.	Andreas Pfaudler Johanna.	Christoph Hoffman	Die Eltern.
Nat. d. 16 ten Februar 1790.	Jacob Kapp Margaretha.	Elisabetha	George Kapp Elisabetha.
geb. 25 Jun: tgh 4 July	Martin Lengel Elisabeth	Catharine	Martin Kapp for Johanna.
Nat. d. 29. ten April 1788.	Joh. Christian Gundel Anna Catharina	Johannes	Johannes Lengel
Nat. d. 8 ten April 1788.	Conrad Hill Margaretha.	Anna Maria Katharina Barbara Engel.	Johann Georg Lauer Anna Maria Johannes Hill Elisabetha
Nat. d. 28 ten April 1788.	Wendel Maria Salome.	Elisabetha	Die Eltern
Natus d. 14 ten May 1788.	Johannes Lauer Dorothea.	Johannes	Die Eltern
Nat. d. 8 ten August 1788.	Conrad Hoffman Elisabetha.	Johannes.	Johann Pfaudler

FIRST PAGE OF BAPTISMAL REGISTER OF THE EARLIEST HARRISBURG CHURCH RECORD BEGUN BY THE REV. F. D. SCHAEFER.

The new church evidently did not attract the admiration of strangers. Already as early as 1788, it seems to have been proposed to make Harrisburg the seat of government of the State. John Penn, a grandson, of William Penn, journeyed thither to see the town in particular, and under date of April 10th he writes in his journal:

"On the eastern side of this [Tulpehocken Creek] is a most elegant new Lutheran Church. * * * I came to Lebanon, a handsome town, containing some hundred inhabitants. This place is decorated by a spire and the houses are well built, many of them stone or brick. * * * The horses were baited at Millerstown, twenty miles from Harrisburg on Harris's Ferry. Mr. Harris, the owner and founder of this, informed me that three years ago there was but one house built. * * * Though the courts are held here generally, Lebanon is infinitely larger. The situation of this place is one of the finest I ever saw."

It was the situation and its future possibilities rather than what had been accomplished up to this time that caused an influx of population. Much of the German Lutheran element came from the town of York and the region of the Codorus, whose origin and growth have been pictured in a previous chapter.

One of the earliest and most energetic founders of the Lutheran Church at "Harris' Ferry" was Christian Kunkel. He came there as early as 1786.[486] With indomitable energy and skill he entered at once into business. He cut down the trees which grew in the swamp land in Market Square, and erected a log house. He soon after entered the mercantile line, and gradually amassed a large fortune for those days. It has been said of him that he purchased a new farm every year and was soon known as a wealthy man in the place. He was prominent in all the affairs of the town, was burgess of the borough in 1796 and frequently a member of the Council. In 1809 he was appointed by Governor Snyder one of the commissioners

[486] He was born in the Palatinate, 1757, and arrived in Pennsylvania with his father in 1766. He served in the Revolutionary War.

for erecting a bridge over the Susquehanna. He was greatly interested in church affairs and was one of the first to move in the separation of the Lutheran from the Reformed congregation, and in taking up a new location for the Lutheran Church. He was chairman of the building committee which erected the church in 1814, and headed the list of subscribers. He always gave liberally to the church. He died in 1823.

Four years after Kunkel had arrived, that is 1790, Lutheranism in Harrisburg received another important accession in the person of Benjamin Kurtz,[487] son of Rev. John Nicholas Kurtz. Benjamin was twenty-five years of age when he came to Harrisburg, a good classical scholar, and had taught school for several years. In 1797 he was chosen town clerk. He represented Dauphin County in the Legislature from 1809 to 1812, and was very influential in securing the seat of the state government for Harrisburg. He was a man of indomitable energy and of great force of character. Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, of Baltimore, was his son.

Another of the original members of this congregation was Samuel Laird, who was born in 1769 at Carlisle, and who became a good and successful lawyer. He was a pleasant speaker, and very active in the local affairs of the town. He died in 1815 at the age of forty-five years.

His father was an old magistrate of Cumberland County. Mr. Laird received a classical education, studied law at Carlisle, and was admitted to the Dauphin Bar in 1792. Locating at Harrisburg, he took a leading part in the local affairs of the borough in its earlier years. He was a courteous, honorable gentleman of the old school.

Mr. Laird was one of the three leading lawyers at the Harrisburg bar. He had two eminent students, John M. Foster, of Harrisburg, and Jacob W. Weidman, of Lebanon. Mr. Laird was a tall, good-looking man of a mild, gentle

[487] The autograph signature of Benjamin Kurtz and the facsimile of the baptismal record of his son will be found a few pages further on.



JOHN PETER KELLER, II.
B. LANCASTER, 1776; D. HARRISBURG, 1859.

MRS. CATHARINE (SCHAFFER) KELLER.
WIFE OF JOHN PETER KELLER.

CHRISTIAN KUNKEL.
B. 1757; D. 1823

JOHN FAGER.
B. 1768

disposition, very gentlemanly and kind in manner. For several years prior to his death his health and probably his business were on the decline. In 1811 he erected three three-story brick buildings on Second Street, which were considered to be very fine for the place.

Among the founders of this separate Lutheran organization was John Fager, a grandson of the Rev. J. A. H. Fager, whom we have already met. John Fager was born in 1768 and came to Harrisburg about 1790, where he followed the occupation of a hatter. He was county commissioner and a member of the town council for some years. After retiring from active business, late in life, he was collector of tolls at the east end of the Harrisburg bridge.

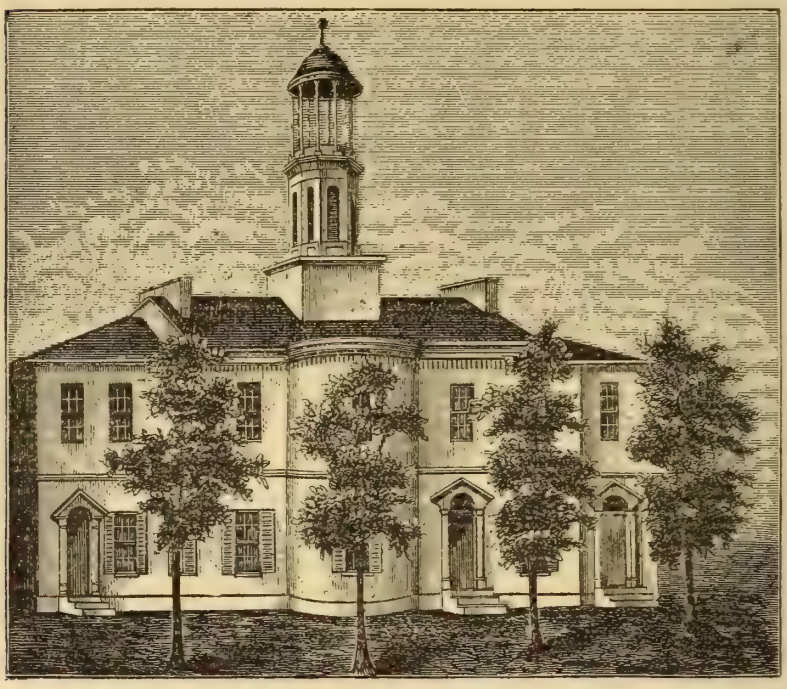
Another of the founders was John Peter Keller, who came to Harrisburg in 1796 and established himself as a brass founder and rope maker in 1801. From 1810 to 1824 he was a member of the borough council and was identified with nearly all the early enterprises of the town. He was energetic, industrious, thrifty, upright and highly respected. He was married to the daughter of the Rev. Frederick Schaeffer, D.D. He was a brother of the Rev. Benjamin Keller and the Rev. Emanuel Keller, who studied theology with the Rev. Lochman, Harrisburg, was his son.

In 1795, 96, 97, Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Lioucourt, who made a tour of America, speaks as follows:

"Very few log houses are to be found in Harrisburg, but, on the contrary, many substantial handsome edifices; although this town is smaller and of later establishment than Reading and many other places, yet it is more compact and has a larger and better appearance. * * * The majority of the inhabitants of Harrisburg consists of Germans and Irishmen, firmly attached to the government, sensible and industrious. The number of inns in America is out of all proportion to that in Europe. This place contains no less than thirty-eight."

The union church had been wainscoted in 1790, and in 1804 the two vestries erected a pulpit, put galleries on

three sides, plastered the walls, weather-boarded the exterior and painted it white. Joseph Scott in his "Geographical History of Pennsylvania," published in 1805, after telling us that Harrisburg contained about 400 houses at that time, of which one third were brick, including an ele-



ELEGANT BRICK COURT HOUSE of 1805.

gant brick court house and stone jail, states that it had "a brick and log meeting house." The brick building here referred to undoubtedly was the unfinished Presbyterian Church, while the log meeting house was the Lutheran and Reformed Church. This is made clear by a description of Francis Cumming, a pedestrian, who passed through

Harrisburg in 1807. Speaking of the court house, he alludes to the large room in it.

"This room is now used as a temporary place of worship by the English Presbyterians until their own meeting house is finished, which is all brick and in great forwardness. * * * There is as yet no other place of worship in Harrisburg, except an old wooden house used as such by a congregation of German Lutherans."

For eight years (1787–1795) the Lutheran and Reformed congregations worshipped in the one building. The Lutherans used the hymn book published by the Ministerium in 1786, while the Reformed used a German Reformed book. Not infrequently it happened therefore that the Lutherans, not finding the hymn in their own book, were unable to unite in the singing. By 1795 the growth of the congregations in membership and the demand for more frequent services both in Harrisburg and the neighboring region caused the Lutherans, who had no resident pastor,[488] to take steps to secure a permanent pastor of their own.

The final separation of the two congregations (though both remained in the same building) is indicated in the "Holy Book" of Joseph Church, mentioned on p. 410. The settlement, under date of July 31, 1795, in the handwriting of John Dentzel, shows that George Hoyer received 5 pounds, 15 shillings and 8½ pence for the Reformed people, and John Dentzel the same amount for the Lutherans. Dentzel, with George Rettig, was the trustee of the congregation, and he appears to have been prominent in its finances, as the "Holy Book" shows that on a number of occasions he drew up the settlements for the Lutherans. Conrad Tresturiter appears to have been the Lutheran treasurer. This "Holy Book" was retained in possession of the Lutheran officers.

The entry in the records for 1795 is as follows:

[488] The resident pastor was the Rev. Mr. Hautz.

"Im Jahr 1795 wurden die zwei Gemeinden in Harrisburgh naemlich die Reformirt und Lutherisch, von einander *sebarirt*, und waehlten auf Reformierter Seite zum Kirchenrath.

The Lutherans called a protégé of Mühlenberg, the Rev. Henry Moeller, to be their pastor.[489]

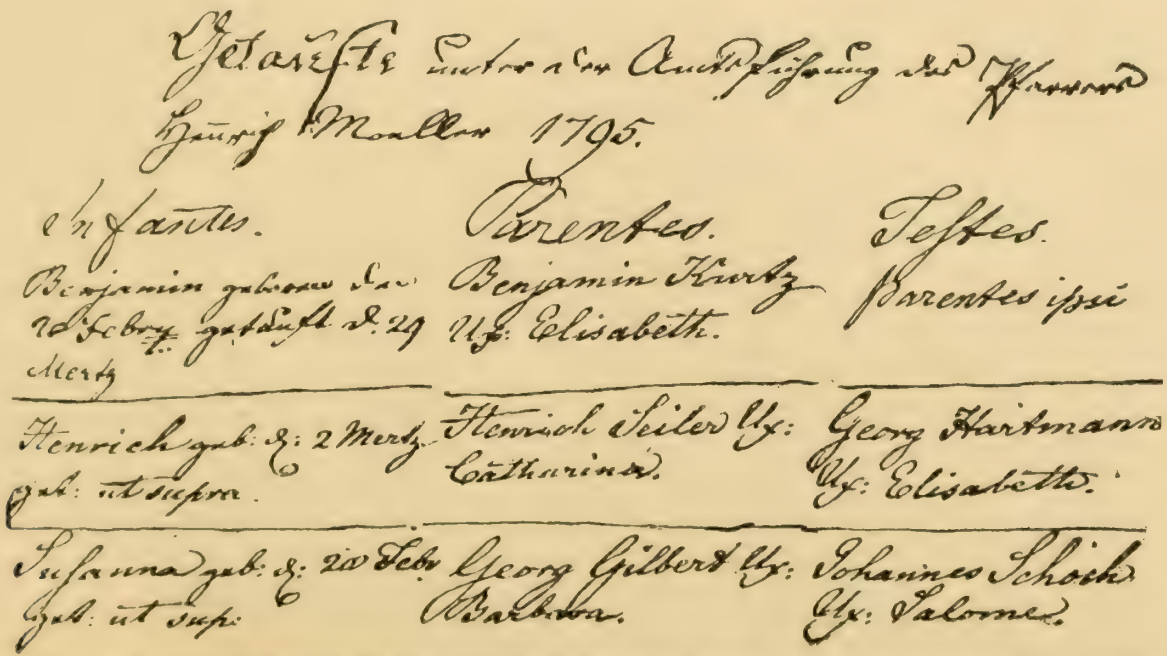
Rev. Moeller at once had a constitution adopted for the government of the church, which was subscribed by the pastor himself and twenty-five men, heads of families, as uniting in the organization of this church.[490] Rev. Moeller also opened the new church register in which the constitution is recorded. His first baptismal record (v. p. 421) is that of a son of Benjamin Kurtz and his wife Elizabeth.[491]

Rev. Moeller faithfully gathered the scattered Lutherans far and near. He was blameless in conduct and conciliatory and affable in manner. "With no pretentions to being a brilliant or highly attractive preacher, he was instructive, practical, experimental, and in the more private duties of the pastoral office was eminently faithful." His first list of communicants, written on Whitsunday, May 17, 1796, numbers 24, at which time he also added 49 members to the church by confirmation. His average additions to the church were between 15 and 20 every other year.

[489] Rev. Henry Moeller came from a family with whom Muhlenberg had been intimately acquainted in Germany. He studied theology under Muhlenberg and became a pastor at Reading in 1775, at Albany, and at New Holland, from which place he was called to Harrisburg after having seen twenty years of arduous service. In 1802, he resigned the Harrisburg congregation, much to the regret of the people, and returned to Albany. After six years he accepted a call to the united churches of Sharon and New Rhinebach, Schoharie County, New York. "He died in great peace at Sharon on the 16th of September, 1829, in his eightieth year." His epitaph reads, "After a long and hard pilgrimage wherein I often erred, my divine Saviour, Jesus Christ, led me, by his Holy Word and Spirit, to his glorious eternal home."

[490] Two of these members, George Youse and John Fager, survived to see the semi-centennial of this church in 1845.

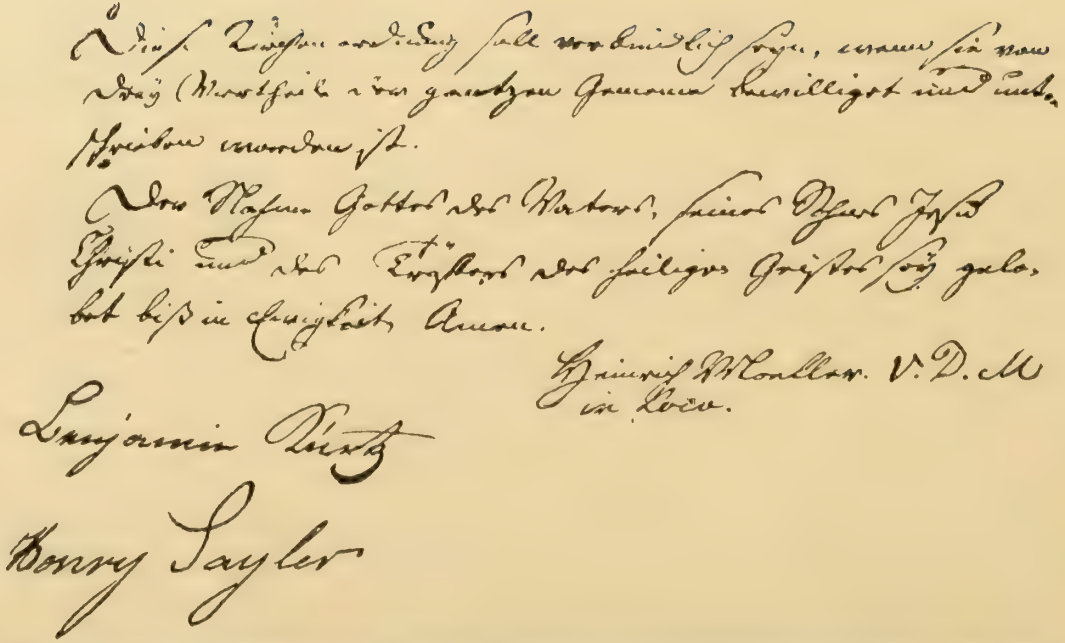
[491] *Benjamin*, born 20th Feb'y, baptized 29th March (1795). *Parents*, Benjamin Kurtz and wife Elizabeth.



Getaufte Kinder in der Auferbauung des Herrn Heinrich Moller 1795.

Kinder.	Parentes.	Testes.
Benjamin gebohren d. 20 Febr. getaufft d. 29 Merty	Benjamin Kurtz Ux: Elisabeth.	Parentes ipsi
Henrich geb: d: 2 Merty Gtf: ut supra.	Henrich Seiler Ux: Catharina.	Georg Hartmann Ux: Elisabetha.
Susanna geb: d: 20 Febr Gtf: ut supr.	Georg Gilbert Barbara. Ux:	Johannes Schoch Ux: Salome.

HEADING AND OPENING ENTRIES OF THE REGISTER OF BAPTISMS IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH RECORD BEGUN BY REV. HENRY MOELLER IN 1795, SHOWING THE BAPTISM OF THE REV. DR. BENJAMIN KURTZ.



AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURES OF PASTOR MOELLER AND OF BENJAMIN KURTZ AT THE CLOSE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH, 1795.

When toward the end of 1802 Rev. Moeller resigned the Harrisburg charge, there was universal regret among his parishioners. By April of the next year, however, they succeeded in securing another pastor. He was a German preacher, from Europe, named the Rev. J. Dietrich Peterson.[492]

He was a man of large family and often in straitened circumstances. Rev. Peterson's pastorate continued from 1803 to 1812, during which time he preached in alternation with the German Reformed pastor in the common old church building, on the intervening Sundays going to Clark's and Sherman's valleys and elsewhere. The young Lutherans in Harrisburg were, however, rapidly becoming English, and pastor Peterson was unable to preach in this language. The Reformed had a pastor who used the English language in worship, and some of the children of Lutheran families began to connect themselves with the Reformed Church. This probably had something to do with the resignation of the pastor. His last official act was the baptism of a child, March 27, 1812.

It so happened that in the following July the Ministerium met in Carlisle, and one of the young men licensed by it at the meeting was invited to preach at Harrisburg. He was none other than the son of the original Harrisburg pastor. The invitation was accepted, and on the 5th of July the young Rev. F. C. Schaeffer was unanimously elected pastor of the church. We still possess a very attractive pen picture of this young preacher.

"His eyes were black and piercing, his complexion dark, his nose Roman, his whole face beaming with intel-

[492] Rev. Peterson was born in Bremen, November 26, 1756, was ordained in 1783 and came to this country in 1795. When he resigned at Harrisburg in the spring of 1812 he removed to Somerset County. He died at Markham, Canada, in January, 1845, in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

ligence and capable of expressing every variety of emotion. Had it not been that there was a slight degree of heaviness in his movements, it would have been difficult to suggest any improvement in his outer man. And his mind was scarcely less extraordinary than the face which it animated and illumined — it was inventive, brilliant, logical, graceful. He was a highly educated man and failed not to make his mark in literary society. * * * He was a great lover of natural history. He exchanged many specimens of birds, insects and minerals with men of science in Prussia; and the King of Prussia presented him with a large gold medal as an acknowledgment for his service in extending among his subjects the knowledge of the natural history of this country. He was a splendid musician, and played skillfully on a variety of instruments. He had remarkably fine powers of conversation, and not only spoke out of a richly endowed and highly cultivated mind, but had the faculty of communicating what he knew with a most graceful facility. At the same time he was a devout Christian, and never forgot that his main business was dealing with men in respect to their higher and immortal interests. * * * As a preacher he was undoubtedly one of the most popular and effective of his day. His voice was of great compass and melody, his utterance perfectly distinct, and his whole manner graceful, earnest and attractive. He had nothing more than the outline of his sermon before him in the pulpit, but it was evident that his train of thought, at least, was thoroughly premeditated, and that it was beaten oil that he had brought into the sanctuary. He preached in English and German with equal ease. * * * When he died the universal feeling was that a great light had been extinguished."[493]

[493] Dr. Henry N. Pohlman in Gilbert's *Centennial of Zion Lutheran Church.*

Rev. Schaeffer entered on his work at Harrisburg on November 22, 1812. He had no sooner begun when he proceeded to vigorous action in various directions. The providential moment had arrived. He introduced English services, probably once a month, in the Lutheran part of the services of the old Church, and thus checked the de-



THE NEW ZION CHURCH, HARRISBURG, 1814.

pletion of the latter toward the Reformed congregation. A new life was being infused into the people. At the first communion held by the new pastor, April 11, 1813, there were forty-five persons confirmed. The Lutherans were not satisfied with their progress in the old log building, and in 1813 proposed a division of the church property, which

was declined by the Reformed. However, the Lutherans were determined upon the erection of another church, and in the month of July, 1813, purchased what was called Luther's lot, at Fourth and Market streets.[494] At a meeting on July 19, 1813, a resolution was passed to build a church upon the ground and a subscription for the work was begun upon the spot. On the 3d of January, 1814, the congregation was incorporated. On the 26th of January a building committee consisting of Christian Kunkel George Youse, George Ziegler, John Schoch and Christian Stahl was appointed. On June 22, the corner-stone of a handsome brick church was laid in the presence of an "immense concourse of people."

But the pastor who began this great enterprise had not remained to see it completed. He was called to New York City,[495] where he became prominent as a member of the New York Ministerium, opposing the rationalism then prevalent in that body, and later as one of the founders of the General Synod.[496]

The congregation now looked to the Rev. George Lochman, who for twenty-one years had been the successful pastor of Salem Church, Lebanon, and who had delivered an address at the corner-stone laying of the new Harrisburg

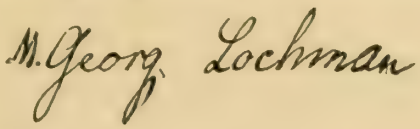
[494] "The part covered by the pulpit was obtained by purchase, the part covered by the front of the church on Fourth Street by a later exchange."

[495] This was in 1815.

[496] LIFE OF THE REV. F. C. SCHAEFFER.

Frederick Christian Schaeffer was born at Germantown, November 12, 1792. From early youth he had set his heart upon the ministry. He was licensed at Carlisle in 1812, and accepted the call to Harrisburg, Middletown, Schupp's and Wenrick's churches, entering upon his work on his twentieth birthday. Less than three years later he removed to New York, where he spent the remainder of his days. He received the honorary degree of D.D. from Columbia College in 1830, and the same year was appointed professor of the German language and literature in that institution. Two years later, on the 26th day of March, 1832, he died.

building and had made a very favorable impression. Dr. Lochman was in the prime of life, forty-two years of age. The chief feature in his character was "a childlike simplicity, combined with unmeasurable kindness of heart, which nothing could disturb except indeed some invasion of what he esteemed the rights and prerogatives of the good old Lutheran Church, for which he entertained an affection next in strength and devotedness to that he felt for his Divine Master. * * * The Lutheran Church lay very near his heart."[497] In the pulpit his language was plain and unostentatious. As a pastor he was indefatigable. "Storm or sunshine, cold or heat, day or night, he was ever ready to go. Methinks I see him now, walking the streets with his gold-headed cane, a pattern of meekness in his dress, a



perfect gentleman of the old school in his manners, bowing politely and complacently to all he met, and smiling benignantly on all the children whom he met, who rejoiced to be recognized by the good Doctor."

Dr. Lochman received his call on July 14, 1815. He removed to Harrisburg on August 30 and on September 3 preached his introductory sermon, on the duties and objects of the Christian ministry and the obligations of a Christian congregation.[498] The vestry was so impressed with the sermon that it resolved to have it printed and copies still exist.

Matters at Harrisburg required the careful attention of

[497] Dr. Dewitt.

[498] The text was Col. 1: 28. "Whom we preach, warning every man and teaching every man, in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

a pastor. The new church was unfinished. The business affairs pertaining to the joint ownership of the old church with the Reformed were not settled. But one month after Dr. Lochman's labors began the new church was consecrated. The two congregations which had worshipped in the same building for twenty-seven years were now separated. At the consecration large throngs of people from Dauphin and even from Lebanon County, Dr. Lochman's old home, were present, and the collection amounted to $600. On the afternoons of October 16 and 17 the pews were rented, and "to the complete surprise of everybody every pew was taken the first day."

In 1816 the Lutherans agreed to take $1,000 from the Reformed as their share in the old church lot and property. In 1818 an organ was purchased from Lititz. The Synod of Pennsylvania met at Harrisburg in that year. In 1819 a company of young people gathered at the house of the pastor resolved to start a Sunday-school. The first session was held on September 29, with eighteen male and eighteen female teachers. It is claimed that this was the first Sunday-school which was not simply for the poor, but which admitted children of all classes, rich and poor, without distinction. In two months the school had increased to 234 scholars. "German and English were both taught; spelling out of the book was one of the exercises and the repetition of hymns and verses and Luther's catechism committed to memory was much insisted on. Every three months there was a public examination by the pastor in the church, at which books were presented as rewards.[499] In 1822 a brick schoolhouse was erected.

When the State House was dedicated on January 2, 1822, the service was opened with an impressive prayer by Dr.

[499] *Centennial of Zion's Lutheran Church*, p. 138.

Lochman, pastor of the Lutheran Church of Harrisburg. The prayer is said to have been quite lengthy.[500]

In 1826 Dr. Lochman died and was succeeded by his



ZION LUTHERAN CHURCH, HARRISBURG, 1829.

son. The later history of Harrisburg congregation is given in the accompanying footnote.[501]

[500] A brief discourse was delivered by Rev. D. Mason, of Dickinson College, who among other things said: "Go on and prosper till the sound of the hammer, * * * the lofty spires of worship, * * * till richly endowed colleges of education * * * shall gladden the banks of the Susquehanna and the Delaware and exact from admiring strangers that cheerful and grateful tribute, 'This is the work of a Pennsylvania Legislature.'"

[501] LATER HISTORY OF HARRISBURG CONGREGATION.

In 1827 the son of the late pastor, Augustus H. Lochman, was elected. Under his pastorate the congregation continued to flourish. Preaching at Middletown, his attention was directed to the Emaus Orphan House matter.

A Lutheran named George Fry, who had long been engaged in merchandising and milling had in 1806 willed his estate consisting of over 800 acres with a valuable power on the Swatara to the Emaus Orphan House, in which the orphans were to be maintained, educated and instructed in the doctrines of the Lutheran Church. Rev. Lochman found that the estate was mismanaged and the Orphan House had gone into decay. He felt it to be his duty to bring the matter to the attention of the courts in 1829, where it remained until 1846, when an act of assembly was obtained for the appointment of trustees for the home at the nomination of the two Lutheran Synods lying east and west of the Susquehanna.

The familiar form and faces of the members of the Harrisburg congregation in Rev. Lochman's day, are thus summarized by one who was quite a boy at that time (Dr. George Parson): The Hummels, the Kellers, the Boyers, the Heisleys, and Father Eyster, Messrs. Eberman, Kline, Cattrell, Houser, Zimmerman, Reel, Barnitz, Judge Dock and Bernheisel.

On the evening of October 21, 1838, the Church and school of the congregation were entirely destroyed by fire. The fire was communicated to the school from the burning of an adjacent building. Dr. S. A. Hollman, who was then a young boy, describes it as follows: "Standing, one Sunday evening, on the steps of my parent's residence, on Second Street, I heard the cry of fire and saw a fire engine passing by. Like the irrepressible small boy, I ran after the engine until I came to the corner of Fourth and Market Streets, and beheld the flames consuming the carpenter shop across the alley to my right. That shop was owned by my father and Mr. John B. Simon, and had been set on fire by an incendiary. As I watched the flames with interest and wonder, I saw the fire flashing from the eaves of the roof of the church, whilst the old bell in the steeple was kept ringing until it was no longer safe for any one to remain in the building."

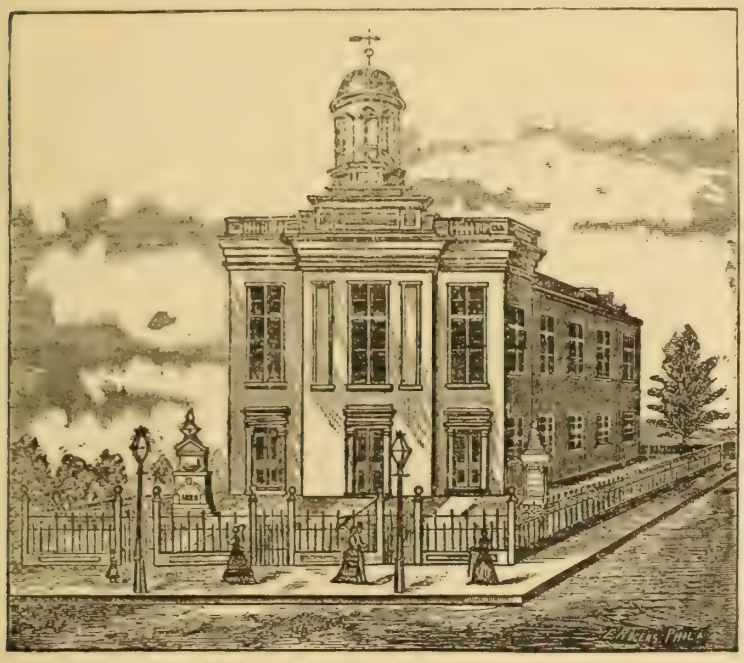
S. Sprecher became pastor of the Harrisburg Congregation in 1836. He was deeply affected by the kindness of the Germans toward him. "I shall never forget their forbearance toward me in preaching in the German language. One of the reasons which made me long decline to accept the call was my insufficient knowledge of the German. But they said I must come, and they would dispense with German preaching. When I came, I saw that it would not be right to dispense with it, so I determined to give them German. My first sermon was a wretched failure. But they came to me and said it was excellent."

Dr. Sprecher, who was pastor at the time the church was destroyed, says: "I shall never forget the morning after the burning of the old church, when, in a meeting at the smoking ruins one of the oldest members said in answering to the closing words of my address, namely, 'What shall we do?' '*Zion Church shall be rebuilt*;' and the response was a large subscription on the spot. And though we had no insurance and a large debt on the old church the new was built, and the congregation without debt." By November 10, 1839, the new church was ready for consecration. Within its walls, prior to the consecration, the convention was held which nominated General Wm. H. Harrison for President and John Tyler for Vice-President of the United States.

In 1841 C. W. Schaeffer became pastor of the congregation. In 1843 St.

Michael's German Lutheran Church on South Second street was organized, and the old church became entirely English. In this year there was a remarkable religious awakening in Harrisburg, and after three months' catechetical instruction, on March 26, 1843, 165 persons were added to the membership of the church.

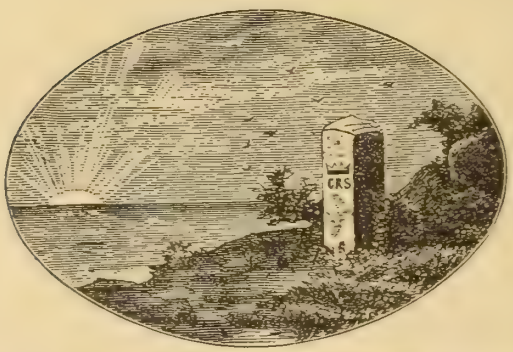
Dr. S. A. Holman in an address at the Centennial of Zion's Church in 1895 gives the following description of Dr. C. W. Schaeffer's congregation in the latter part of his pastorate. "There to the right of the white-painted pulpit, in his arm-chair, with cane and spectacles and ruddy countenance, was old



ZION CHURCH, HARRISBURG, 1839, SHOWING LOCHMAN MONUMENT.

father Peter Keller. Yonder, in front of me, sat Mr. William Cattrell and Mrs. Klein. Behind their pews were those of Judge Valentine Hummel, Jacob R. Eby, Henry Felix, Mr. Eyster, Mr. Garverich, Mrs. Hutton, Mrs. Berryhill. In the pews of the middle aisle were the families of the pastor, Mr. John B. Simon, Mrs. Cameron, Judge Dock, David Hummel, William Duncan, Daniel Eppley, Dr. Fager, George J. Heisley, William Parkhill. Beyond, to the left, were the pews of Mr. George Bergner, Jacob Houser, Peter Bernheisel, William K. Verkeke, William Sayford, Mr. Uhler and others whose names I cannot now recall."

Among the sons of this congregation are Professor M. Loy, of Capitol University, Dr. S. A. Hollman, and many others. The following pastors succeeded C. W. Schaeffer: C. A. Hay, 1849; G. F. Stelling, 1865; J. Swartz, 1875; A. Studebaker, 1881; D. M. Gilbert, the present pastor, 1887. In 1867 the church edifice was remodeled and enlarged at an expense of nearly $40,000. This mother congregation in Harrisburg was a member of the Pennsylvania Ministerium until 1857, when it withdrew and became a member of the East Pennsylvania Synod (General Synod). From this congregation sprang the St. Michael's German Church, 1843; Zion German Church, 1863; Messiah's, 1858; Memorial, 1871; Bethlehem, 1887; and Trinity, 1888.



MONUMENT ERECTED BY PETER MINUIT ON THE SHORES OF THE DELAWARE A. D. 1638.



SCENES FROM THE TULPEHOCKEN REGION.

CHRIST CHURCH PARSONAGE.
PIONEER HOMES ON OLD CUMBERLAND ST., LEBANON.
THE TULPEHOCKEN.
ANCESTRAL HOME OF THE BRIDE OF GOVERNOR SCHULZE.
HOMESTEAD OF THE REITHS.
CHRIST CHURCH GRAVEYARD.



CHAPTER XVI.

The Migration to the Tulpehocken and the Churches There.

Early Sources for Our Knowledge of the Tulpehocken.

The Autobiography of Conrad Weiser.

Muhlenberg's Biography of Conrad Weiser, given as a Remarkable Case, in the *Hall. Nachrr.*

Letter of Mr. Conrad Weiser, a Magistrate in Pennsylvania: Baumgarten's *Theologischen Bedenken* VI. Collection, p. 673 ff.

Local Traditions Still Surviving.

The *Chronicon Ephratense.*

Records and Manuscripts in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, as follows:

1. "*Kirchenbuch vor die Evangelisch Luth-Gemeine* in Tulpehocken." Including "*Die Confusion von Tulpehocken.*"
2. "*Briefe des seligen Cammerhofs,*" (to various European brethren giving his account of Kurtz's getting into the church).
3. *Inspector Boehler's visit and rules.*
4. *Cammerhof's diary* (containing his own account of his interview and conference with C. Weiser).
5. "*Species Facti der Kirche in Tulp.*"
6. *A paper sent to "Joseph Spangenberg" concerning the troubles in their church.*
7. "*An die Sieben Brueder Joseph and Matthaeus.*"
8. *An die Theure Gemeinde in Bethlehem (about the school affairs) by Caspar Richtl, Hermanus Walborn—vorsteter.*

Boehm's Reports to the Reformed Church of Holland.

The Church Books of Christ Church at Tulpehocken.

SOURCES FOR DETAILS AND FOR CONNECTED ACCOUNTS.

Hallische Nachrichten.

1. Kocherthal's and the whole *Palatine Immigration* to New York with Descent to Pennsylvania, Vol. I., pp. 608–615.
2. *Palatine Immigration and Tulpehocken Confusion*, Vol. I., p. 302–305.
3. Muhlenberg's *Account of the Beginnings of the Tulpehocken, 1727–1747*, Vol. I., p. 362.
4. Nicholas Kurtz's *History of the Tulpehocken, 1709–1748*, Vol. I., pp. 201–202.
5. *Stoever and Wagner*, Vol. I., pp. 434–435. *The Tulpehocken Confusion, 1743–1748*, Vol. I., pp. 189–190.
6. *Andreä at Tulpehocken*, Vol. I., p. 199.
7. *Letter of Conrad Weiser in Reference to Tulpehocken Confusion, 1747*, Vol. I., pp. 189–193.
8. *Call of the Tulpehocken Church Council for Pastor in 1748*, Vol. I., pp. 139–141.
9. *History of Christ Church at Tulpehocken, 1708–1874*, Vol. I., p. 304.
10. *Building of a Parsonage, 1747*, Vol. I., p. 420.
11. *Muhlenberg's Visit to the Tulpehocken, 1747*, Vol. I., pp. 349–350.
12. *Kurtz' Entrance on Work at the Tulpehocken*, Vol. I., p. 148.
13. *Kurtz at Tulpehocken*, Vol. II., pp. 210, 255, 426, 427.
14. *Tulpehocken under Schulze*, Vol. II., p. 732.

Moravian.

Muhlenberg's Erzählungen, Hall. Nachrr., Alte Ausg., pp. 249–252.

Nik. Kurtz's Erzählungen, Hall. Nachrr. Neue Ausg., pp. 201, 202.

Weiser's Conferenz mit Bischof Cammerhof in Fresenius Bewährt. Nachrichten von Herrnhut, Sachen III., pp. 322–330.

State of the case between the Lutherans and Moravians at Tulpehocken, with the opinion thereon of Tench Francis, Esq., April 26, 1755, Berks and Schuylkill County Journal, March 22, 1872.

Gottlieb Büttner's Letter to Pastor Stiefer, April 17, 1742, and Joh. Phil. Meurer's Bericht wegen Caspar Stiefer's Bericht an das Consistorium zu Philadelphia, Fresenius Bewährt, Nachrr., III., pp. 541–561.

LATER WORKS ON THE TULPEHOCKEN.

Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society, The German Migration from New York into Pennsylvania, M. H. Richards, D.D.

Ancient and Historic Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley, Rev. P. C. Croll, Philadelphia, 1895.

The Story of the Palatines, S. H. Cobb, New York, 1897.

The Life of Conrad Weiser, C. Z. Weiser, D.D., Reading, 1876.

Sachse's *Conrad Weiser*, in the *German Sectarians*, pp. 274–295.

Was Conrad Weiser a Lutheran? Theodore E. Schmauk, *Lutheran Church Review*, 1903–1904.

Walton's *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1900.

Richard's *Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, 1896.

Rupp's *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties.*

Montgomery's *History of Berks County.*

Schantz' *Historical Discourse on Christ Lutheran Church in the Tulpehocken*, 1803.

Early's *The Oldest Churches of Berks County*, 1901.

Brownmiller's *Brief History of the First Tulpehocken Lutheran Congregation, now known as Zion's (Reed's) Lutheran Church*, 1887.

Schmauk's *Old Salem in Lebanon*, Chap. VII., Lebanon, 1898.

The history of the Tulpehocken region and congregation has not yet been written satisfactorily. There is an abundant fulness of detailed evidence, much of it of a partisan character, respecting the early period of its existence But the various accounts and traditions are so conflicting, and the inner spring of the narrative is so deeply concealed, that the difficulty of sound and just historical writing is very great. Mann and Schmucker in the *Hall. Nachrr.* (Vol. I., p. 302) say: "About no other of the older Lutheran communities in America have we such precise reports as about this one and indeed of men, who themselves have been engaged in activity there. Many features of great interest are woven in the history of that community."

THROUGH a land of unbroken forests, in a journey of more than 500 miles, across divides where gather the headwaters of the Susquehanna, the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Hudson and the Delaware, there started one spring morning in the year 1723 a band of some thirty families of immigrants, with eyes set on a "Promised Land" in the backwoods of Pennsylvania. Their goal was Tulpewihaki, the land where the turtles sang and wooed.

History of the Tulpehocken Settlers prior to Their Arrival in 1723.

These daring and hardy travellers who had come down into Pennsylvania meadows from the interior of New York, were a small part of the thousands of Palatines [502] that we

[502] The most concise and yet full and thorough account of the New York Palatines, including the Lutheran pastor Joshua von Kocherthal's early band, the arrivals in 1710 and later years, and a very excellent summary description with abundant details of the developments under Hunter and Livingston on

have already seen in the Savoy, London, about 1708. They had been sent across the sea at Queen Anne's expense in 1710. Governor Hunter had transported them from New York up the Hudson to the pine forests, where in various rude camps, these experienced vine dressers and farmers, who had left their homes to find a rural paradise in the Western World, were set against their will to the task of felling trees, burning tar and raising hemp for the use of the English government. Under military intimidation and industrial oppression they became sullen and rebellious. Finally they broke away into the interior, and under their leaders, one of whom was the elder John Conrad Weiser, they took possession of the virgin lands in the lovely Schoharie Valley. This was in 1712–1713.

They were not alone and not without a show of actual right in taking this step. They were aided and abetted by the powerful Mohawk Indians. It reads like a romance to hear that while they were still in London as immigrants on their way to the new world, these Indians had already invited them to their lands, through five of their chiefs who had happened to be in London at the time and who had mingled with the Palatines before the latter sailed for the western world. From these Indians, it is said, they had bought their lands in the Schoharie for $300. Without implements or means for subduing the forest and tilling the soil, they eked out a most meager subsistence, aided to

the Hudson, together with a narrative of the manner in which the Schoharie was settled, of the threats made to evict the Schoharie settlers from their lands, of the mission of the three deputies, John Conrad Weiser, William Scheff, and a certain Wallrath, to England, where the Lutheran pastors, Böhme and Ruperti interceded for them ; of the failure of their mission, etc., is given in a treatise by Mann and Schmucker in an extended note in the *Hall. Nachrr.*, Vol. I., pp. 609–614.

For history of Kocherthal's band see Kapp's *Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New York*, 1867 (abridged edition with amendments in 1894), and Gräbner's *Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche*, pp. 100–112.

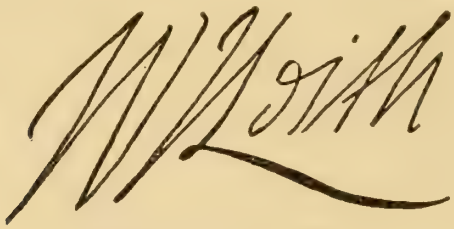
some extent by the Indians during the hard winter seasons, after they had thus located in the valley of their dreams.

Five villages sprang up in the Schoharie. The magnate of one of these was John Conrad Weiser the elder. He was very prominent among these Palatines. He had been at the head of the expedition that went to Canada, and he was one of the three commissioners that in 1718 (before they broke into the Schoharie), the miserable Germans in the pine forests had sent to London to better their lot. Here, in England, already, Weiser visited the widow of William Penn, at her home in Berkshire, and also interviewed John Penn and other members of the family, endeavoring to arrange for the purchase of lands by his New York Palatines in the Minnisink meadows at Esopus on the upper Delaware. But his plan was thwarted by John Logan. His life is of fascinating interest as a page in the early history of New York, though he was not, as is commonly supposed, the leader of the first band from the Susquehanna to Pennsylvania. Nor is it known that he ever lived in Pennsylvania before he came to his children in his old age to see them once more and to die in their midst.[503]

[503] It is Muhlenberg himself who tells us of the arrival of the aged Weiser at his own house. He says: "In 1746 my wife's grandfather, old Conrad Weiser, who since 1710 lived in the New York Province and finally on the borders of New England, came to my house. The reasons why he came to us were the following: (1) It was very dangerous to live at the place where he had been, because in the present times of war the French Indians from Canada make incursions and kill English subjects. [Muhlenberg here describes the process of scalping and says that the French authorities rewarded the Indians with £10 of money for every scalp they secured.] As several Germans had already been massacred in his neighborhood he did not wish to give his gray hairs into the hands of the barbarians. (2) He desired to see his children and grandchildren once again, and to speak with me concerning the way of salvation. (3) He wished to have his little abode of rest with us in Pennsylvania. The difficult journey and his great age exhausted him so fully that he was brought into my house almost dead. After twenty-four hours, he began in half-broken words to pray the hymn, 'Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott.' His eyes were almost blinded and his hearing gone so that I could not

After inconceivable privation and labor, five German settlements in the Schoharie became a beautiful paradise of meadows, fields and gardens. But they were being watched by a group of conspirators who were in governmental position in Albany. As soon as the German farms were in blooming condition, these Albany strategists, under the appearance of right, sent word to the Germans that they possessed no titles to their lands and homes, and that unless they could purchase them, they would be evicted.

The Governor of Pennsylvania (Keith) happening to be



AUTOGRAPH OF GOV. KEITH.

at Albany at an Indian conference when this sensational incident occurred, heard of the hard lot of the Germans;

speak much with him. But I could hear with tears of joy how he continually repeated the most powerful passages concerning the redemption of Christ, *e. g.*, 'Surely he bore our burdens,' etc., 'God so loved the world,' etc., etc., and the passages 'He who comes to Me,' etc., 'God be merciful to me a sinner,' etc. * * * It is a source of true joy when one sees the old Evangelical Lutheran truths become alive in a soul. * * * After the aged father had again recovered we now and then had several short spiritual conversations. * * * After confessing his sins, a yearning hunger and thirst for the Lord's Supper seized him. He said that he had not been able to receive the same for some years because of the scarcity of ministers where he had lived. [Muhlenberg then in the presence of some of his congregation, had him confess his sins, gave him the Lord's supper, prayed and sang with him.]

"Meanwhile Conrad Weiser had sent a wagon with beds and had him brought fifty miles further up the country to his home and after the grandfather had blessed us all and with great difficulty had reached the spot, he still lived a short time with his Joseph in Goshen, and finally fell asleep amid the hearty prayer and sobs of the children and grandchildren around him. Thus he had wandered between eighty and ninety years on his earthly pilgrimage." *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., p. 244.

and in sympathy, it is stated, offered them a home in Pennsylvania.[504] It is said that he assured them that their titles would be clear here, and their lands free from claims of white men and Indians.

History of the Journey from the Schoharie to the Tulpehocken.

A portion of the Schoharie settlers decided to act on this information at once and go to Pennsylvania. They took a road through the backwoods of mountain and wilderness, and arrived at their destination without having been disturbed or halted by government officials and also without any knowledge of the Proprietaries of the Province.

There is nothing more weird and romantic in the early annals of American history than this exodus of the practical and unsentimental Palatine pioneers under the guidance of a friendly Indian from the valley of the Schoharie to the headwaters of the Tulpehocken. In the words of the younger Weiser, "The people got news of the land on the Swatara and Tulpehocken, in Pennsylvania. Many of them united and cut a road from Schoharie to the Susquehanna, carried their goods there and made rafts and floated down the river to the mouth of the Swatara, driving their cattle over land. This happened in the spring of the year 1723. From thence they came to Tulpehocken and this was the origin of the settlement."

Those who had remained in New York soon heard of the successful adventure of their fellow villagers. Many of them followed, in small bands, between 1723 and 1728, arriving in the Tulpehocken region at first also without the permission of the Proprietary of Pennsylvania and his

[504] That Keith's encouragement was responsible for the location of the Germans in the Tulpehocken Indian region is admitted even by James Logan.

commissioners; and without the consent of the Indians from whom the land had not yet been purchased by the Proprietaries. But one drawback seemed to exist in the settlement. "There was no one among these people to govern them. Each one did as they pleased and their obstinacy has stood in their way ever since."[505]

Taking up Lands in the Tulpehocken.

The migrated Germans were now in the land between the Blue Mountains and the South Mountain, just where the great break in the South Mountain occurs. Westward, the Swatara wends its way. Eastward, the beautiful Tulpehocken and its tributaries flow to meet the Schuylkill, near Reading. "Apparently Stouchsburg and the Mühlbach region immediately south of Stouchsburg was the center of the settlement, although it seems to have extended from the vicinity of Myerstown eastward through Tulpehocken and Heidelberg Township to Womelsdorf and further east."[506] "They finally reached the spot on the Tulpehocken Creek near where the Mill Creek flows into the Tulpehocken and there settled in the spring of 1723."[507]

Having learned by experience how important secure titles to their property might be, they communicated with Governor Keith immediately after their arrival and obtained permission to take up such land as they needed, with the understanding that they would make satisfaction when the proprietor was ready to receive the same.[508]

[505] Conrad Weiser's *Autobiography*.

[506] *J. W. Early*.

[507] Brownmiller's *Memorial Discourse*.

[508] Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society, *The German Emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania*, p. 374.

On May 13, 1723, James Mitchell writes to Secretary Logan from Donegal: "I give you to know that there is fifteen famileys of Duch come from Albaney, &c., are now settling upp Swatarra. I sent an account of it to the

The little log houses of the Germans were scarcely built and their first patches of corn scarcely planted, before the Indians in the neighborhood informed these new settlers that their land had never been purchased by the Government.[509] The next year having learned that an agent had been appointed by the Province, with power to dispose of lands, the Germans addressed a petition to William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, in which they asked him to see that they may be enabled to acquire rights and titles for such lands as they shall have occasion to buy from the proprietors or agents, "that our children may have some settlement to depend on hereafter, and that by your authority we may be freed from the demands of the Indians of our part of the country, who pretend a right thereto."[510]

Jovernour and Councle by Cony Thomas, & an address from the upper savens to the Governour & Councle & I have heard they are Impatient for the answer, & for me to send an express on such occasions, att my own charge, will not answer." *The German Emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania*, p. 376.

[509] "The fact that 33 families came early in 1723, and petitioned for the other 50, who would come at once, does not tally with the tradition that these people waited till 1725 or 1726 or even 1727 to make their first move to organize a congregation and build a church." *J. W. Early.*

[510] "To his Excellency, William Keith, Baronet, Governor of Pennsylvania- &c., &c., the Honorable Council.

"The petition of us, the subscribers, being thirty-three families in number, at present inhabiting Tulpehocken Creek.

"HUMBLY SHEWETH,

"That your petitioners * * * about fifteen years ago, were by the great goodness * * * of Queen Anne, * * * transported into the colony of New York, where they settled. * * * Your petitioners being informed of the kind reception which their countrymen usually meet with in the Province of Pennsylvania, and hoping they might, with what substance they had, acquire larger settlements in that Province, did last year (in the spring of 1723), leave their settlements in New York Government, and come with their families into this province, where, upon their arrival, they applied themselves to His Excellency, the Governor, who, of his great goodness, permitted them to inhabit upon Tulpehaca Creek (being the farthest inhabited part of the province northwest of Philadelphia), on condition that they shall make full satisfaction to the proprietor or his agents, for such lands as should be allotted to them, when they were ready to receive the same. And now, your petitioners, understanding that some gentle-

The Indians in question were one of the three tribes of the nation of the Delawares. They occupied the entire eastern portion of Pennsylvania. They were known as the Minsi. The principal clan of the Minsi tribe which occupied the region selected by these German pioneers for their home was the Schuylkills. But the region selected by our German Palatines was named from the tribe called Turpyhockin, who inhabited it and whose chief was Manangy, called the Indian chief on the Schuylkill. It was a place of thorough pass from an Indian village called Peixtan, on the Susquehanna, to Philadelphia.[511] This "added greatly to its importance, and made it a frequent stopping place for the head chiefs on their way to and from the Councils held at Philadelphia." [512]

men, agents of the proprietor, have ample power to dispose of lands in this province. And we, your petitioners, being willing and ready to purchase, do humbly beseech your Excellency and council to recommend us to the favorable usage of the proprietor's agents, that upon paying the usual prices for lands at such distance from Philadelphia, we may have sufficient rights and titles made to us for such lands as we shall have occasion to buy, that our children may have some settlement to depend on hereafter, and that by your authority we may be freed from the demands of the Indians of that part of the country, who pretend a right thereto. And we humbly beg leave to inform your Excellency and Council, that there are fifty families more who, if they may be admitted upon are desirous to come and settle with us. We hope for your favorable answer to this our humble request, and as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c."

Johannes Yaus,	Johannes Claes Shaver,
Peter Ritt,	Jo. Hamelar Ritt,
Conrad Schitz,	Antonius Sharb,
Paltus Unsf,	Johan Peter Pacht,
Toritine Serbo,	Jocham Michael Cricht,
Josap Sab,	Sebastian Pisas,
Jorge Ritt,	Andrew Falborn,

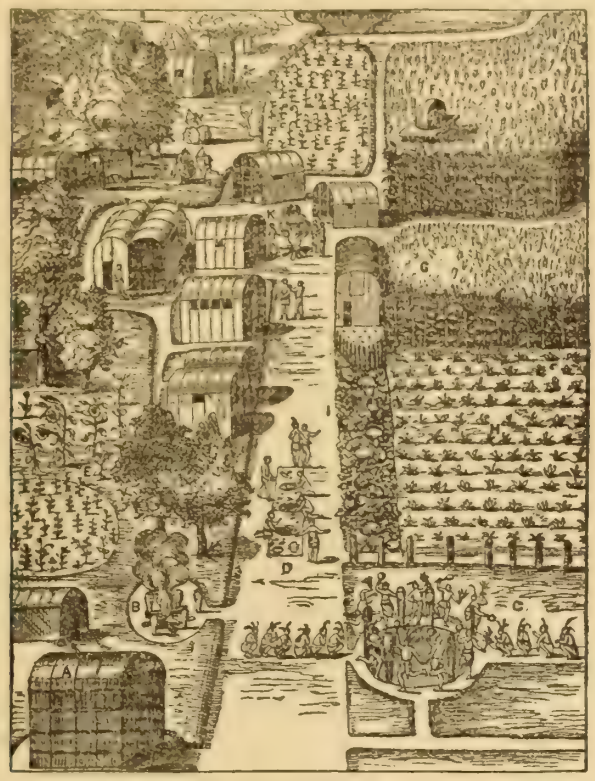
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Col. Records, III., 341.

[511] Brownmiller's *Memorial Discourse*, p. 3, which also states: "Many relics of the aborigines have been found along the creek, notably, on the old, Reed farm east of the church, which are in possession of Frank B. Reed."

[512] Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society. *The German Emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania*, IX., p. 372.

The chief of the Delawares, Sassoonan, held that the purchase of 1718, which deeded the land between the Delaware and the Susquehanna to the English, ran no further than a few miles beyond Oley, and that the lands



AN INDIAN VILLAGE.

From the Annals of the Spengler Families, with permission of the author, E. W. Spangler, Esq.

of the Tulpehocken, which lay beyond the Oley Hills, belonged to the Indians. At a Council held later on at Philadelphia, "Sassoonan said, he could not himself be-

lieve the Christians had settled on them, till he came & with his own Eyes saw the Houses and Fields they had made there."[513]

The Tulpehocken Germans now begged of the Pennsylvania government that their land might be relieved from any Indian claims. They maintained that Governor Keith had given them this promise before they left Schoharie;[514] and Logan himself unquestionably admits this fact. Finally, nine years after the settlement was made, in 1732, in a manner honorable to all, the proprietaries purchased from the Indians all the land drained by the Schuylkill River, lying between the Blue Mountains and the Blue Ridge,[515] and thus enabled the Germans to secure their homesteads.

"It is more than probable that, for several years after the immigration of 1723, there was a more or less constant accession to the number of the Palatines."[516] In 1728 a

[513] Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society. *The German Emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania*, IX., p. 379.

[514] On the other hand, however, "Long delegations of Delaware Indians came down to Philadelphia demanding an explanation. Surely, they said, brother Onas would never have permitted such things to happen. Allummappees, their chief, said he could not believe that William Penn's people would do this, and he did not believe it until he went there and viewed the Tulpehocken lands with his own eyes. James Logan, the land agent, explained that these settlements were made without his knowledge, that Governor Keith had acted entirely on his own authority, and contrary to the well-known desire of the former proprietary, William Penn. Governor Gordon was now in office. * * * The new governor suggested that the lands in dispute might have been included in one of the former purchases. The Indians immediately informed Gordon that no lands had been sold northwest of the Blue Ridge, then known as the Lehigh hills. In the face of this evidence the claims of the Delaware Indians in the Tulpehocken remained unsatisfied for nine years after the German settlement." (Walton's *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania*, pp. 10–11.)

[515] For deed of above Indian purchase see pp. 387–392 of *The German Emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania.*

[516] Richards' *German Emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania*, p. 375.

second band composed of fifteen families left the Schoharie, and in 1729, Conrad Weiser, Jr., arrived with his wife and four children, and settled one mile east of the present town of Womelsdorf.[517]

The Original Tulpehocken Congregation and the Erection of the Earliest House of Worship.

1723–1727.

Unlike other Pennsylvania Lutherans these Tulpehocken settlers came here as a band. After their experiences temporal and spiritual, in London, on shipboard, in the tar districts, at Schoharie under the Lutheran leader Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, and in their journeying through the wilderness and down the Susquehanna, they were well versed in the common worship of song, prayer and the public reading of the Scripture. They already arrived here, beyond doubt, as an assembling congregation, trained by their now deceased pastor and leader, Kocherthal, whose spiritual heroism, no less than his deep-seated patriotism and love, among them in the camps on the Hudson, had shone out so conspicuously. One of the early things to engage the attention of these pioneers was their spiritual interests. We shall see how they recognized the necessity of at once erecting a house of worship, and how intensely they were interested in having this worship held regularly. And it is very pathetic to note that the tragedy which had infused itself into their earthly lot in the generation bearing the burdens in New York, now again made its way

[517] Neither the elder nor the younger Weiser were the leaders of either of the two large bands of immigrants that arrived from the valley of the Schoharie.

into their religious affairs, and worked misery for almost a generation in Pennsylvania.

First they were pastorless, though their pastor in the Schoharie had made some sort of promise to migrate with them. Then, there came to them a Reformed pastor who was engulfed in the new whirl of asceticism at Ephrata and dragged with him the most prominent Lutheran in the colony. Following this, they fell in the hands of a tailor-schoolmaster, who played the part of pastor, and who had several disputatious Lutheran pastors immediately in his wake. These in turn were antagonized by the arrival of the Moravian preachers, until finally Muhlenberg appeared on the scene in this infant Tulpehocken settlement and rescued the torn and scattered flock from their religious confusion, and gave them pastors who were unto them peaceable, permanent, safe and sure guides.

We learn from the Moravian Kirchenbuch of Tulpehocken, in the Bethlehem Archives,[518] that "they had no settled minister, but occasionally, at least once a year, Pastor Bernhard van Dueren, from Schoharie, came over to baptize their children and administer the Lord's Supper. Occasionally also Pastor Henkel, from Falckner Swamp, visited here and administered the communion. According to his advice the Palatines in 1727 built a log meeting-house."

The following is the transcript and translation of the beginning of the record referred to by Reichel.[519]

"CHURCH RECORD OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CONGREGATION IN TULPEHOCSEN, 1733.

"*A Historical Sketch of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Tulpehocsen: — Its Beginning and Progress.*

"In the year one thousand and seven hundred and twenty-three, Tulpehocksen was first occupied and inhabited by Leutherans who had dwelt in Schoharie.

[518] Quoted by Reichel in his *History of the Unitas Fratrum*, p. 28.

[519] Made for the writer through the kindness of Mr. Rau, by the Rev. J. W. Early, in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem.

The most of these were brought under conviction and disturbed in their minds while still residing at Schoharie through Bernhard Von Thieren, who was their pastor there, and who had promised these people also to move to Tulpehocken to continue to be their pastor here. But though he visited this place repeatedly, administering the Lord's Supper upon various occasions, also baptizing the children, he would return again to Schoharie. A preacher named Henkel, from Falckner Swamp also came to visit us and also frequently administered the Lord's Supper. He advised us to build a church, which we did in 1727." [520]

The pastor "Bernhard Von Thieren" from Schoharie, mentioned above, who "had promised these people also to move to Tulpehocken to continue to be their pastor here," and who, according to this Record was the first and original spiritual guide of the Tulpehocken flock ("he visited this place repeatedly"), is a figure so striking, prominent and confusing in the primitive history of the Lutheran Church, and, withal so instructive in the insight given into the church life of these early times, and so suggestive in its parallels and contrasts with other early preachers and in the side-lights thrown on the relations between the two colonies of New York and Pennsylvania, that we have attempted the extremely difficult task of presenting a connected biography of van Dieren's life.

[520] Prof. Wm. J. Hinke lays claim to the credit of having discovered this document, thereby dispelling the obscurity which surrounds the early history of the Lutheran Church in the Tulpehocken. In a recent article, in the *Reformed Church Record*, on "Early History of the Tulpehocken Church, 1727–1747," Prof. Hinke writes, "The origin of the Lutheran Tulpehocken Church has long been hid in obscurity but the writer was fortunate enough to discover an old record in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem which completely removes this obscurity. It was written by one of the Moravian missionaries in 1742. Reviewing the early history of the Lutheran Church the writer informs us that 'most of the people had been convicted of their sin and made restless in their hearts while they lived in Schoharie through Bernhard van Thieren,'" etc.

Now, as a matter of fact, the old Record Book in the Moravian Archives which Prof. Hinke discovered has been known to historians for a long time. The quotation itself, which is given by Prof. Hinke, was already printed by Reichel in his History of 1888.

LIFE OF VAN DIEREN.

John Bernhard van Dieren (Düren, Dören, Thieren) began to act as pastor in the Schoharie in the year 1717.[521] He was a native of Königsberg, Germany, a tailor by occupation, and had never studied theology. He came to London, and met with a favorable reception at the hands of Court Preacher Böhme, Ziegenhagen's predecessor in the St. James Chapel. Böhme was impressed with his pious language, and though he probably did not ordain van Dieren, as the latter afterward claimed in America, yet he aided him by sending books to him to New York. "That Böhme advised him to come to America may well be, but that he ordained him is false, and the tailor's object in the beginning appears only to have been to teach school in connection with his regular occupation." (*Fortgesetzete Sammlung von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachen*, etc., 1731. Leipsig, p. 72, ff.)

Arriving in New York, van Dieren evidently set himself up as a teacher as soon as possible, and after a time began to preach, working at his tailor's trade at intervals. Berkenmeyer says: "That he not only wrought as a tailor in England, but also here in New York, and that the spirit of fanaticism had already manifested itself in him in England, is attested by Mr. Schleydorn who knew him there. Here he was no less under this influence, and not only acted as being in the church, but at divers times cried out aloud in his workshop in the basement, and claimed to be holding a conversation with God. He made the woman, in whose house he lived, believe that he wanted to marry her daughter, but that God would not give his consent. The name of Jesus the

[521] There are some difficulties in connection with the exact dates at the beginning of van Dieren's career, due in part perhaps to obscurity or inaccuracy in Pastor Berkenmeyer's various writings. We do not know the date of van Dieren's arrival in New York. A note in Hall. Nachrr., I., 622, states that van Dieren himself asserted "that * * * Pastor Gerhart Henkel, residing in New Hanover, Pennsylvania, had ordained him in the year 1717." What authority this statement has, we are not prepared at present to say. It is also made by Mann, Life of Muhlenberg, p. 256. Kocherthal died in 1718 or 1719. Berkenmeyer in 1728 writes "that van Dieren had already disturbed the Christian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America eight years ago." Berkenmeyer also writes that in Lidman's Latin letter of July 3, 1721 (which informs us that Falckner, prior to 1721, had written to the Swedish pastors to have van Dieren ordained), it is testified that before this date (and perhaps some years before) van Dieren had gone "to a Palatine preacher in Pennsylvania." [This is Henkel.] Yet at the same time Berkenmeyer tells us in his pamphlet, published by Zenger, that van Dieren had gone to Henkel at Manatawny first, and that "when he returned from this place" he went to Wicaco, and "in the sacristy" he pled with Lidman to give him the ordination. This, then, may have been a different and an earlier appeal to the Wicaco pastor for ordination by van Dieren in person, than the one which Falckner made in 1721. Lidman arrived from Sweden and took charge of Wicaco in 1719. Now whether van Dieren went to Henkel in 1717, and then again in 1719 or 1720 when he went to Lidman, and then to Justus Falckner in 1721, or whether one or other of the early writers has confused the dates, is not plain.

crucified served him for many purposes. In his complimentary greeting to me he made use of the name no less than ten times, as also the word 'Christ.'"

His smooth phrases and pious demeanor soon gained him firm friends in the little New York congregation.

Here he met and married the daughter of one of the members of the congregation, Johann Michael Schutz, who was himself a fellow craftsman with van Dieren. Schütz had formerly served as a deacon in the Lutheran Church and in 1713 had taken upon himself to collect money for the New York church in Amsterdam, "whereof he delivered fifteen pounds to the church after a lapse of three years." Of Schütz, Justus Falckner, in a letter to the Amsterdam consistory dated June 12, 1717, writes as follows: "When one of our Brethren, by the name of Johann Michael Schütze was in Holland on his own business last year, he, from the zeal and Christian affection towards our true Religion of which he is possessed, prayed your assistance for a new Church here in New York. And you, being filled with and rich in that true charity the nature and character of which is tireless, have, in compliance with his said prayer, presented him with One hundred Dutch Guilders."

As van Dieren abandoned the needle more and more, and turned his eyes to the pastoral office, the father-in-law did all in his power to further his new son's ambitions.

The pastor of the New York congregation at this time was no other than the Rev. Justus Falckner. Of his first impression of van Dieren we are in entire ignorance. Van Dieren tried very hard to get the ordination at various times after his arrival here in America. Perhaps at this period, he applied, like Stoever ten years later on, to Rev. Daniel Falckner in New Jersey, to whom he made misrepresentations and who refused to grant it as he also did in the case of Stoever. As early as 1717 he travelled to Pennsylvania and applied to the Rev. Gerhart Henkel, of New Hanover, for ordination. Either at this time, or on the death of the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal in 1718 or 1719, he went to the backwoods Germans in Schoharie and officiated there, as the successor of Kocherthal, without ordination.

In May, 1721, two letters from the Schoharie, one dated the 21st and the other the 26th, reported to Pastor Falckner of New York that the congregation is informed that a high German pastor for the Schoharie has arrived in New York. Further that they have already heard him preach and are pleased with him, and that he told them that he had been sent to them by Pastor Böhme in England. The Schoharie congregations "also had heard that he was a tailor, but they did not mind this provided Pastor Falckner would examine and ordain him." Berkenmeyer surmises that van Dieren himself was the writer of these letters.

In any case they evidently enlisted Pastor Falckner on van Dieren's behalf for he now attempted to secure van Dieren's ordination from the Swedish pastors in Philadelphia. Berkenmeyer says: "I also find two Latin letters dated July 3, 1721, one from Jonas Lidman Praepositus Wicacoa, in Philadelphia; the other from Adr. Hesselius, pastor at Christiana, also in Pennsylvania, by which it shown that the said Falckner interested himself for van Dieren, so that he might be ordained by the three Swedish pastors."

The letter of Hesselius to Falckner has been discovered in the archives at

Amsterdam by Dr. Sachse (*Justus Falckner*, p. 112). Hesselius writes as follows:

"As to Bernhard Von Dieren I have been able to discover nothing except his singular zeal (would that it had been more wisely directed) for serving the church which he canvassed with such earnestness and such cares and troubles. I only dread that much injury may result; for if he be unfortunately transferred to administer affairs for which he has not been fitted, he must neglect both his order (?) and their duties, and corrupt those of others. If, as he professes, he be actually a Lutheran, I wish that, being mindful of Luther's doctrine, he would acquiesce in his words: 'Await the One who calls thee; meanwhile, be secure. * * * If He (?) need thee, He will call thee. No one is enriched by the word, unless one who, without his wish, is called to teach.' How in every way this declaration of Luther is harmonious with the practice of the ancient and purer church, the words of the Emperor Leo will attest. The minister of the word of God ought to be so free from ambition that he is to be sought for as one who has to be constrained: being asked for, he retires; and being invited he shrinks back. Let the necessity of making an excuse be his own recommendation. Only he is worthy of the ministry who is ordained unwillingly.

"Such is the opinion of
"Andrew Hesselius, Pastor at
"Christiana and Provost of the
"Swedish Churches in Pennsylvania."

"In a letter to Dominie Justus Falckner, dated 1721, on the day of St. James the Apostle."

On this letter of Hesselius to Falckner, Berkenmeyer makes the following comment: "The latter sent a prolix and solid letter in *contrarium*, from which I enclose an extract which treats particularly of van Dieren's application." Berkenmeyer continues:

"Upon the failure of this scheme, van Dieren went to a Palatine preacher in Pennsylvania (if this be true) from whom it is claimed that he obtained an *attestatum Ordinationis;* but no one has thus far been able to get a sight of it.

"Further, after his return he continued to importune Dominie Falckner to ordain him. In the meantime he settled in Schoharie, while boasting of his ordination."

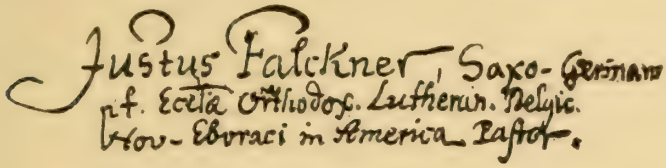
This boasting of van Dieren's in the Schoharie that he had already been ordained by Pastor Henkel by and by came to the ears of Pastor Falckner. When Falckner next met him, he took van Dieren to task for having concealed his ordination from him.

Not long after this, fifty-two members of van Dieren's congregation in the Schoharie wrote to Pastor Falckner that van Dieren had begun "to break the bread in the Holy Communion, and in his sermon even ordered such as objected to this to leave the Church"; and Falckner again called him to account. It was at this period that van Dieren baptized one of Conrad Weiser's children in the Schoharie. Berkenmeyer declares that the Schoharie congregation was totally scattered as a result of the pastorate of van Dieren, and "that the

church as well as the parsonage there has become a spoil for the Reformed of that locality."[522]

With these experiences it was no wonder that Falckner characterized van Dieren as follows (*in litteris ad eundem exaratis*) (see Sachse's *Falckner*, p. 125): "In him we find great craftiness in place of Christian prudence; great obstinacy in place of humbleness. To prove this I will not give myself any trouble."

Moreover, Pastor Falckner knowing that his days would soon be run, and rightly fearing that after his death van Dieren, with the help of his father-in-law Schütz, would make a strong effort to become pastor of the congregation in New York, admonished his people to apply after his death to the Lutheran



AUTOGRAPH OF JUSTUS FALCKNER.

Church in Amsterdam for a pastor. (Rev. Berkenmeyer, in a document discovered by Dr. Sachse in the archives of the old Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, and given in translation in his forthcoming volume on Justus Falckner, page 119, says concerning van Dieren's assumption of the pastoral office, that "there had been many a dispute even during the lifetime of Dominie Justus Falckner, who as he felt his end approaching admonished the wardens and vestry to seek their refuge with the Right Worshipful Consistory at Amsterdam.")

The result was that when Pastor Falckner died in 1723, the great majority of the New York congregation followed his advice and delegated a representative to go to Holland and there take steps to secure a pastor. But Schütz, the

[522] The baptism of Conrad Weiser's first four children in the Schoharie is an instructive example of pastoral matters in the community at that time. Philip, born in 1722, was baptized, as Weiser states, "by Rev. John B. van Dieren." Anna Madlina, born in 1725, was baptized "by John Jacob Oehl, a Reformed pastor." Mariah Anna, born in 1727, was baptized "by William Chr. Birkenmeyer, a Lutheran pastor." Frederick, born the day before Christmas in 1728, was baptized by Rev. J. B. van Dieren." The first and last of these children were baptized by van Dieren and it is significant to note that the title "Reverend" is given twice to van Dieren and is omitted both in the case of Oehl and of Berkenmeyer. When a pastor itinerated through a settlement, whether he were Lutheran or Reformed, there were always marriages and baptisms in waiting, and Weiser, a Lutheran himself, and with a Lutheran wife, thus was married by a Reformed minister, and had one of his children baptized by another Reformed minister. See the author's article, "Was Conrad Weiser a Lutheran?"

tailor, withheld his consent from this move, as he would gladly have seen his son-in-law, who was still at Schoharie, called to New York.

As time sped, the Amsterdam Consistory sent word back to New York that they were unable to get a man for New York unless they had the legal consent and authority of the congregations concerned. This reply from Amsterdam afforded Father-in-law Schütz both a hint and an opportunity. He at once drafted a reply to the Amsterdam authorities, requesting them to drop the whole subject; and succeeded in inducing the wealthiest member of the congregation, who was also one of the most prominent of the signers of the original appeal to Amsterdam, viz., Andreas van Buskerke, with the latter's brother and son, who lived in the country, to sign this letter. He further secured the signatures of Johann Boss and Michael Peper, with nearly a score of others. But the two here mentioned, with those of Schütz and his son, and several scattered country members, were the only ones of all the twenty odd signers who really belonged to the congregation or who ever gave a single penny towards its support.

Meantime van Dieren left his congregation in the Schoharie, which, if we may trust the Berkenmeyer account, was almost in a ruined condition, and set out for New York. He undoubtedly traveled through the Mohawk valley, preached at Albany, and came down the Hudson. This was in 1724. He was brought to the neighborhood of New York, where a brother of the van Buskerkes gave him a call to Hackensack. He preached at Hackensack occasionally in the dwelling houses of the Lutheran members. From this point of vantage he succeeded in gaining entrance to the New York Church. "He preached once in our church, but only with the consent, forcibly attained, from both the p and t deacons Lagrannie and Beekman. Upon the next occasion, however, these officers took possession of the pulpit and barred the way to the chancel." (Berkenmeyer.) Great strife ensued in the New York congregation, some favoring van Dieren, and others resolving to call the Rev. Daniel Falckner in case nothing was heard from Amsterdam.

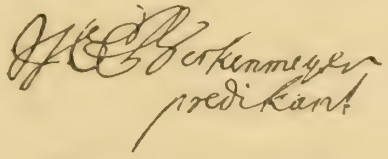
At this time the New York congregation consisted of from ten to twelve households, "which upon the male or female side are of the Reformed faith." The church had no income except the regular Klingel Beitel collection, and some interest from monies sent by the Lutheran Church in St. Thomas ten or fifteen years earlier. It was customary, if this did not suffice for the pastor's salary, to collect the balance from door to door. The church building itself was said to be "more like a cattle shed than like a house of God." Only two windows were in the building, one behind the pulpit and one directly opposite. The church was floored with loose boards, some long and others short. The congregational singing was exceedingly poor. And in general the whole outlook was very gloomy.

While the false letter was going out in 1725, the Amsterdam Consistory found a man who was willing to come over to America, and therefore, on the 25th of May, 1725, they examined and ordained the Rev. William Christopher Berkenmeyer to this office, and on the 16th of June Berkenmeyer actually set out on his journey to America, entirely ignorant of the sensational developments taking place in New York.

After Berkenmeyer was on the sea the Amsterdam Consistory was surprised

to receive a letter [the false letter mentioned above] dated April 27, 1725, in the name of the Church Council at New York, and signed by twenty-two members of the congregation, asking the said consistory "not to continue in the matter of the call, inasmuch as it was the intention of the Church Council and congregation of the Augsburg Confession at New York to call Mr. John Bernhard van Dieren, a native of Königsburg, who had officiated farther up in the country at the place called Schoggary, a pious and able man, who was not only ordained, but also orthodox in doctrine and life, and whom they had elected as their pastor and teacher by the unanimous consent of the congregation." The consistory sent word to Berkenmeyer to investigate the matter.

Berkenmeyer's unexpected arrival on the scene disconcerted both his friends and his enemies. His friends were disheartened by the defection of the van Buskerkes, who were the wealthiest among the congregation. His enemies were paralyzed because, in Berkenmeyer's own words, "they realized that their scheme had virtually turned out Archilochian." Berkenmeyer prudently resolved not to say a word about the strange letter to Amsterdam, and those who signed it also remained silent. At the first meeting of the Church



AUTOGRAPH OF BERKENMEYER.

Council he presented his testimonials, and lo "Andreas van Buskerken arose and extended his hand to me. In this he was followed by all present, John Michael Schütze being the last one." Thus the regular call and superior attainments of Berkenmeyer easily ousted van Dieren in the New York congregation.

"As van Dieren found that he could not meet with any success here in New York," writes Berkenmeyer, "he went to the Reformed at Tappan and offered to preach the Gospel of Christ unto them as Christ had commanded. Whereupon they took him to Dominie Anthonides, on Long Island, to discover whether he was of the Evangelical Lutheran or Reformed faith. As thus far I have not received any account of this act from the mouth of Dominie Anthonides, I will not repeat the current rumours." We know that Anthonides refused to ordain him.

Now van Dieren had caught a Tartar in the person of the new orthodox Lutheran pastor Berkenmeyer. Berkenmeyer had discovered that the Church Council had never sanctioned the false letter, that many of the twenty-two names were not even known in the Lutheran congregation ; others had not been willing to call van Dieren unless there was no hope from Holland. But Berkenmeyer did not stop investigating at this point. He looked up van Dieren's record. Berkenmeyer took a particular pleasure in doing this, as he was a thorough and a bitter antagonist of pietism, and as van Dieren, like Conrad Weiser, belonged to the pietistic school. It can be imagined that Berken-

meyer wrote an account of the van Dieren matter to Amsterdam in no uncertain tones, and we know that the Consistory at Amsterdam sent a very unfavorable judgment back to New York, "how unfit a Person he is for serving the Church of God" [*v.* Swedish Pastoral in Sachse's *Justus Falckner*, page 133].

By 1727 van Dieren had made New Jersey his headquarters, settling in Hakinsack, and — as Stoever did, half a dozen years later on — he engaged in building a mill and at the same time continued preaching. For, as we are informed, the Vestry-Men of the congregation at Hakinsack had taken him to be their Teacher. But trouble arose here very quickly, on a number of points. In the first place, he refused to administer the sacrament according to the Lutheran custom, and several members of the congregation died without it, rather than take it according to the Reformed custom. In the second place, he made various laws for the congregation and then transgressed them himself. In the third place, he stirred up trouble against Berkenmeyer at Albany, and in other congregations.

Though ousted in New York, van Dieren seems to have felt that Berkenmeyer had enough to attend to there, and he had no scruples in attempting to gain the country congregations to himself. Berkenmeyer was not a man to submit to such an arrangement. The crisis came at Hackensack. Berkenmeyer, as we have seen, wrote long letters to Amsterdam, and finally also turned to the Swedes on the Delaware for help against the encroachment of van Dieren. Berkenmeyer wrote Latin letters to Lidman and Bishop Swedberg. He went to the extreme of imploring them to get the King of Sweden to set up a sort of state government, or Swedish protectorate over the German and Dutch congregations, either by means of a Pennsylvania Consistory or by the establishment of a bishopric, and thus, with the help of the King of England, exclude such men as van Dieren, who could not legitimize their call before this ecclesiastical tribunal.

Under the inspiration of Berkenmeyer the vestry at Hakinsack finally excluded van Dieren from the Church, as we shall see a little further on, unless he would go before the Swedish ministers in Philadelphia and answer the complaints made against him. Van Dieren refused to go, replying that the Swedes were his enemies, and by the help of a prominent widow he still had access into the church at Hakinsack and constituted a new vestry. Then the old vestrymen referred these matters to the Swedish ministers at Philadelphia, who, without setting up a claim to "any Authority more than other Ministers," nevertheless maintained their right to consider this case in the way of fraternal solicitude, and on the 31st day of October, 1727, sent a final letter against van Dieren to the Vestry at Hakinsack in reply to the complaints made by the Vestry. The letter was signed by Lidman pastor and provost at Wicaco, Hesselius minister of the Gospel at Christiana, Tranberg minister at Racoon and Windrufaa minister at Pennsneck.

That van Dieren should keep on travelling up the Hudson, and interfere at Albany, and still minister in the Schoharie, and serve not only the Lutherans, but the Reformed, giving each the Lord's Supper, according to their own custom, was something that Berkenmeyer could not endure, and the embroilment of these two men gave rise to one of the most bitter disputes in early ecclesiastical history.

We have seen that one of the most constant charges made against van Dieren was that he, a Lutheran, was unlutheran in administrating the Lord's Supper. Berkenmeyer describes van Dieren's objectionable method as follows: "When he came to the words of the institution 'and break it,' he laid the book aside and broke either long cakes or round loaves into four parts. Then he cuts them into discs with a knife, and breaks them into smaller pieces. Then he continues to read forth the words of institution."

Things had gone from bad to worse. Only a year after Berkenmeyer's arrival, in 1726 — some High Germans living at Remmersbach, who once had received the Lord's Supper from van Dieren requested Berkenmeyer to come and give them the Lord's Supper according to Lutheran rites. But Berkenmeyer's New York Church Council invited them to the Lord's Supper in the Church in New York. They came on the eighth Sunday after Trinity, 1726, together with some from Hakinsack. It was Pastor Berkenmeyer's opportunity. In his sermon he not only warned against false preachers and teachers in general, but went into the van Dieren aberrations in particular.

In Hakinsack, the Church Council and the congregation now resolved to forbid van Dieren the pulpit until he had appeared before the Swedish Ministerium. Both parties in the Hakinsack Church were agreed that Mr. Berkenmeyer should be asked to come and to preach to them, and to give the Lord's Supper to those who because of old age, etc., could not endure the journey to New York. The Church Council in New York considered the matter for a long while. It is stated, with how much truth we do not know, that Berkenmeyer's life was not safe at this time, and that good friends regarded it as necessary to warn Berkenmeyer that he had better not go out alone, as there was a plan to shoot him. They at last concluded that was necessary that Berkenmeyer should come, in the hope of settling the conflict, and they sent two deputies with him. But in Hakinsack, van Dieren we have seen, had attached a widow to his side, who was a great power in the little place, and so Mr. Berkenmeyer found the church doors locked, at the time when he should have preached there. Then the Church Council and the congregation decided to break the lock off, although Mr. Berkenmeyer begged that it should not be done. The widow, a passionate, raging woman, declared that the minister ought have his skull cracked in two. On this account, those who desired to receive the Lord's Supper were willing to postpone the service from Sunday to Tuesday, so that everything might proceed in peace and order.

Reporting to Amsterdam, as was necessary, Berkenmeyer sent the extensive letter, which was discovered by Dr. Sachse in the Archives there, and which, in connection with the description of the New York congregation, goes into the van Dieren matter in detail, and is written under the influence of deep burning feeling.

It was no wonder that the public also was stirred by these proceedings, and that Berkenmeyer himself was moved to put the whole controversy in print. Accordingly, in 1728 he had a quarto pamphlet of twenty-three leaves printed by John Peter Zenger of New York in which he discusses the vocation of van Dieren and his reputed ordination by Henkel. In this pamphlet he pours out the vials of his scorn and wrath upon van Dieren, denying not only his right to the ministry, but his soundness in the Lutheran doctrine, the sufficiency of his attainment, and the uprightness of his character. (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 473-480.)

Willem Chriſtoffel Berkenmeyers

Bedienaars des Heyligen Euangeliums van de
Nederduytſche Gemeente
TE
Nieuw-York, *Albanie* en daar ontrent,
Inſgelyks
der Parochye der *Palatynen* by *Quaſſayk*,
DE ONVERANDERDE A. C. TOEGEDAAN,

GETROUWE
HERDER- en WACHTER
STEM

Aan de Hoog- en Neder-Duitſche Lutheriaanen
in deſe Geweſten,
eenſtemmig te zyn vertoont
met *twee Brieven* en andere Redenen *Lutherſcher Theologanten*,
AANGAANDE
't *Van Dierenſche* Beroep,
EN
De *Henkelſche* Beveſtiging.

Te *Nieuw-York*, by *J. Peter Zenger*, A. C. MDCCXXVIII.

FACSIMILE OF BERKENMEYER'S PAMPHLET AGAINST VAN DIEREN, PRINTED BY J. PETER ZENGER IN NEW YORK, 1728. ONLY KNOWN COPY IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. (Reproduced through courtesy of William C. Lane, Esq., Librarian Harvard University.)

When the Ebenezer community in Georgia received Berkenmeyer's Zenger pamphlet "against a preaching vagabond," Bolzius wrote to Halle: "Gedachter Berkenmeyer" knows of nothing else to cast up to his opponent than that he is a tailor, can show no call and ordination, and is imbued with pietism. Berkenmeyer, continues Bolzius, "openly manifests himself in the whole book as an enemy of all upright teachers and pious Christians according to the example of his predecessors in Germany, whom he often cites with praises, as valiant defenders of orthodoxy" (*v.* Graebner, page 152).

It should not be forgotten, in any consideration of the life of van Dieren, that we are obliged to rely for all facts and testimony on the writings of his enemies. Like Zinzendorf, the external religious establishment was against him. And like Zinzendorf, he said many things that would not bear the test of truth, he attempted to gain entrance into congregations claimed by others, and gave vent to his religious feelings in extravagant language. He also entered into ecclesiastical controversies, which are sad to contemplate. We know nothing of van Dieren's own side, of any inner call that he may have thought that he felt, or of his own supposed justification for representations that were not truthful, and for his pretentions to a knowledge and an external call which he did not possess. Like Stoever in his earlier days, like J. P. Boehm prior to his ordination, like Zinzendorf, he was one of the unattached ecclesiastical pioneers, more ignorant than the rest. He was, perhaps, but an adventurer, like Valentine Kraft and Carl Rudolph. His most enthusiastic detractor is Graebner, who pictures him as a robber and a freebooter. And naturally so, since the great hero of his history is van Dieren's antagonist, Berkenmeyer.

There are not a few clergymen to-day, in this twentieth century, who are in regular ecclesiastical standing and are highly commended for their pastoral success by their ecclesiastical superiors, because of their ability to carve out congregations from their neighbors' parishes, to proselyte members from other churches, and for this purpose to take such a liberal view of doctrine and usage as will enable them to be "all things to all men."

Our chief interest with van Dieren in this chapter is his connection with the Tulpehocken Church, and its founding; his annual visits to it, and his acquaintanceship with Conrad Weiser.

Van Dieren, who labored as pastor among the Palatines in the Schoharie after the death of Kocherthal, and who in 1722 baptized one of Conrad Weiser's children, and in 1728 baptized another son of Weiser's, before the latter set out for the Tulpehocken in 1729, had already been not only in Philadelphia, but at Falckner's Swamp with Pastor Henkel prior to 1720. This was from four to ten years before the first of the Palatines attempted their immigration to Pennsylvania. Would it be impossible that this early Pietist traveler, van Dieren, was the one who first told the Palatines of their Pennsylvania paradise, or that he at least encouraged their efforts to immigrate thither?

The Rev. Henkel is known to have preached at the Tulpehocken in 1727 or 1728. Van Dieren is known to have consulted Rev. Henkel with reference to his ordination probably at Falckner's Swamp, and perhaps in 1717. The Moravian church record of the Lutheran Tulpehocken Church states that van Dieren promised to move from Schoharie to the Tulpehocken with the Palatines, and to continue to be their pastor there; and that he actually visited the Tulpehocken, preaching and performing ministerial acts. This early connec-

tion between the immigration to the Tulpehocken and Henkel and van Dieren has, we believe, never been examined into or pointed out by any previous writer.

Berkenmeyer's testimony is clear on the fact that van Dieren's connection with Henkel and visit to the interior of Pennsylvania was early, and was prior to the latter's application for ordination to the Swedish clergy in Philadelphia. His application to Daniel Falckner in New Jersey was also early, and as Falckner had been the founder of the church at Falckner's Swamp, where Henkel now was, the fact that van Dieren applied to both these men at this early date may hint at some connection between these two places of which all traces are now lost. The following is the language of Berkenmeyer:

"He has also been in Monataweile, but neither was he ordained there as was clear from this that when he returned from this place he pleaded and begged Mr. Lidman, Præpositum and Pastorum at Wicaco in the sacristy, to give to him the ordination." As to the reputed ordination by Henkel, Berkenmeyer says:

"Notwithstanding one named Henkel, who exercises the pastoral office at Manatawny, some time ago permitted himself to be moved to state that he had ordained van Dieren, although Mr. Præpositus Lidman is ready at any time to take an oath that he has heard it out of Henkel's own mouth that he had not done this." (From what Berkenmeyer says it is clear that at this early date van Dieren was seeking the ordination to officiate at Schoharie.)

Years later, during the Leubecker controversy, van Dieren's name was again connected with the Tulpehocken, and we close this recital of his life with a narrative of this episode.

In October, 1734, Berkenmeyer's orthodox pastor (Rev. Knoll) at Hackensack heard that van Dieren had received a call to the Lutheran congregation at the Tulpehocken in Pennsylvania. Knoll at once sat down and wrote a Latin letter to the Swedish pastors in Pennsylvania as follows: "Here, in the country, in the neighborhood of Hackensack, a man is located, who was formerly a tailor, who is now a miller, and who has assumed the Holy Office. His name is van Dieren and his reputation is no doubt known to you. He is a man so ignorant and dumb, that he is unable to write a single syllable in his mother tongue without grammatical errors. For we have three letters from him which bristle with twelve hundred mistakes," etc. Knoll also wrote a similarly sharp letter to van Dieren himself. Van Dieren and his adherents resented this and on Christmas day Knoll found the following printed announcement posted in Hackensack:

"An Announcement."

"We the undersigned elders and deacons of the Lutheran Congregations in Hackensack and Remensback hereby declare pastor Knoll to be a liar and a disgrace to the Lutheran Church and his letter to be a lie, until he makes good before the magistrate of Hackensack what he has written to our pastor van Dieren. "December 7th, 1734.

"John Fox,	Jacob Vanbuskirk	Peter Wanemaker,
Dieder Wanemaker,	John Teys,	Joost Degrott,
Matys Kornese,	Conrad Frederich,	Nicholas Meysinger,
	Conrad Fria.	

"Printed by Peter J. Zengler."

(Graebner's *Geschichte*, p. 212.)

Knoll, with the consent of his part of the congregation, printed a pamphlet in reply, and then the "Scholarie Farmers" again printed a reply to Knoll. As a result, however, Knoll claimed that he had stopped the call to the Tulpehocken, that van Dieren's credit at Hackensack had been worn out, and that van Dieren was obliged to remove to Scholarie.

Later on, van Dieren lived in the neighborhood of the Raritan, visited Muhlenberg several times and would have been glad to have taken charge of Muhlenberg's Pennsylvania congregations in Upper Milford and Saucon. In New Jersey his daughter married the Rev. Weygand, and van Dieren bought a farm. (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., p. 274.) His later activities do not concern us.

THE claim has been made that the Lutherans of the Tulpehocken held a meeting immediately after their arrival in 1723 and determined to erect a church. Again the statement has been made that this occurred as early as 1725.[523] But we know that the church was completed by or before 1727. For in that year these pioneers presented a petition to the court at Philadelphia for the laying out of a road "from their church at the Tulpehocken to the high road at the Quaker meeting house, near Boone's Mill in Oley."[524] We learn from Dr. Brownmiller that it was in 1727, five years after their settlement here, that the original settlers united in adopting measures to erect a church of the faith of their ancestors in which

[523] *The Oldest Churches of Berks County*, Rev. J. W. Early.

[524] Ibid, p. 4.

Prof. Hinke in his "Early History of the Tulpehocken Church," states the matter more fully as follows: "Unfortunately no complete list of the early settlers of Tulpehocken exists. We can furnish but a partial list of 28 names which are signed to a petition laid before the Court of Quarter Sessions in Philadelphia in September, 1727. In this petition the subscribers request the court to lay out a road "beginning at the Lutheran Meeting House at Tulpehocken and to end at the High road at the Quaker Meeting House near George Boone's Mill at Oley. It bears the following signatures: Friedrich Schaeffer, Adam Lesch, Clas (Niclas) Neves (Neff), Niklas Riem, Martin Stueb, Anthoni Schadt, Jacob Korbell, Johan Henrich Schuchert, Niklas Scheffer, Michael Ernst Herner, Johannes Christman, Steffan Wasserscheidt, Adam Walborn, Jacob Klopf, George Lesch, Abraham Lauk, Niklas Ruell, Conrad Diffebach, Peter Klop, Sebastian Fisher, Lenhart Riet, Casper Riet, Martin Batdorf, Lenhart Feg, Philip Braun, Martin Zerbe, Michel Aemdrich, Johan Entefelt."

the Gospel should be preached in their native tongue, and their children be baptized, instructed, and confirmed in the faith of their fathers, and where a *Gottes Acker* should surround the edifice, in which they could bury their beloved dead. The record at Bethlehem presents direct evidence for the year 1727.

This statement agrees well with what is said in Christopher Sauer's paper under date of October 16, 1747 :[525]

"About twenty years ago the Lutherans built at Dolpehacken a small church and there laid out a graveyard, in which Lutherans as well as Reformed buried their dead." This date, 1727, further, is not out of harmony with Conrad Weiser's well-known narration.[526] "I began to dwell at this place in 1729. The Lutherans had built a little church or meeting house there a few years earlier, in which Lutherans and so-called Reformed came together and were served in divine worship by a reader."

Professor Hinke concludes from these last two statements that "The property was owned, it seems, exclusively by the Lutherans, but the Reformed people had secured permission to hold services in the little Lutheran log church, perhaps because they had made some contributions towards building it."

LET us go with the Tulpehocken settlers on that Sunday in the spring of 1727, when they wended their way to the meeting called for the purpose of erecting their primitive church. All their fellow settlers within a radius of twenty miles have been invited to attend. They proceed to the common center, the "Indian fort" on the banks of the Mill Creek, near Newmanstown. This sub-

[525] A facsimile of Sauer's account as printed is reproduced on p. 461.
[526] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 191.

Dolpehacken den 10 October.

Vor etwan 20 Jahren haben die Lutheraner auf Dolpehacken ein Kirchlein erbauet, und einen Kirchhoff dabey angerichtet, und ihre Todten so wohl Lutherischer als Reformirter Seiten dahin begraben; nachgehends bauten sie ein Pfarr-Hauß dabey, und verwarteten einen Lutherischen Prediger aus Teutschland, welcher wie sie berichtet wurden auf dem Meer gestorben ist; darauf trennete sich die Gemeine in zwey Theile, bedienten sich gemelder Kirche und Kirchhoffs. Die Herren bevollmächtigten von der Mannor von Plumton liessen etliche Acker zu der Kirche messen, zum Gebrauch gemelder Lutherischer Gemeine, ohnangesehen der Trennung, welche ganz und gar nur darin bestund, das etliche wolten vom verstorbenen Casper Leutbecher; andere aber von Casper Stöver bedienet seyn, biß der erste starb, und der letzte seinen Anhang vergrössert sahe, welches der andern Parthey ohne Wort den Garaus drohete. Nicht lange darauf kam der Hr. Graff von Zinzendorff in Pensilvanien an, welcher (wie männiglich bekant) einen Lutherischen Pfarrer agirte, und seyn wolte, viele redliche Leute welche die tiefe des Satans noch nicht erkant hatten Apoc. 2, v. 24. glaubten ihm, unter andern auch die gemelde Lutherische Gemeine von Dolpehacken, welchen der Graff versprach einen treuen und wahren Lutherischen Prediger aus Teutschland herein zu bringen: Item er habe Lutherische Prediger in Bethlehem, er wolte ihnen einen von denselben schicken, wan er ihnen aber nicht gefel, wolte er einen andern schicken, und wieder einen andern, und wieder einen andern, biß sie einen bekämen der ihnen gefiel, oder einer aus Teutschland käme. Sechs Männer aus gemelter Gemeine liessen sich einen Kauff-Brieff machen vor das Kirchen-Land, welches wie gesagt vor eine Lutherische Kirche ausgemessen war, welche Sechs Männer gemelder Gemeine als Trustees dieneten, wie bekant ist: Nachgehens haben viele Leute augenscheinlich gesehen, das der Zinzendorffische Prediger kein Lutherischer Prediger war, giengen darum von der Gemeine zu der andern Gemeine über, biß etliche wenige überblieben, die Zinzendorffische Prediger thäten was sie konten die Trustees an sich zu bringen, doch sind zwey von den Trustees darüber gestorben: Dem am letzten Verstorbenen wolten die Zinzendörfer keine Leicht-Predigt thun, auch nicht erlauben daß ein nahe bey wohnender Lutherischer Prediger eine Leichte Predigt in der Kirche halten solte, dorffte auch nicht geschehen; worüber die Zinzendorffische Parthey schier verloschen wäre: dann den Leuten giengen die Augen auf, die Bethlehemiter forderten ihren Stümpler geschwind ab, und mißbilligten seine Unbesonnenheit als ungeschickt; dann sie hoben vernommen daß die Leute sagten, wann die Bethlehemiter das gut hielten, so wolten sie nichts mehr mit ihnen zu thun haben, so haben sie müssen die Segel nach dem Winde richten, biß etwan die Leute wieder schlaffen gewieget würden: Es giengen aber wieder etliche von ihnen ab, und hielten sie vor keine Lutheraner, sondern Betrüger. Also blieben noch fünff oder Sechs übrig, die ehemals unter; die obgemeldte Gemeine gehöreten. Weil nun das Pfarr-Hauß und die Kirche leer stund, hat die Lutherische Gemeine von Dolpehacken gut gedeucht, so wohl das Pfarr-Hauß, als Kirche in Beßz zu nehmen, haben die Schlüssel etliche mahl vergeblich gefordert, mußtens dahero aufbrechen; doch haben sie den Zinzendörffern den Tag gesagt, wenn sie es thun wolten: Ein Theil von der Zinzendörffer haben zugesehen. Sie hatten ein schwätzig Weib da, das hat mit dem 9ten Gebot um sich geworffen; aber niemand nahm sich ihrer an: die Lutheraner sagen das Land daß wir wieder erobert haben, ist unser Väterlich Erbe, und gehöret sonst niemand; unsere Feinde aber habens eine zeitlang mit Gewald und Unrecht innen gehabt, darum haben wir jetzt das Unsere wieder an uns gebracht, und niemand das Seine genommen. 1 Maccab. 15. 33. 34.

(Sonst sind gemeiniglich zwey streitige Partheyen einerley Religion.)

FACSIMILE HISTORY OF TULPEHOCKEN IN CHRISTOPH SAUER'S PAPER, OCT. 16, 1747.

stantial building of logs, erected by Benjamin Spicker,[527] which serves as a place of refuge for men, women and children against the attack of enemies, is the spot where the German settlers of Mill Creek, Tulpehocken, and those residing along the Blue Mountains are accustomed to assemble and to consult in reference to home matters. The cellar beneath is well provided, with stores of ammunition, clothing and other necessaries of life, in case any be driven from home by the incursions of the red men. As we enter the building, we find the meeting largely attended, the men being well armed, and accompanied by their wives and children, whom it is unsafe to leave unprotected at home.

The meeting opens by singing the battle hymn of the Reformation, *Ein feste Burg ist Unser Gott.* Adam Reith presides and states the object of the gathering. Adam's two brothers, Leonhard[528] and Michael, are pres-

[527] It gave place in 1745 to a stone fort which is still standing on the farm now owned by William Zeller.

[528] Leonard Reith was one of the Palatines who arrived at New York from England in the spring of 1710, were taken up the Hudson, and later penetrated to the Schoharie. He was naturalized in 1715 at Albany, and his naturalization paper, still in existence, bears the signature of Judge Peter Schuyler and Philip Livingston. He came to the Tulpehocken in 1723, leaving his wife temporarily behind him, and took up about a thousand acres of land at the junction of the Millbach with the Tulpehocken. He and his brothers were the leaders in the infant community. His descendants have been tall and mighty of frame, many of them over six feet in height, and a few of them are said to have weighed over 300 pounds. His homestead was about a quarter of a mile below the junction of the two streams, and is still standing in enlarged form. He erected a mill on the north bank of the Tulpehocken about twenty yards west of the junction, and here he was caught in the cog wheels and met his death in 1747. He had been a strong supporter of the Leutbecker faction and consequently had welcomed the advent of the Moravians into the community, and had become a deacon in the Moravian Lutheran Church. He held this position at the time of his death. His funeral, as we shall see, created one of the greatest sensations ever known in the Tulpehocken, the family desiring the Lutheran pastor, Rev. J. N. Kurtz, to officiate at the funeral and the Moravians attempting to exclude Kurtz from their church. The church of which we are speaking, "The Reith Church," is named after this family.



THE OLD "INDIAN FORT" ON THE BANKS OF THE MILL CREEK, 1745.

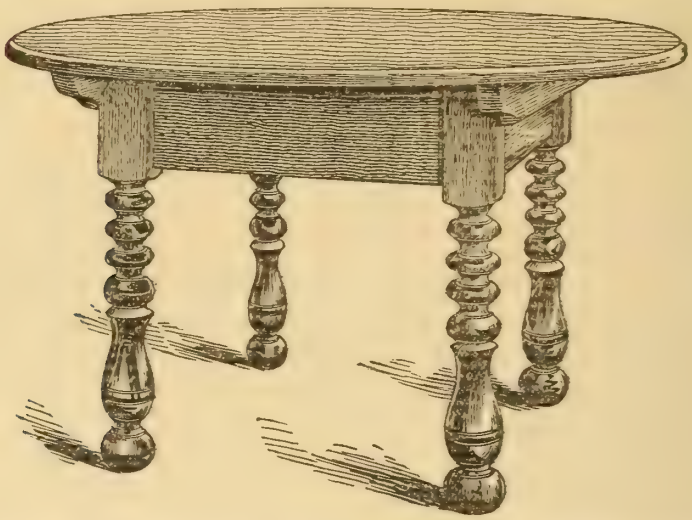
ent, together with Frederic and Michael Sheafer, Christopher Lechner and others. The Reith brothers now offer a tract of land, some miles further up the valley, seven or eight acres in extent, for church, school and burial purposes.[529] George Scholl makes a motion to erect a church building on this central piece of land. The motion is unanimously adopted.

"In less than a week from the time of this meeting both old and young were busy at work to build the church, some at hewing down trees, others in digging the foundation, and some in preparing the stones for the foundation, and it is even said that the women rendered assistance in carrying water from the Tulpehocken Creek. In less than five months the church was ready for occupancy under the efficient management of Christopher Lechner, who superintended the entire work."

If in the olden time we had been permitted to approach this building, we should have seen it standing on the east side of a prominent elevation, conspicuously visible from far and near. It is small. There is a single door, and windows. We find the pulpit to be made of rough boards. The seat in the pulpit is a block of a tree. The pews are of logs set in rows, with the hewn sides for seats. The altar is

[529] This land, like all the farms of the immigrants at this time (in 1727), had not yet been purchased and the right of Reith was simply the right of possession. The immigrants, already in 1724, had asked for titles to their properties, for which they were ready to pay. But in reality the Penns did not own any of this land as yet. It was still the property of the Indians, and was only purchased from the latter in 1732. The church tract was part of the 5,061 acres, which in September, 1735 (eight years after the church was built), was sold by the Proprietaries to John Page, London, as Plumpton Manor. On February 17, 1736, John Page, through his attornies, sold said land to Michael Schaeffer, Frederick Schaeffer, Leonhard Reith, Michael Reith, George Lesch, Herman Walborn, all of Tulpehocken Creek, for the stipulated sum of £4 17s. The deed was not actually made out until May 15, 1742. It conveyed eight acres and sixteen perches of the larger tract to these trustees of the Church.

a heavy walnut table, in which not a single iron nail can be found, 4 feet long, 2 feet 10 inches wide, and 2 feet 6 inches high. It had been donated by one of the Reith's.[530]



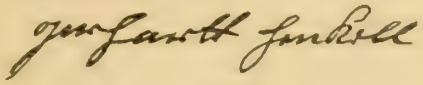
FIRST COMMUNION TABLE. THE SOLE SURVIVING RELIC OF THE ORIGINAL TULPEHOCKEN LUTHERAN CHURCH OF 1727. THIS IS THE ORIGINAL ALTAR OR COMMUNION TABLE USED IN THAT BUILDING.

The account of Pastor Kurtz, who lived on the ground, written in his diary of Sept. 13, 1744, only seventeen years after the erection of this building, shows that the money needed for its construction was gathered painfully. Pastor Kurtz says: "When Tulpehocken was settled by the first inhabitants — this is now almost thirty years ago — when they first took up land, they chose here about five or six acres for a parish building, and also out of their great poverty built a block church or house for their assembled company. The money they gathered with pennies, so

[530] The communion table is still in existence and is in the possession of Aaron Snyder, a descendant of the original donor, who lives at Stouchsburg, Pa.

that one contributed to it six pence, another eight pence, and another a shilling."[531]

In the latter part of October, 1727, the church was consecrated. Local tradition is persistent, even bitter, in the assertion that the Rev. John Casper Stoever officiated on this occasion. But this is impossible. The "Rev. Stoever" was still in Europe and did not arrive on the American shore until the following fall. His first baptism at the



AUTOGRAPH OF HENKEL.

Tulpehocken took place in the fall of 1729, and his first marriages in 1730. If John Casper Stoever consecrated the Tulpehocken Church it was not consecrated until 1729.

Who the officiating clergymen were is a question. Pastor Henkel had preached here at this time and as this was at least a year before his death, and he lived not far off at Falckner's Swamp, it may have been he that was present on the occasion. In fact, as the Moravian chronicler narrates that the erection of the building was undertaken at Rev. Henkel's advice, it would have been extraordinary for him to have been absent from the service of consecration, and we may perhaps take it for granted that it was he who officiated.[532]

[531] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 201.

[532] Since our account of Henkel (pp. 144, 147 of this volume) has been in print, a monograph on "Rev. Gerhart Henkel and his Descendants," which is very full and excellent in tracing the genealogical descent of the Henkel family, and in giving a list of the imprints of the Henkel press, together with a picture of the Rev. Ambrose Henkel, has appeared in "The Pennsylvania German" (April, 1903). It is from the pen of a descendant of Henkel and informs us that Henkel came to America with his entire family of seven adult children, several of whom were married, and that in the spring of 1718 Pannebecker surveyed 250 acres of land in Falckner's Swamp for Anthony Henkel, a son (as well as for Geiger, of whom we have spoken). It also states definitely that

Rev. J. B. van Dieren, who was reported to have been ordained by Henkel at Falckner's Swamp in 1717, and

the father, Gerhart Henkel, lived a few miles farther west, in Colebrookdale. It tells us positively that Henkel died about 1732 in consequence of a fall from his horse at Chestnut Hill, near Philadelphia. Whether this statement is merely a repetition of the family tradition which we have mentioned, or whether there is actual and positive evidence to the date of Henkel's death, outside of the fact mentioned by us, is not stated.

The author naturally does not mention the fact that not only van Dieren's but also Henkel's ordination was questioned and belittled by Berkenmeyer. He also says rightly: "With the advent of the Henkel family a new chapter arose in the History of the Lutheran Church in America as the first church of German origin having a continuous existence was organized by them in the Swamp quite soon after their arrival." But he is ungenerous toward the earlier work of Falckner in the Swamp. He decides arbitrarily that the fact that "the German Lutherans had a small house of worship in the Swamp as early as 1704," is "a tradition not authenticated to our satisfaction." In support of this conclusion he does not give a single reason. Nor does he say how he would dispose of the documentary evidence cited on pp. 139, 140, 141 sq., 127, 128, 130 and 132 of this volume. In fact he appears not to know of this evidence or any statements outside of the *Hall. Nachrr.*

Both Daniel and Justus Falckner were ordained clergymen, sons and grandsons of Lutheran clergymen. Already in 1698 Falckner sailed to Europe to set forth the lamentable religious condition of the province. Justus Falckner was filled with the same idea, and his published letter to Europe concerning the religious condition of Pennsylvania in 1701 shows his deep concern for the gathering in of all German Lutherans, and also a very intimate connection with the Swedish pastors and an attendance at worship in the Swedish Church to set a good example to the Germans. Daniel Falckner settled his original Germans in the Swamp in 1700. The Swedes settled further up the Schuylkill as early as 1697. Björck tells us that the whole Swamp region was named after "Pastor Falckner." The *Gemeindschaftliches Schreiben* of 1754 mentions Falckner with Henkel and Stoever as an active pastor in Pennsylvania. This activity would fit in between the years 1702 and 1708. There appears to have been documentary evidence as late as 1867, that the Swedes from the Delaware and Schuylkill ordained a pastor at the Swamp for a German Church there in 1703. There is a Swedish account of a visit made thither by Sandel in company with Daniel Falckner in the autumn of 1704, wherein it is stated that Sandel assisted Falckner at the church services on Sunday October 15, 1704. Corroborative evidence of this appears in Sandel's Diary. The editors of the *Hall. Nachrr.* favor the early date and say that undoubtedly the Swamp congregation had indelible traces of an organization as early as Falckner's time. The period between the original Falckner Church and the Church of 1719 was just long enough to have the former go into decay. All these facts, however, the author of the article sweeps away in order to date the origin of the Swamp Church "from the arrival of the Henkel party."

who either in that year or several years later went to the Schoharie and acted as pastor in that region for these very immigrants before they had come to the Tulpehocken,[533] and who, if the clear evidence of the Moravian Record is to be credited, came occasionally, at least once a year, to the Tulpehocken, to baptize the settlers' children and administer the Lord's Supper, may also have been present.[534]

It was not only for church service, but also for instruction and school that these early German Lutherans were concerned. Probably before the church was erected two of the leading laymen, Christopher Lechner, and Adam Reith, established a private school[535] at the house of Lechner, and after the church was completed a parochial school was established in it. The first teacher was Jacob Hanmer, a native of Manheim, Baden, who had just immigrated to America. Whether he was there before the erection of the church and was (unlike Boehm) a resident Lutheran lay reader in charge of the consecration service or not, we do not know.[536]

The first period of the religious history of the Tulpe-

[533] He baptized Conrad Weiser's son in the Schoharie on September 7, 1722.

[534] It is just possible also that the Lutheran schoolmaster, the lay elder, took some charge of the service, for we know that the Reformed congregation in the Tulpehocken was organized in October, 1727, by a *Reformed lay reader*, John Philip Boehm, whom we have already met at Falckner Swamp, and who subsequently was ordained to the holy ministry. In his report to the Synod of Holland, Boehm stated that at this October organization the Reformed congregation had thirty-two communicants.

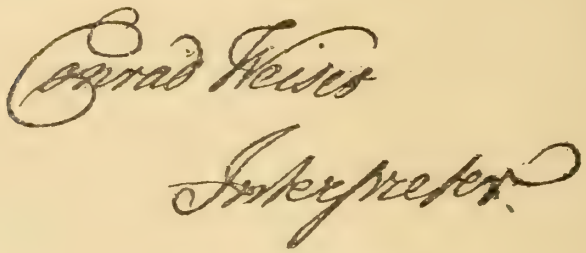
[535] Brownmiller's *Memorial Discourse*, p. 4.

[536] The writer, believing that the key to some points in this early Tulpehocken history might be found in a more detailed knowledge of Hanmer — when he arrived in America? when he arrived at Tulpehocken? whether he came by way of Falckner's Swamp? whether he was sent by Pastor Henkel and appeared under his instructions? whether he inspired the beginning of the first school? and the subsequent movement to organize a church? — has made an effort to search out the facts regarding him but without avail.

hocken settlement closes thus at the end of the year 1727 with a new church building, with a Lutheran schoolmaster, an occasional Reformed lay reader, and two small but hopeful congregations.

The Second Period, 1728.

Of the second period in the history of this church, which consists of the time embraced in the year 1728, we know very little. On the Reformed side Boehm unquestionably was there at least twice, in spring and fall. On the Lutheran side van Dieren may have been there once, and Henkel, who probably officiated since 1723, may have been there twice. The school was continued. Most probably the people met for worship under local leadership. It is to the first and this period that Kurtz refers in his diary of September 13, 1744, saying: "They then gathered themselves on a Sunday under a *Vorleser* out of their own midst, until they at times called a minister who distributed the Lord's Supper to them." [537]



AUTOGRAPH OF WEISER.

The Third Period, 1729.

The third period in the history of the congregation begins in the year 1729 with the arrival of both of the prin-

[537] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 362.

cipal characters in the region, Conrad Weiser and Casper Stoever. Conrad Weiser, then thirty-three years of age, probably came on in the spring and remained a permanent resident in the neighborhood. Stoever, who was still younger, did not arrive until fall, and was there but a very brief time.


August Hermann Franckens/
S. Theol. Prof. Ordin. und Paſtoris zu Glaucha an Halle/
Oeffentliches
Zeugniß
Von dem
Worte GOttes/
Wie ſolches
Unter göttlichem Seegen recht zuleſen/ und zum heil-
ſamen Nutz und Gebrauch anzuwenden iſt/
Zu Pflantzung einer gründlichen/ lebendigen/ und gegen allen Wind
menſchlicher Lehren beſtehenden Erkänntniß GOttes/
In verſchiedene Schrifften verfaſſet/
Welche zu gleichem Zweck ordentlich zuſammen getragen/ auch theils vermehret
und theils zum erſtenmal ans Licht gegeben ſind.
Mit Königl. Polniſchen und Preuß. auch Churfl. Sächſ. und Brandenb. Privilegio.
HALLE/ in Verlegung des Wäyſen-Hauſes/ MDCCII

FACSIMILE OF FRANCKE'S POSTILS.

Shortly after Weiser reached the tiny Tulpehocken settlement, in 1729, he became the *Vorleser* of the Lutheran congregation and held services in the church that had been erected a year or two before his arrival. In addition to

the rich fund of Biblical texts that rose so pointedly and pertinently to his lips on every occasion, he now gave himself to the study of the works of the Lutheran pietists, Spener and Francke, and on Sundays would read weighty passages in the sermons of these theologians to the assembled people. He also made it a particular point to gather the children of the neighborhood and to give them catechetical instruction. Muhlenberg in his account of 1747 says:

"Many years ago some Lutherans, among whom also was Mr. Weiser, had taken up a piece of ground and built thereon a church, and alongside of it a schoolhouse. In the church they were accustomed to have sermons read to them on Sundays and also had travelling preachers preach to them occasionally in it."[538]

The new congregation seems to have been harmonious and of one mind. The Ephrata Chronicle says: "At that time Dulpehackin was settled entirely by Protestants. These had agreed among themselves not to suffer any among them who were differently minded, so that many who were of like persuasion came to them."[539] Muhlenberg in his account of the life of Weiser states that the first period of the organization of the congregation was one of holy simplicity, and that the report of their beautiful harmony and growth, together with the fruitful character of the land drew more and more settlers thither.[540]

Thus news of the settlement spread abroad. John Caspar Stoever who had arrived in the Province, performed his first three baptisms in the Tulpehocken region in September, October and December, 1729. They are recorded in the record of the Little Tulpehocken Church,[541] and in

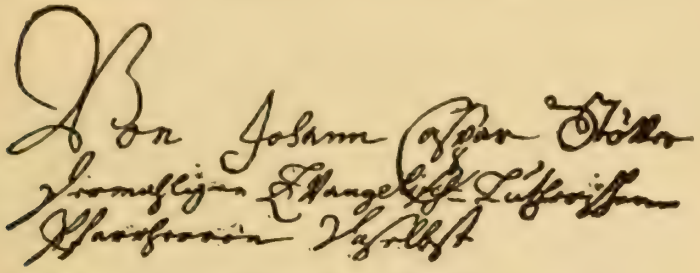
[538] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 362.

[539] Page 70.

[540] Yet, at the same time, the remark as to the lack of harmony in civil affairs in Weiser's autobiography should not be entirely overlooked.

[541] *Manuscript History* of the Rev. J. W. Early.

1730 he performed several marriage ceremonies, as his own private record states, in the same region.[542]



AUTOGRAPH OF STOEVER.

The arrival and presence of Stoever undoubtedly had a tendency to disturb the reigning harmony of which Muhlenberg speaks. Weiser, the Vorleser, was a pietist, and had steeped his spirit in the writings of Spener and Francke. Stoever on the other hand was a Lutheran of the anti-pietistic type, and would be inclined to lay far more weight on the *opus operatum* than on inward experiences. Very probably an antipathy between these two men quickly arose. But Weiser resided in the field, whereas the presence of Stoever was occasional.

From Conrad Weiser's account we know that the Lutheran congregation in these days consisted of about forty families, and from Boehm we know that the Reformed congregation which was being ministered to by Boehm at least twice a year consisted of thirty-two communicants.

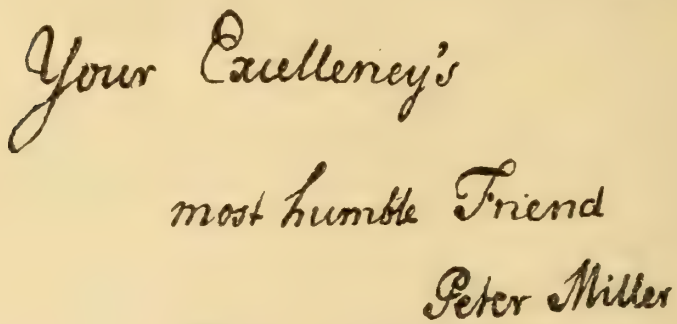
THE FOURTH PERIOD, 1730. *Arrival of Peter Miller.*

We turn now to the fourth period which begins very late in the year 1730, with the arrival of a young man only twenty years of age, who quickly became the spiritual

[542] "May 31, Heinrich Bayer and Elisabertha Maria Zerwe, Tulpehocken." "October 6, Peter Schell and Maria Caterina Walborn, Tulpehocken."

leader of the whole community, and who introduced into it a turmoil and confusion from which it did not recover for nearly a quarter of a century.

This young man was the Rev. Peter Miller, a Reformed theological student, who came fresh from his ordination by the Presbyterians in Philadelphia in November, 1730, to the Tulpehocken, the Cocalico and the Conestoga Re-



AUTOGRAPH OF PETER MILLER.

formed congregations, which he now won away from Pastor Boehm.[543] According to the Ephrata Chronicle Peter Miller served the Conestoga Reformed congregations, which he succeeded in wresting from Boehm's hand, and which included the Tulpehocken, the Cocalico, the White Oak, and the Lancaster churches, for about four years. He also served at Goshenhoppen from June, 1731, to July, 1734.

[543] John Peter Miller was a native of Oberamt Lautern of the Electoral Palatinate, and was a student of theology and graduated at the University of Heidelberg. He arrived in Philadelphia in August, 1730, and was ordained after the 20th of November, 1730. He proceeded almost immediately to the Tulpehocken and took charge there in spite of the strenuous protests of Pastor Boehm. He had been a fellow-student of the Rev. George Michael Weiss, the Reformed minister, who had arrived in Philadelphia in 1726 and who also had taken congregations away from Boehm. He reached America during the period when Weiss was absent in Europe.

THE FIFTH PERIOD, 1732–1734. *A Short View of the Leutbecker Matter.*

There is no evidence, to our knowledge, that the arrival of Peter Miller and his occasional services to his Reformed Church in the Tulpehocken in this early period, attracted Conrad Weiser or any of the Lutherans away from the Lutheran congregation. On the contrary the disclosures of both Muhlenberg and Weiser himself, show that Weiser was in active and uninterrupted connection with the Lutheran congregation there, and at the head of affairs, until the Leutbecker trouble overwhelmed the Lutheran congregation with confusion.[544] Weiser in fact was the center of a movement to secure an orthodox Lutheran pastor through Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, in London, from Halle in Germany already at this early date, and had sent a call to Europe, with an offer of a regular salary for such a minister. It was while the Lutheran congregation, with Weiser at the head, was waiting for this minister, who never came, that the developments of which we are about to speak, overwhelmed the region. Weiser's own words, identifying himself with the Lutheran Church at Tulpehocken, are:[545]

"Here I must give a sufficient account of the Tulpehocken Lutheran Church.

"I began to live at this place in the year 1729. The Lutherans had built a little church or house of assembly there a few years previously, in which Lutherans and so-called Reformed [sic], came together and were served by a

[544] It will be well to insert here the continuation of the history as seen by the Moravian chronicler in the record of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Bethlehem archives. After opening the book in a section already quoted, he describes the present period as follows:

"Peter Meuller, a Reformed minister, also came among us and preached for us almost two years. (Afterwards he went over to the Seventh Day Baptists.) Casper Stiefer, who traveled over the country preaching, also came to us frequently, beside various others who preached in our church. In the intervals we had sermons read. Finally we became impatient." (*Translation* by Rev. J. W. Early.)

[545] In reply to questions proposed by Pastor Brunnholtz. *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 91.

'Vorleser' in matters of worship. Among the Lutherans there were some painstaking men who brought matters so far that a call was sent to Europe for a Lutheran minister for the congregation at Tulpehocken, which already numbered some forty families at that time. The call was signed by the Lutheran members and a yearly salary of £30, Pennsylvania money was promised, together with some other little incidentals.

"Monsieur Casper Leutbecker, with whom I had acquaintanceship [it here seems to appear that the original point of communication between Leutbecker and the Tulpehocken congregation was Weiser's own previous personal acquaintance with Leutbecker], undertook and promised to send that writing or call to Court Preacher Ziegenhagen in London, together with other information pertaining to the affair. I delivered the said writing into the hands of the said Leutbecker, but 'a year and days' passed and we heard nothing from Europe of the awaited preacher. Meanwhile the congregation was served by a 'Vorleser' as before, and there came also at times ministers of both kinds of religions [Lutheran and Reformed], who served the congregation, until at last, about the year 1734, Casper Leutbecker reported that he had news that there was a preacher on the way, in consequence of our call. The congregation was very glad on this account. Leutbecker proposed, Whether it might not be good that meanwhile a parsonage should be built; he would remain with us in the interim for the purpose of bringing the congregation into order, and would begin catechization. This was cheerfully acceded to, and the house was finished. Leutbecker moved in and the supposed preacher died upon the water — so Leutbecker told us. The latter then was received as preacher by the majority (some few excepted). I earnestly protested against this step, because I began to doubt whether the above mentioned call had ever been sent to England. Finally I staid away from services, and remained entirely at home. In the congregation a great disturbance arose."

Nothing could be clearer than these words of Weiser's. He evidently was the head of the Lutherans in the congregation, reading sermons to the people on Sundays. He was the inspiring spirit in sending out a call to Germany to the pietistic Lutherans at Halle and Court Preacher Ziegenhagen, with the appeal that a Lutheran pastor be sent to the Tulpehocken.[545] He also, as he sup-

[545] We must remember that at this time Rev. Schulze had already returned to Europe from Philadelphia and the Trappe, ostensibly, at least, for the purpose of seeking help there for the Pennsylvania congregations. The Reformed church had sent Mr. Reif across the seas from the Perkiomen district for the same purpose, and Weisiger and Schoener (with Rev. Shulze) had also gone to collect in Europe; the New Providence, New Hanover and Philadelphia congregations were beginning to expect a pastor from Halle, and were in correspondence till 1739, when all word from Europe ceased, till Kraft, Zinzendorf and Muhlenberg actually arrived.

posed, found a competent agent for the delivery of this call in Leutbecker, because of the latter's assumed close relationship with Court Preacher Böhme. When Leutbecker himself came on after several years, and deceived the people in this matter, Weiser was the one who saw through the deception. He was the one who also earnestly protested against the raising of such a man to the Lutheran pastorate. His words were not listened to. He finally did not come to services. "At last I remained at home altogether."

We present here the account of this affair given by Muhlenberg, and also that of the Moravian Lutheran Record at Bethlehem. The latter is a continuation of the translation whose earlier portions were presented above.

MUHLENBERG'S ACCOUNT.

Muhlenberg's account of this same period is as follows: "After some time there came a man to Tulpehocken by the name of Caspar Leutbecker, a tailor by profession, who had been awakened in London by the Court Preacher Böhme [it will be noticed that Böhme was the one who sent both van Dieren and Leutbecker to America; that both were pietists and both were tailors and school-masters] and from there had journeyed to Pennsylvania. He continued the reading of sermons in the church, held school and also catechised. The united members of the congregation made out a call for a preacher and desired that Mr. Leutbecker should send the same to Court Preacher Ziegenhagen in London, and through him on to Halle. In the same, they entreated that a learned and godly preacher be sent them, whom they would support. Mr. Leutbecker said that this call had been properly forwarded. As, meanwhile, some time elapsed, Leutbecker himself began to

MORAVIAN ACCOUNT.

"Finally we became impatient and determined to call a regular pastor for ourselves, who should remain with us. This was then done in the manner described below, in a statement which was printed by the congregation at Bethlehem in the Forks, A. D. 1742, and which connectedly reads thus, the title of the document being: 'The Confusion of Tulpehocken.'

[Here follows matter not relevant at this point, and which will be given later on.]

"Before we knew of any outward disturbance concerning matters of religion at our place, and many years ago when we became desirous of having a regular pastor among us, who should preach the word of God, we became acquainted with a certain preacher named Leeibbecker, ordained in London, who gave us information concerning a conscientious pastor in Germany to whom we sent a call A. D. 1733, under seal and signature by unanimous consent. Soon thereafter

preach, and made public that a preacher by the name of Bagenkopf had been sent by way of Hamburg and London, but died upon the sea. This, among other things, resulted in Mr. Weiser and others separating themselves from Leutbecker's congregation, because they suspected that the call had not honestly been disposed of, and that the man had begun to exalt himself and to undertake a matter beyond his ability. About ten or twelve families clung to Mr. Leutbecker and acknowledged him as their regular minister, as he gave out that Court Preacher Böhme had ordained him." (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., p. 362.) Not to do Leutbecker an injustice it should be stated that one of the *Ergänzungen* to the Fifth *Hall. Nachrr.* (I., 362) shows that the original MSS. text of the *Hall. Nachrr.* contained the following: Leutbecker, "who had been awakened in London by Pastor Böhm, and had removed thence to Pennsylvania." Whether the Halle authorities excised this because it was not a fact, or because it was a fact they did not wish to publish, is hard to say.

we received a reply, that he had accepted the same and that he was already on the way, coming to us. In the meanwhile, in accordance with the desire of the above-named minister, Leeibbecker, a house was built for the pastor who was on the way. During this time (which amounted to six weeks) he interested himself in us, teaching and preaching. God so blessed his labors among us that the hearts of the people were so inclined to him that they would rather have accepted him as their pastor (Orts Seelsorger), because we thought we could not well secure for ourselves one more faithful and more suitable than he — which the Reformed at that time dwelling with us also testified." [Translated by Rev. J. W. Early, who says further:]

The document then proceeds to state that L. now took a trip to Mabettcha (Maktska) where he had his home, but returned frequently to instruct them. After the lapse of almost a year they received word that the minister coming to them from Germany had died. They therefore unanimously called Leeibbecker to become their regular pastor. Being acquainted with each other he readily accepted the call, came and occupied the house built for the pastor and preached his Introductory. This occurred 1734. The record then describes how he proceeded and how faithful he was.

No historian of the Tulpehocken has as yet, we believe, drawn attention to the fact that in the year 1734 it was reported in New York state that Bernhard van Dieren had received a call to the Tulpehocken. There is little doubt but that he was at least about to receive such a call, if it had not already been sent, and that the interference of the Rev. Knoll at Hackensack, who wrote to the Swedish

Lutheran ministers in Philadelphia, put an end to the whole matter. This fact raises a very interesting problem. Who sent the call to van Dieren ? and why was he thought of as pastor at this time? The time of the call appears to have been just when Leutbecker reported that a pastor from Germany had accepted the call sent there and was already on the way. Now it may be that Leutbecker, growing alarmed or weary at the persistency of the opposition against himself, had known and bethought himself of his fellow tailor-preacher in New York state, and hoped to save his own good name and reputation and to demonstrate that he did not actually desire to usurp the place of pastor by issuing a call to van Dieren. On the other hand, it may be that the call was contemplated by those opposed to Leutbecker, particularly by Conrad Weiser; for Weiser had known van Dieren in the Shoharie and had had two of his children baptized by van Dieren half a dozen years before. And van Dieren was a pietist like himself. Still again, van Dieren had himself visited the band of immigrants when they first came to the Tulpehocken, preaching for them a number of times, and it is said, actually promising to remove hither and become their pastor. It is quite likely that he was held in respect by the founders of the Tulpehocken colony, and by Weiser himself, and that Weiser astutely felt that the whole strife might be ended if the original intention in calling van Dieren could now be put into effect. But the letter of Knoll put a stop to the proceedings, through the medium of the Swedish Lutheran pastor at Philadelphia.

We hazard the opinion that the unsatisfactory and anti-pietistic attitude of Pastor Stoever together with the fervent spiritual preaching of the Reformed pastor, awakened in Weiser's mind the desire to secure an equally able and

satisfactory Lutheran pastor from Germany; that during the several years of delay the congregation with Weiser at the head waited patiently, meantime listening to the ministrations of the Reformed pastor, Peter Miller; that the non-arrival of a Lutheran pastor and the deception of Leutbecker awakened deep feeling in Weiser's mind; and that when he found that this usurper, whom he himself was the unsuspecting instrument of introducing to the Tulpehocken Church, had been received with open arms by the Lutheran congregation, in spite of Weiser's protesting to the contrary, Weiser felt that he must be done with this Lutheran congregation.

The Fifth Period, 1732–1734. *Miller, Beissel and Weiser.*

Meantime, it was entirely natural that Weiser should be drawn personally to the only highly educated, cultured, and the most genial man in the community, the young Reformed minister, who had not yet attained his majority. Conrad Weiser had been in the colony only a little over a year when the young Reformed pastor arrived. Weiser was himself still a young man. A friendship sprang up between these two men, the one in the twenties the other in the thirties, which bound them together for years in religious affairs, which carried them together into a religious change, and which, after they separated for life, (the one becoming the head of a heretical, theosophical, and mystical ascetic movement — prior in fact of its monastery — and the other returning to the old paths of his fathers), still continued throughout life.

Peter Miller is said to have imbibed sectarian, if not mystical principles, while he was yet in Europe, and though he came to Tulpehocken as an orthodox Reformed min-

ister, there was already in his heart, when he arrived, a leaning toward Seventh Day Dunker teachings, if not toward the esoteric holiness of the New Born. We know that already as early as 1732 he took one of his Goshenhoppen elders into the house of a Seventh Day Dunker, "where he allowed himself to be called brother, and permitted the man to wash his feet, and that is the truth."[546]

Miller, undoubtedly, was a devout, learned, warm-hearted, and perhaps even very brilliant preacher, and some of the pastorless Lutherans at the Tulpehocken, including Weiser particularly, were drawn to look up to him. The pietistic tinge with which both of the young leaders were imbued, would be an additional bond of fellowship between them, and would cause each of the two to discover in the other a certain kinship of spirit that united them in matters of heart and conviction. The involved and unhappy state of ecclesiastical affairs among the Lutherans in the Tulpehocken concerned and worried them both. With some of the dissatisfied ones among the Lutherans, and with the approval of Miller, it is probable that Weiser formed a little inner pietistic circle of his own, embracing perhaps also some of the Reformed people.

Meanwhile, Conrad Beissel had already published his *Büchlein vom Sabbath* (in 1728);[547] and his *Mystyrion Anomias* in 1729, and the latter had actually created a great sensation among the Germans in the Tulpehocken district. In the same year the authorities of Lancaster county arrested and imprisoned some of the Sabbatarians of the Conestoga valley for refusing to pay the fine imposed by the law against laboring on Sunday. Two of them,

[546] Boehm's *Report to the Holland Synod* of October 18, 1734. In this Report Boehm calls him an "Oleypresser," which seems to indicate that he had sympathies with the sect of the New Born at Oley.

[547] Supposed to have been printed by Bradford.

MYSTYRION ANOMIAS

THE

Mystery of Lawlesness:

OR,

Lawless *ANTICHRIST*

DISCOVER'D and DISCLOS'D

Shewing that ALL those do belong to that Lawless *Antichrist*, who wilfully reject the Commandments of GOD, amongst which, is his holy, and by himself blessed *Seventh-Day-Sabbath*, or his holy Rest, of which the same is a Type.

For thus saith the Lord, *Exod.* xx. ver. 10.

The Seventh Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.

Written to the Honour of the Great GOD and his Holy Commands.

By CUNRAD BETSELL.

Translated out of the High-Dutch, by M. W.

Printed in the Year 1729

GOTTLICHE

Liebes und Lobes gethöne

Welche in den hertzen der kinder der weisheit zusammen ein.

Und von da wieder aufgeflossen

ZUM LOB GOTTES,

Und nun denen schülern der himlischen weisheit zur erweckung und aufmunterung in ihrem Creutz und leiden aus hertzlicher liebe mitgetheilet.

D A N N

Als ich offtlen sass, bey'm Gott das beste Trost, Und gieng zum singen aus, das allerschönste wusste.

Zu *Philadelphia*: Gedruckt bey *Benjamin Franklin* in der *Marck-strass*. 1730,

ZIONITISCHER

Weyrauchs Hügel

Oder:

Myrrhen Berg,

Worinnen allerley liebliches und wohl riechendes nach Apotheker-Kunst zu bereitetes Rauch-Werck zu finden.

Bestehend

In allerley Liebes-Würckungen der in GOTT gelassenen Seelen, welche sich in vieler und mancherley geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern ausgebildet.

Als darinnen

Der letzte Ruff zu dem Abendmahl des grossen GOttes auf unterschiedliche Weise trefflich ausgedrucket ist,

Zum Dienst

Der in dem Abend-Ländischen Welt-Theil als bey den Untergang der Sonnen erweckten Kirche GOttes, und zu ihrer Ermunterung auf die Mitternächtige Zukunfft des Bräutigams ans Licht gegeben.

Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur 1739

Johann Arnds geistreiche

Morgen- und Abend-Gebethe,

auf jeden Tag der Woche.

Ephrata,

Gedruckt: und zu haben in Lancaster bey Henrich Dörn in der Donegal-straß.

THE MYSTYRION ANOMIAS, which created a great sensation in the Tulpehocken, printed by BRADFORD in 1729; together with the EARLIEST BEISSEL IMPRINTS from the FRANKLIN, SAUER and EPHRATA presses. All these titles are very rare. Originals in the Collection of Julius F. Sachse.

Wohlfahrt and Beissel, had made a pilgrimage, as persecuted upholders of the truth, to Philadelphia, and had addressed a Quaker meeting there and the populace from the court-house steps. Here Beissel had singled out and met Benjamin Franklin, who from that time became the publisher of his works. In 1730 Beissel had issued his *Mystische Sprüche*. Beissel's hymn book and his *Ehebüchlein*, in which he advocates the heretical doctrine that "matrimony is the penitentiary of carnal man," appeared in the same year. Pastor Boehm was opposing these strange doctrines before his Reformed people to the utmost of his ability, but Christopher Sauer's wife had already left her husband, been rebaptized in the Ephrata congregation, and entered the sisterhood there, before Miller arrived. In 1731 more women deserted their husbands and families to lead the ascetic life at Ephrata. Beissel and Wohlfahrt traveled on pilgrimages through the Province, organizing Dunker and mystical revivals. In 1732 Beissel retired to his cabin in the wilderness. In 1733 families came from all over the Province to follow Beissel and occupied all the land within a radius of three or four miles of his buildings.

Meanwhile, the highly educated Rev. Peter Miller was preaching to his charge on the very scene of all this excitement. He himself tells us, "I never had any inclination to join with it, because of the contempt and reproach which lay on the same." But he was in sympathy with some of the doctrines taught at Ephrata, and both he and Weiser in the midst of the external ecclesiastical strife and difficulties at the Tulpehocken, would be likely to regard with favor any new movement that professed superior holiness and that upheld the predominacy of the inner life.

How powerfully the teaching of Beissel was to affect

Peter Miller, and how deeply the persistent and plausible argumentation of Miller would affect a mind like Weiser's, may be inferred from a letter written by Miller from Ephrata to a Lutheran, a member of Handschuh's congregation, at a later date.[548]

In this letter Miller says to his friend:

"As I understand it, the Lutheran Church has not attained to the gospel in full measure; for both its doctrine and its practice thoroughly fail to harmonize with the testimony of our chief Teacher, since the entrance into the church through baptism in childhood is already a mistake of no small order. For it is to be taken for granted that baptism, if used in the evangelical sense as ordained by Christ, is at once the letter of dismissal which we give to the spirit of this world, and also the plighting of our troth with Christ, our heavenly Bridegroom. * * * Now my dear friend, what have they done with this highly important mystery? To whom (among the Lutherans) is his infant baptism a letter of dismissal separating himself and the world? Does not every one of them go according to the order of the world from childhood even to old age? Are not the scenes of Sodom in full swing in nearly all places, namely, a sense of security and peace, yea the sin of the world. To buy and sell, to eat and drink, to marry and be given in marriage, which according to my view proves sufficiently that a member's entrance into the church is not of a proper kind.

"Now let us go a step further: * * * Where is the communion of saints, through whose communion I can be helped on in the denial of the world and of myself? Is it not much rather, that the constitution of Lutheranism has remained fast under the dominion of the Beast, and therefore has not yet come under the Shepherd's staff of the Lamb? * * *

"Now I come to the second sacrament, namely of the holy body and blood of Jesus Christ. 'Truly my dear friend what God-devoted soul can use this sacrament without offending his conscience? For who is so inexperienced that he does not know that the mystery of the bread-breaking says that we thereby become one body? But there is no distinction, in this place, between people, so that a minister, if he wished to act according to his conscience, would very soon have few of his congregation left. I am not speaking of sins which the law punishes, but of the sins that the Church permits, namely of carrying on war, of seeking vengeance, of standing up for one's rights, of taking interest for borrowed money, etc. * * * Therefore we are told, go out from them! * * * who live according to the way of the world. For who wishes to be God's friend, he must be hated by the world. * * *'

"Further as to what concerns the Lutheran Church I stand by my first statement, that she has not attained to the full measure of the Gospel either in life or in teaching, and there must be, even when we have attained to the

[548] This letter is preserved in the archives at Halle. *Hall. Nachr.*, I., 469.

highest point in this church, still an additional conversion in which we become crucified to the world, and in which all religious forms under which we have been brought up, come to an end. * * * It is certain that the nature of divine worship, as it is carried on to-day, is an abomination to God, and that no soul that loves God can participate in it. It is also certain that the world is rather strengthened in its unrepentant position, than made better by pious preachers; for no pious man can associate with wicked people in their worldly life without becoming participants in their sins. Therefore are we told: Go out from among them. If, my dear friend, your soul should become uneasy through my words, consider that I have written well, for I have not yet done justice to the matter, no not by far. As for the balance, we at Ephrata have no other articles of belief than those which Jesus Christ has revealed, namely the way of self-denial and holiness, together with the holy institutes of the first church, such as the Sabbath, baptism, washing of feet, breaking of bread, etc., in which we use diligence in exercising uncolored love toward God, our brother and our neighbor."

It will at once be seen that the underlying spirit of this letter is monastic separation from the world. The Lutheran Church [and all other external ecclesiastical denominations would be condemned similarly by Miller, but here he happens to be writing to a Lutheran] is doing more harm than good, even in the case of her pious preachers, because she does not compel her members to separate from every fellowship with the wicked world. Both the example of our Saviour, "Who came eating and drinking," (in contra-distinction to John the Baptist); and also the verdict of history, show the untenableness of Beissel's and Miller's monastic principles. But the effect that this constant and persistent urging that he separate from the world must have had upon Weiser's peculiar mind, which was at once pietistic and also exceedingly philosophic, practical and rational, could almost be imagined, even if we did not know the subsequent course of his life. Emotional enthusiasm would first overpower him. Then, when he came to see its hollowness, and particularly when he noted that the same principles of worldliness were prevalent in the human heart even within the Ephrata Monastery, as in the world without, there would be an intense

reaction and a conviction that duty lay in the sphere of the exercise of one's natural gifts, and not in the devotion of one's energies to fastings, vigils, and negative attempts at repression.

Beissel had heard of young Miller not long after he had arrived, and he had also heard that Miller had approved at least of some of his teachings. So he shrewdly schemed to entrap the retiring and genial young pastor in his net. Beissel thought "that his work would be better carried out if God would provide one of these young preachers for him, for which also he bended his knees before God. This led to important matters." [549] For he "soon after found occasion to make a visit to Tulpehocken with several of his disciples where he was received" by Rev. Miller and "elders of the Tulpehocken church with the consideration due to him as an ambassador of God." [549]

Of Beissel's movement Muhlenberg says:

"New settlers arrived, among which were all kinds of *parlei-geister* awakened in Germany, who united and desired to build up a pure congregation in the spirit with which the Interpreter [Weiser] also at last was implicated. In the beginning the souls remained pretty much in simplicity and humility on the foundation of the true Word of God. They read devotional writings, they sang, they prayed, they exhorted and proved each other among themselves. But it did not long remain thus in simplicity and self-examination. For they forgot themselves, came to be beside themselves, and began to set themselves up in judgment against the devotions of the Papal, the Lutheran and the Reformed churches. And when they were done with the matter, they fell into mutual suspicion of each other, and strove who should be the greatest among them in their new Kingdom of Heaven? He who understands the thinking and contriving of the human heart will readily conclude that each candidate stood first for himself. The strongest spirits cunningly forged their various plans, went out and also sent their aids into all the settled regions in order to gain people as converts. They brought them by groups to the region where the New Jerusalem was already laid off, and the preparations were made, and then baptized them into the new congregation of the spirit.

"In the beginning their arrangement seemed to be an anarchy in miniature. The more they secured, the more zealously the candidates pushed themselves

[549] Ephrata *Chronicon.*

to bring their various plans to maturity. But since such institutions demand not alone much outlay for their establishment, but also for their continuance, there was for the time being the form of a small democracy. This was as long as the proselytes gave up their worldly possessions and laid them at the feet of the new congregation's treasury.

"So the sect grew further to a spiritual aristocracy, until finally Simon Magus [Beissel] raised himself up, reduced the other competent ones to subjection, and was himself to be the master. From various unclean pools of errors he formed a miserable sect which truthfully neither tends to the highest majesty of God, nor its fellow-creatures."

Meantime, while the tides of the holiness agitation were growing stronger and stronger on the southern edge of the Tulpehocken district, and were already threatening to engulf the all too willing Miller and his friend Weiser, the denouement of the Leutbecker matter came to the little Lutheran congregation on the Tulpehocken, still waiting for the Lutheran pastor from abroad, who never arrived.

The Sixth Period, 1734–1735. *A Drowned Pastor and a New Parsonage.*

In 1734, Leutbecker, as we have seen, reported that a pastor named Bagenkopf had accepted the call and was already on the journey. At the same time he proposed that a house for the use of the pastor should be erected immediately. He also stated that he would instruct the young people, preparing them for confirmation.

When the parsonage was completed it was given out that Bagenkopf had died during his passage across the ocean. Leutbecker, who now represented that he had been ordained by Court Preacher Böhme,[550] the predecessor of Ziegenhagen, London, was elected as pastor and moved into the parsonage.

The Moravian account of Leutbecker's establishment in the Tulpehocken, as is natural, is quite favorable to the

[550] See *Ergänzung* to *Hall. Nachrr.*, referred to on previous page.

latter, regarding him as a regularly ordained minister who set affairs in order in the Tulpehocken in the most painstaking and conscientious manner. It accepts the death of the new minister at sea as an actual fact. It is as follows:[551]

"These Palatines, accustomed as they had been to regular church organizations and abhorring sectarianism which threatened to make inroads in their settlements, could not be satisfied with this state of affairs and desired to see a regularly ordained minister settled in their midst as soon as possible. They therefore applied to Pastor Caspar Leutbecker, in Skippach, who had been ordained in London, and often visited them, and by his advice they sent a call to a minister in Germany in 1733. He accepted the call and the Palatines set about building a parsonage, under Leutbecker's direction. After a year's time, however, it was ascertained that the new minister had died at sea on his voyage from Germany, and in 1734 the Rev. Caspar Leutbecker was appointed and accepted the call as minister of the Tulpehocken Church, which he served with great faithfulness, insisting on practical Christianity, and observing a strict conscientiousness in the administration of the sacraments."

The Sixth Period, 1734–1735. *Conversion and Rebaptism of Miller and Weiser by Beissel in* 1735.

We turn now from the passionate embroilment of the Leutbecker and Stoever parties in church matters, to which we are coming shortly, to the other sensation of the year, namely, the conversion of the Reformed pastor, the Lutheran elder and at least ten families of the Tulpehocken Communion to Anabaptist teachings and practice.

The Ephrata *Chronicon*[552] informs us that the Tulpehocken Germans "had agreed among themselves not to suffer among them any who were differently minded; so that many who were of like persuasion came to them." "But shrewdly as they contrived it," Conrad Beissel was shrewder still. — Or, as the *Chronicon* puts it, "God yet at last set up his candle on a candlestick in that then dark region."

[551] Reichel's *Early History of the Unitas Fratrum*, p. 28.

[552] P. 70.

Beissel made a visit to Miller, and, on his return, both Miller and Weiser accompanied him back over the mountains for six miles. The result according to the *Chronicon* was that Rev. Miller, the elders, and several others withdrew from the Tulpehocken Church; "whereupon a venerable Pietist, by the name of Casper Leibbecker, took the teacher's [Rev. Miller's] place in the Church."

Thus the *Chronicon* considers Leibbecker's pastorate in


Chronicon Ephratense,

Enthaltend den Lebens-Lauf des ehrwürdigen Vaters in Christo

Friedsam Gottrecht,

Zusammen getragen von Br. Lamech u. Agrippa.

EPHRATA. Gedruckt Anno M D C C L X X X V I.

FACSIMILE OF TITLE EPHRATA CHRONICLE.

the Tulpehocken as a consequence of Miller's and Weiser's withdrawal; but Weiser tells us expressly that his withdrawal from the church is a consequence of Leibbecker's pastorate. Truth appears differently with the angle from which we behold it. And in this case both the divergent statements are true in a sense. Viewed in its root, origin and organic development, Weiser's statement is the correct one. Viewed as an external result, the *Chronicon* is correct.

(The *Chronicon* goes on to state at this point that Weiser was "an elder of the Lutheran [not Reformed] faith, a man who had received from God remarkable natural gifts and sound judgment, and therefore carried great weight with him into whatever sphere he might turn, whether that of nature or of the church. He was the teacher's mainstay, for they were on intimate terms together, which death itself did not destroy.")

Having left the Tulpehocken Church, according to the *Chronicon*, the question with Miller and Weiser was what "to do further." Weiser made a visit to Beissel at the latter's solitary settlement. During this visit Beissel — or as the *Chronicon* says, "*Wisdom* — finally drew him into her net." Beissel promised Weiser a visit and he came soon after, though in this visit he went only to Weiser's house and to Miller. Not long afterwards, however, he made another extended visit to the Tulpehocken region, during which the spirit of revival spread itself over that entire region, so that all doors were opened unto him; though it was remarked that this awakening was confined within certain limits. "As everybody hoped from its failures and mistakes that the new awakening in Conestoga would come to nothing, so many were now concerned as to what would come out of this movement in Tulpehocken; for it was well known that, wherever" Miller and Weiser "might land, they would bring great weight with them. But, good God! a great hill had yet to be surmounted."[553]

The *Chronicon* proceeds to inform us that through the prudence and practical spirit of Weiser, the "difficulties" were overcome. Weiser organized "a great visitation" to Beissel's settlement. Among those who came was Miller. Beissel took Miller into his house and, after beating

[553] The *Chronicon.*

around the bush for a little while, at last came to the point and told Miller he should let himself be baptized. Miller did not know what to answer. "But here it was. Nothing ventured nothing won. After they had settled this important point, all difficulty about the others was soon overcome. Accordingly they were baptized together under the water, after the teaching of Christ; which was done on a Sabbath in May of the year 1735. Thus the teacher, schoolmaster, three elders, besides various other households, went over from the Protestants to this new awakening."[554]

This news was received with consternation at Tulpehocken. Some charged Beissel with bewitching their pastor and church council. Others attributed the whole affair to Satan. Still others proposed to prosecute the Seventh Day Dunkers by due process of law. Word was at once despatched to Pastor Boehm. The moment he heard of the sad and pitiable condition of the congregations in the Tulpehocken, Cocalico and Conestoga, he came hither post-haste, and found the tidings to be only too true. He attempted to re-inspire the congregations with courage and held his first service at Muddy Creek on May 11, 1735.

Thus Boehm's prediction as to Miller had come true, and he wrote to the Amsterdam Synod:

"Endlich [ist] der betrug wofür ich sie [the Tulpehocken people] so geträulich gewarnet an den Tag gekommen, und dieser Miller zu der wüsten siebentäger Tumpler Secten öffentlich übergangen ist, und sich zu Conestoka im monat April, 1735, hat Tumpeltaufen lassen, und hat bei zehn Familien Reformirt un Lutherisch aus der Gemeinde Tulpehocken mit sich genomen, die thäten wie er."

A few days after the baptism, Miller and Weiser burnt the Heidelberg Catechism, Luther's large and small catechisms, the Psalter, Arndt's Paradies Gärtlein, and other orthodox devotional writings. Toward the end of May

[554] *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 70-73.

or early in June, Beissel visited the Tulpehocken region and attempted to organize a Seventh Day community there with Miller as elder. Perhaps shame, perhaps a sense of fear, and certainly the mistaken feeling of a superior holiness of one who retires from all earthly association led Miller, after one night's consideration, to decline the appointment, and to determine that he would live as an anchorite.

During the summer he built his secluded cabin on the Millbach, and became known as Peter the Hermit.[555] Meantime Beissel had set first one and then another head over the new Tulpehocken community, but neither could maintain his position. Finally Weiser himself, assuming the pilgrim garb and mortifying his flesh, took the position of teacher and head of the Anabaptist Tulpehocken Community. But now the large community building at Ephrata, to whose erection Weiser gave liberally, was nearing completion, and before winter both Miller, Weiser and his family, and several other households—constituting the Tulpehocken Sabbatarian Community—came to Ephrata to reside.[556]

[555] Forty years later Miller, speaking of these days, wrote the following: "I . . did set up my hermitage in Dulpehakin at the foot of a mountain on a limpid spring. The house is still (December 5, 1790) extant there, with an old orchard. There did I lay the foundation of solitary life, but the melancholy temptations which did trouble me every day did prognosticate to me misery and afflictions. However, I had not lived there half a year when a great change happened; for a camp was laid out for all solitary persons at the very spot where now Ephrata stands, and where at that time the president [Beissel] lived with some hermits. And now, when all hermits were called in, I also quitted my solitude and exchanged the same for a monastic life, which was judged to be more subservient to sanctification than the life of a hermit, where many, under a pretence of holiness, did nothing but nourish their own selfishness. For, as the brethren now received their prior, and the sisters their matron, we were by necessity compelled to learn obedience, and to be refractory was judged a crime little inferior to high treason." *Germ. Sectt.*, I., 247, 248.

[556] Weiser's family at this time consisted of eight children. As we have seen three of the four oldest had been baptized in the Schoharie by van

Weiser was now wearing himself down to haggardness by fasting and vigils and was repeating the old errors of the secret and solitary sects from the days of the Essenes and Donatists down. But he soon discovered that within the sacred cloister, sequestered from the world, things were not as holy as they should be. He found, as Luther did after he entered the monastic orders, that the world is in the *heart* of man and not in his *surroundings*. Friction, differences, misunderstandings, imputations of evil, ambitions, the desire to rule, prevailed within the monastery, no less than without. The temptations of his inner man also did not decrease. Beissel and he did not get on well together, and Beissel was glad to permit him to go back into the world again and officiate as a Justice of the Peace, when Governor Thomas came to press the position upon Weiser in 1741.[557]

Dieren and Berkenmeyer; one daughter had been baptized by a Reformed pastor. Of the three living children born between 1730 and 1734 at Tulpehocken, no record has been found.

The two eldest children became celibates in the Ephrata community. Weiser's wife did not remain long at Ephrata, but returned with some of the children to the family farm.

[557] Note on the Character and Motives of Conrad Weiser.

Whatever the failings and sins of Conrad Weiser may have been at this period, it is hardly fair to him to attribute his return to active life to unscrupulous and dishonorable ambition. He had by natural gift a genius for practical affairs and for molding the current of events on a large scale, which found a very cramped and meager field in the little community, ruled so sternly by one who, in our judgment at least, was not a whit less ambitious in his way than Weiser was in his. Weiser had gained by bitter experience a knowledge of the selfishness and weakness that obtained within the cloister no less than without. He had a nature and training which at some time would be sure to recoil against the unworthy doctrines of life which prevailed as the fundamental principles of this monastery.

In our judgment, Weiser was no more ambitious in accepting the position of Justice of the Peace than are many of the best and noblest men to-day who accept political preferment and ecclesiastical position, when it comes to them unsought.

Muhlenberg expressly tells us (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 117) that Weiser left the

During all these five or six years Weiser had entirely dropped out of the leadership of the Lutheran church at Tulpehocken. But sensations were not absent there. To these we now turn.

Ephrata community "when they began to reject Christ." "At first they had used the '*Hallische*' writings diligently and then turned to the writings of Dippel. Then Weiser left them." Certainly the authority of Muhlenberg, even though it be partisan, is of a more sober and historical character than the naïve allegorical and almost romancing tales and reports of the *Chronicon*.

Weiser evidently — and this may have had its root in his early Indian training — was a man to be strongly touched and greatly influenced by personal friendships. (See remarks made earlier in this chapter in connection with the letter written by Peter Miller.) To the end of his life Peter Miller and other friends at the Ephrata monastery had a large share of his heart and they even set up the claim to the whole of his soul. His heart always was very wide, and open, and accommodating on all sides, so long as he did not find his friends dealing with him deceitfully. So far as we know, the reputation of Weiser for square dealing, uprightness, and particularly, veracity, is unquestionable. Both the Provincial Government and the Five Nations of Indians considered his word to be as good as his life, and abundantly sufficient. He believed in truthfulness and integrity as a fundamental principle. And he was very quick to note and to turn against those in ecclesiastical circles who made light of their own word, or who tried by ways of darkness and crookedness to gain their own secret ends. We feel that these facts should weigh in any discussion of the religious and moral character of Conrad Weiser; and that in view of the sad condition of religious affairs in his own community and of the questionable progress religion was making in the Ephrata community, it is fair to Weiser to impute honorable motives in the religious changes of his life, to this man of more than ordinary prudence. Instead of saying that he turned "religious somersaults," it would probably be nearer the truth to say that he was several times engulfed by the whirlpools and maelstroms of religious passion that swept over the early Pennsylvania territory, and only with greatest difficulty succeeded in turning back and regaining his feet again. And as for his friendliness and aid willingly given as a public man of position to religious communions other than his own and to which he was brought into local or temporary relationship, it is but fair that those who credit themselves with the same large-heartedness to-day toward other communions, should be willing to credit him with the same loyalty to his hereditary convictions, which they believe themselves to possess.



CHAPTER XVII.

The "Tulpehocken Confusion" and its Consequent Developments.

The Seventh Period, 1735–1738. *The Tulpehocken Confusion. Contest Between Leutbecker and Stoever.*

AFTER the abandonment of the Tulpehocken church by Miller and Weiser in 1735, before it was ten years old, events quickly ripened to a bitter head. Leutbecker was seated in power as pastor of the church. His party maintained the ascendency. But his opponents called the Rev. John Casper Stoever to become their pastor, and from thenceforward Stoever was a most positive element in the controversy. He was active in this struggle from 1735 to 1743.[558] Services were held on the Lord's Day alternately by Leutbecker and Stoever. Weiser says:[559] "In the congregation a great split soon arose. The minority remained true to Leutbecker; the majority adhered to Casper Stoever who now had a rather large following."

[558] Stoever still resided in New Holland in 1735. But in 1737 he began his house and mill on the Quitopahilla and removed to it in 1740.

[559] Letter of Mr. Conrad Weiser to the Rev. Mr. Brunholtz.

The two parties were in continual conflict with each other concerning the possession of the church. The strife continued for three years, from 1735 to 1738, that is, until the death of Leutbecker. The proceedings of these years are detailed to us in a small octavo pamphlet, printed in Roman letters entitled, "The Confusion of Tulpehocken."[560] The pamphlet ascribes the entrance of Stoever into this field to a case of infant baptism. It appears that "a drunken man" brought his child to Leutbecker to be baptized. When the latter refused to administer the sacrament, the parent called in Stoever from the

[560] The pamphlet was printed in 1742 as an answer to "a Protestation of the members of the Protestant Lutheran and Reformed Religions — about the bad Commotion which happened on Sunday, the 18th of July, 1742."

The original manuscript account of "The Confusion of Tulpehocken" is a part of the Record of the Lutheran Church in Tulpehocken, now in the Archives at Bethlehem. It says: "Latterly a letter printed in English, entitled 'A Protestation' [etc.] has come into our hands. In it are found several accusations against the so-called Moravian people, who they are and what they are said to have done. And since, among other things, a confusion which they are said to have caused here about Tulpehocken is referred to, we desire herewith to present plainly to those interested in the matter, The Confusion at Tulpehocken — how it began and how it has been continued." The pamphlet is in favor of Leutbecker and against Stoever. It states that Leutbecker was a minister who had been ordained in London by Court Preacher Böhme and that his preaching was so acceptable to the people that they believed that they could never get a better clergyman, and that the Reformed also agreed in their testimony to this fact: that Leutbecker removed from the parsonage to his old home at Matescha, but came at times and held service: that after a year the news of the dead pastor arrived and that then he was promptly called by the congregation and moved into the parsonage in 1734; that then it happened that a drunken man brought his child to be baptized and that Leutbecker declined to do so. The man is then said to have immediately turned to Caspar Stoever in Conestoga who a short time before had been irregularly ordained by a deceiver by the name of Schulze (whom afterward he had learned in person in Germany as a deceiver) in a tavern named Trappe. The man applied to have the child baptized. Stoever baptized the child without giving the pastor of the parish [viz. Leutbecker] information of the same. "This was the first attack and occasion for the Tulpehocken Confusion." For since "our pastor insisted upon a righteous life there soon attached themselves to the afore-mentioned man [Stoever] those who were not pleased and who wished to remain as they had been."

neighboring Conestoga region. Stoever baptized the child, and at once gained friends in the Tulpehocken.[561] These friends were not only such persons as would not submit to Leutbecker's discipline (as the pamphlet would have us believe); but some were from the party dissatified with the claims and promises of Leutbecker himself. Thus, it very naturally happened that Stoever began to come over frequently from Conestoga, as the pamphlet states, and secure more adherents for himself.

The key to the whole situation in the "Tulpehocken Confusion" is to be found in the fact that the one party [represented to-day yet by the Rieth family, and by the pamphlet under discussion, as well as by the manuscript Moravian Tulpehocken Record] regarded Leutbecker as the regular pastor of the charge, with full rights there; while Stoever was set down as an unprincipled interloper, who was not only himself lacking in pious character, but used unscrupulous methods to gain a personal hold on the parish. On the other hand Stoever claimed that he had been called thither by a large party dissatisfied with Leutbecker, whom they on their part viewed as an irregular and unordained incumbent who should be ousted at the first opportunity.

But Stoever and his party had at first only met in barns and houses, Leutbecker being still the sole preacher in the church. Stoever's next step was the attempt to secure the right to serve these people in the church itself. This was

[561] The Moravian Tulpehocken Record says that Leutbecker had another appointment to meet the man who wanted his child baptized. Satisfied that the man had not amended, he again refused. But the man now applied to *Caspar Stoever* at Conestoga. Here the pamphlet repeats the unsavory history of Shultz and proceeds to narrate how Stoever made an appointment with the man and baptized the child, without Leutbecker's knowledge or consent. This was Stoever's first interference and thus he secured adherents. For a time Stoever's party met in barns and houses.

rendered all the more easy, according to the pamphlet, because of the peaceable disposition of Leutbecker. Stoever seems to have effected an entry without battle. But when — in the quaint view of the pamphlet — a lock was placed on the church door against Stoever *in order* to "prevent the former running of cattle upon God's Acre"; it was torn off a number of times by Stoever's adherents; and at last Stoever's party crowded the Leutbecker party out of church. The latter now held services in the parsonage. This was in 1736.

It was inevitable after a series of exciting incidents like these, in which extreme measures were resorted to, that a desperate struggle for the legal possession of the church should arise. But who owned it? Not either party. Though the land had been given by the Rieths, it is necessary to recall here that when they donated the land in 1727, they could claim no right to the tract, except the right of possession. It really belonged to the Indians at that time. In 1732 or 33 it came into the possession of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. Even then the church people do not appear to have made any effort to satisfy the claim of the Proprietaries and the land was still not legally in possession of the congregation, as late as the month of September (17), 1735, when the Proprietaries sold it to John Page, who on February 17, 1736, constituted William Allen, William Webb and Samuel Powell, his attorneys, to convey and sell it in turn.

Now the original builders of the church, the Rieths, Sheafers, the Walborns,[562] almost to a man were satisfied and pleased with Leutbecker and members of his party.

[562] We find on the list of founders of the Christ Tulpehocken Church, John George Lechner, Christian Walborn, Anna Barbara Riedin, and Gottfried Fiteler; the only names out of over 150 which we recognize as having possibly had any original affiliation with the old Reith Church.

When, therefore, it became highly important to determine the matter of legal possession, these founders and original supporters of the church hied themselves to William Webb, who lived in Kennett Square, Chester County, and who was Page's attorney for the whole tract. They received a document dated January 22, 1735, from Page in which Leutbecker was granted the exclusive right to the church. But this did not allay the confusion in the congregation, and Webb himself was obliged to come on to the Tulpehocken and examine into the difficulties later in the season. As a result of this examination he on September 13, 1735, authorized and empowered Leonhard Rieth, Frederick Sheafer, Michael Rieth and Michael Sheafer or any of them to keep in possession the keys of the church, and that no one was to molest or disturb "Casper Leibbecker, now the minister in the exercise of his duty," and that the house "shall be kept and prepared for the use and services of the religious society of the Lutherans, among whom Casper Leibbecker is now the minister."[563]

[563] We present herewith a copy of the document, obtained for us by Rev. J. W. Early:

"POWER OF ATTORNEY IN THE LITHBECKER AND STIEVER DIFFICULTIES AT THE REED'S CHURCH, 1736."

"I, Wm Webb of Kennett, in Chester county, lawful Attorney of John Page Genl. of the city of London do hereby authorize and empower Leonard Reed, Frederic Schaeffer, Michael Reed and Michael Schaeffer, or any one of them of Tulpehocken in my stead and place and in my absence to keep in possession the key of the church and three acres of ground for the free use, service of religiously assembling to serve God at such days and times as may be by the minister and persons above mentioned thought proper, with free access, for all persons behaving peaceably when there assembled, noways molesting or disturbing Casper Lithbecker, now the minister, in the exercise of his duty, constituted, appointed and approved of by the church wardens and congregation, or such other as the church wardens and the congregation shall hereafter approve, with the allowance of their minister which the house shall be kept and prepared for the use and service of the religious society of the Lutherans amongst whom Casper Lithbecker is now the minister, and also free

But Stoever, who seems to have had a large majority of members, would not abide by this decision, for he was now enjoined from using the church by a justice's injunction. This was in 1736.

Squire Webb probably found it safe to defer somewhat to the influences which powerful members of Stoever's party were able to bring to bear upon him. Before long he proposed a compromise and desired to confer with both Leutbecker and Stoever. Stoever was not willing. He is said to have become rude and violent and departed in anger. And as yet there was no deed. Neither party had actually purchased the property.

Webb had the church locked by the trustees. It did not remain closed. Stoever's people pushed a girl in through the window, and she and another girl who remained outside now sawed a hole in the wooden wall downwards from the window. Here Stoever's friends entered and were holding services — Preparatory services and communion at that! according to the Moravian Tulpehocken Record — when the others came. For Stoever's adherents had been allowed to hold service there once every four weeks. The rest of the time the others should have the right of service. It was with this arrangement that

liberty for the burial of all persons disposed to lay their dead within the said ground until such time or times as further orders shall be given by the said John Page or his lawful attorney constituted & approved.

"In witness whereof I, the above said Wm Webb, have hereunto set my hand this 13 day of Sept. 1736.

"WM. WEBB.

"I also further direct, that if any person or persons shall hereafter presume to molest the minister Lithbecker now approved or hereafter to be approved by the church wardens, or their successors or the congregation in the discharge of his duty as also to the prejudice of the church, Burying Ground, or anything thereunto belonging, shall be proceeded against according to law, therefore it is desired that all persons may take notice and behave themselves peaceably to avoid further trouble.

"WM. WEBB."

the Stoever party was dissatisfied. The bitterness at last became so great that at night Leutbecker's windows were broken. His life was not safe, and his friends kept nocturnal watch over him. Finally, for safety, he was obliged to leave the parsonage, and in 1738 died[564] in George Lescher's house, under this persecution. Now his friends were without a pastor, but they set up a shoemaker as school-master.

For four years Stoever continued to conduct his services, and appeared to have the advantage, as the Rieth party were now without a minister. But in 1740 the Moravians made their appearance on the scene, as we shall see, and as friends of the Leutbecker-Rieth party and as enemies of Stoever. They supplied the congregation with pastors. Again the conflict between the two parties became still more intense and bitter.

All this time the property was not in the legal ownership of either party, but on May 15, 1742, Webb conveyed the property by a deed of that date to Michael Sheafer, Frederick Sheafer, Leonhard Rieth, Michael Rieth, George Lesch and Herman Walborn, all of Tulpehocken Creek, for the stipulated sum of £4, 17s. This placed the Leutbecker or Moravian party in control of the church and shut out the Stoever party for once and all. The next year the ousted party founded the Christ Church.

The whole conflict of which the Tulpehocken was the center was the greatest disaster that could have befallen the religious interests of the region. "Its influence was felt for miles and miles beyond, particularly to the north, the northeast and the northwest, and continued with more

[564] "At last Leutbecker died. Before his death the wearing of the priest's cap became rather heavy for him. He also had again sought my friendship before his end and found it."—Letter of Conrad Weiser to Brunholtz.

or less vehemence during the whole existence of the first church."[565]

The Eighth Period. *The First Seed of Moravianism, 1738–1741. The Leutbecker Party Perplexed and Hopeless, 1738–1740.*

Who should preach poor Leutbecker's funeral sermon? Certainly not his most bitter enemy, Casper Stoever; nor that pillar of Reformed orthodoxy, John Philip Boehm.[566]

[565] *Manuscript Sketch* of the Rev. J. W. Early.

[566] THE REFORMED IN TULPEHOCKEN.

The Reformed congregation in Tulpehocken began its development at this time, and built itself a church (1738). The Reformed had doubtless worshipped in the Rieth church from 1727 to 1738. But after John Peter Miller forsook them in 1734, and the population increased in 1735, and after Webb's first decision in 1736, they evidently wearied of the strife in the old church and withdrew, whether first to the Leinbach's (as Professor Hinke demonstrates) or to the Host's or elsewhere. The Rieth's has ever been Lutheran, as was the Little Tulpehocken, Stoever's original "Tulpehocken," for about a century. Leinbach's (Trinity) has always been Reformed, and the Host was so until 1855. The distance between the Little Tulpehocken and Rieth's is almost exactly the same as that between Host and Trinity — viz., about six miles. (Rev. J. Early.)

Already in October, 1734, Boehm "informed the Synods that he expected to restore Tulpehocken soon to its former order" (Professor Hinke). He came to them twice a year and held services. "Since Miller has become such a disgrace to us, I visit them according to their desire once every half year and administer the communion to them" (*Letter of Boehm* in 1739 to the Classis, quoted by Professor Hinke). If Boehm took charge in 1735, he was disturbed in 1736 and later by the visits of the youthful preacher Goetschy. In 1737 Boehm's communion lists begin and he reports 103 communicants (Professor Hinke). In 1738 a new church was built. "On the 19th and 22d of last October" [1738], Boehm reports "there communed at two places 134 people." He says further: "At Tulpehocken a cemetery has been laid out, but not in the centre, and a little log church has been built on it, but it is not well adapted for worship" (Professor Hinke).

In 1739 Boehm proposed to organize Quitopahila, Swatara and Tulpehocken into one charge, and asked Classis to send them a minister. In 1740 Quitopahila agreed to unite with the two Tulpehocken places. In 1740 Boehm got the Tulpehocken elders and deacons to pledge £15 and 50 bushels of oats towards a minister's salary (Professor Hinke).

In 1741 B. Rieger created a disturbance in the Reformed church, and in 1742-1744 Jacob Lischy, whom we have already met, was active in the Tulpe-

Who should it be? Whither should the helpless party turn for consolation? To Bishop Spangenberg! It was no other than the forerunner of Count Zinzendorf who preached Leutbecker's funeral sermon. Spangenberg had been in Pennsylvania for about two years previous to this time, and "visited repeatedly in Tulpehocken,"[567] until his departure

hocken. Boehm writes (May 19, 1743): "The same [Lischy] pretended at Tulpehocken this spring in the presence of two Reformed elders to be a Reformed minister from Switzerland, and assured them that he had nothing to do with Zinzendorf or the Moravian doctrines, but had come to this country last summer with a merchant ship. They were induced by his smooth words to appoint a time for a congregational meeting in order to accept him if the other members would be satisfied. But when they came together some knew him better, that he was a true Moravian and sent him away."

In 1743, Boehm reports as follows: "1743, May 6th, at Tulpehocken in the new church 68 men and 59 women communed.

"May 8th, ditto, in the old church 66 men and 63 women communed.

"Sept. 23 at Tulpehocken in the new church 38 men and 57 women communed.

"Sept. 25, ditto, in the old church 62 men and 64 women communed.

"There were also 9 catechumens confirmed in May and 7 in September.

"[Note]—The old church is at present called the new, because the congregation there has built a new church this year."

In July, 1744, Boehm reports: "The one congregation bought several years ago one hundred acres of land and built a little church upon it, which is now too small for them. In answer to my inquiry I heard that they still have thirty pounds of debt on church and land.

"The other congregation at Tulpehocken has received as a gift a small tract of land, consisting of four acres, and has erected upon it a large, beautiful and well-built frame church. I heard when I was with them the last time and held the first services and Lord's Supper in it (May 6th, 1743) that they have about sixty pounds of debt, although no chairs and benches were as yet in it. These two steadfast congregations are indeed worthy of getting an honest and faithful pastor. In the first congregation they have a faithful reader and schoolmaster, Franciscus Layenberger, who has been thus far a true watchman against the sects. In the second congregation one of the elders is the reader, and thus they continue in the fear of God, living in good hopes that God will graciously help them."

In 1745-46, Rev. C. L. Schnorr was pastor, but, after fighting with Christopher Sauer, left the region. On September 25, 1746, "Schlatter, Weiss and Boehm were at Tulpehocken. Schlatter preached to an audience of more than 600 persons, and administered the Lord's supper to more than 100 communicants. After the services the people pledged themselves to give fifty pounds to a minister's salary." (Professor Hinke.) In 1748 Rev. D. Bartholomaeus settled here as their first resident pastor.

[567] Reichel, p. 71.

for Europe in 1739. He was in Tulpehocken shortly before the death of pastor Leutbecker, and he officiated at the funeral. He had gained a hold on the heart of George Loesch. In Loesch's house "he held many an edifying and instructive meeting. Among the Mennonites and Tunkers, also, he had many friends and acquaintances."[568] Thus Stoever who then lived at Conestoga, preached in the church once in four weeks; while Spangenberg held at least occasional meetings for the anti-Stoever party in the house of George Loesch. Now that Leutbecker was dead, Conrad Weiser began to take a more active part in the affairs of the congregation, with the desire of a peacemaker. He had become reconciled to Leutbecker before the latter's death.[569] Weiser says: "After his death I again had intercourse with both parties, whose earnest desire now was that they might again be able to unite." Though Spangenberg left America in 1739, in 1740 Andrew Eschenbach arrived. Eschenbach had settled not far off in Oley, and was an eloquent speaker. Eschenbach landed in Pennsylvania in October, 1740, and visited the Tulpehocken congregation from time to time,[570] exercising an influence in the church strife there. Thus the two years 1739 and 1740 dragged slowly away. The Leutbecker party were preplexed and hopeless, except for the occasional encouragement afforded by the newly introduced Moravian influences. Stoever, however, on the other hand, also appears to have confined himself to monthly ministrations.

1741, A Quiet Year.

After emerging from the first whirlpool of the Tulpehocken Confusion, it is a wonder that Lutheranism sur-

[568] Reichel, p. 71.

[569] Leutbecker "had again sought my friendship before his end and found it."—Weiser's *Letter to Brunnholtz.*

[570] *Memoirs of Moravian Church*, p. 79.

vived. Not only had the Anabaptist revival at Ephrata left the black traces of conflagration upon this field, Conrad Weiser himself removing temporarily to the banks of the Cocalico and subsequently becoming the leader of an anti-church movement in the Tulpehocken; but the hopeless Leutbecker party were now looking to Bethlehem as their only hope; while the fierce and bitter Stoever party had many a burden to carry in matters of outward life and character. Nevertheless there was now some sign of an attempt to knit together the parted strands. Weiser, as we have seen, had made his peace with Leutbecker in 1738. He had met Spangenberg as early as 1736 among the Schwenckfelders at Towamensing. Here Weiser had awakened in Spangenberg an interest in the Christianizing of the Indians, and Spangenberg had awakened in Weiser an interest in the Moravians, as being a devoted class of pietistic Lutherans. Not knowing that the Moravians were entirely out of connection with the Lutherans at Halle, Weiser was now again thinking of settling the Tulpehocken trouble by securing a good minister from Halle, through the instrumentality of the Moravians.

Meantime Stoever preached during the year 1741 as heretofore, and Eschenbach came over, occasionally at least, and kept up the bond of sympathy with the Leutbecker party, and with Weiser, which had been established by Spangenberg.

Kurtz in his diary[571] sums up this whole period in the following words: "Leutbecker died in the midst of great persecution. But his party did not wish to hold to Stoever and therefore remained for a time without a preacher, until at last Count Zinzendorf, the great reformer, came to Pennsylvania."

[571] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 201.

The Ninth Period. The Great Struggle with Moravianism. 1742.

Zinzendorf Comes.	February, 1742.
Büttner Bursts the Hopes for Unity.	March, 1742.
Struggle for the Property.	May, 1742.
Stoever Deposed.	June, 1742.
Meurer Placed in Charge.	September, 1742.
Kraft Visits the Region.	November, 1742.

Weiser Brings Zinzendorf as a Halle Lutheran to the Tulpehocken. Feb. 25, 1742.

Zinzendorf himself arrived in this Western World late in 1741, and in 1742 Weiser met him personally for the first time at the first "Conference." In Reichel's *History* Weiser's name heads the list of the delegates, as representing the Lutheran Church. Weiser himself says:[572]

"I was at the first Conference at Germantown from the beginning, but not to the end; and at the Conference in Oley not from the beginning, but to the end. * * * I was not there as a magistrate. * * * I also was present entirely without any invitation and without having been sent for but from my own curiosity as a private person. Nor was there any other magistrate present."

Speaking of his mention of the affairs in the Tulpehocken to Zinzendorf, Weiser proceeds as follows:

"Those [in the congregation] with the best insight wished that they might receive a good preacher from Halle. I promised to give them all the help in my power. Finally the Count came into the country whom I looked upon as such a one [a good preacher from Halle], and he also related much that was good of Halle, and that he had studied there. In particular he praised to me the sainted Prof. Francke. (Comp. Muhlenberg, *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 363.)

"I thought now the time had come to help the congregation at Tulpehocken and opened the matter with the Count and asked him if he did not know how to bring a preacher from Halle hither. He saw no difficulty whatever in this, since, as he stated, he was in correspondence with the men of Halle. He journeyed with me from the Oley Conference to Tulpehocken in order to see the congregation itself. He preached the following Sunday in the Lutheran Church, yet not with any too large attendance."

These are Weiser's words. Kurtz[573] tells us just what Zinzendorf said on that day. He writes as follows:

[572] *Letter to Brunnholtz.* While here, on Aug. 3, Zinzendorf, at Weiser's, had a meeting with the Iroquois.

[573] Diary, *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 201.

"And since he [Zinzendorf] gave himself out as a Lutheran preacher, he was called to the Tulpehocken. He came and preached on the Second Article [of Luther's Catechism] and read out that he was a good Lutheran. He also said a number of times 'Is not that Lutheran,' and since he stated that he was acquainted with the Fathers in Halle, was in correspondence with them, etc., a call was entrusted to him to call a preacher from Halle for this congregation. He promised to attend to it, and incidentally offered one of his Brethren until such a preacher should come."

Weiser says: "He proposed Gottlieb Büttner, at least for a time, as long as he should please the people, or possibly until some one out of Germany could be brought over." Büttner had just been ordained by Zinzendorf at the Conference at Oley. It was agreed that he was to serve the congregation without compensation, and until Zinzendorf could bring over a pastor from Europe. Before Zinzendorf said farewell to Weiser at the Tulpehocken, a regular call for a pastor was made out and handed to Zinzendorf, which he was to forward to Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen and to Francke at Halle, with whom he professed to be most intimately acquainted.

The Pastorate of Büttner. 1742.

At last the anti-Stoever Lutherans had an ordained pastor, whose chief business it was, in Weiser's view, to unite the whole parish. Leutbecker's friends now became Büttner's parishioners. "They informed the Stiever party that they now had another pastor and that still they might hold services every fourth Sunday. Büttner preached his introductory sermon on Estomihi Sunday, and urged them to live peaceably. They told him that he did not know Stiever."[574] This was in February, 1742. And before six weeks had passed away, the new pastor and peace-bearer was up in arms and in hot and heavy pursuit of his antagonist Stoever. He was actually trying to drive Stoever out of the field.[575] Under date of April 17, 1742, he wrote a letter

[574] From *Tulpehocken Lutheran Church Record* in Archives at Bethlehem. Translated by Rev. J. W. Early.

[575] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 192.

to Stoever, and addressed him the questions, Who then made him to be a Lutheran clergyman, How he could properly prove that he had taken the examination necessary for such a clergyman, Why he could boast of a regular ordination, Where and by whom was he ordained, Did he who ordained him have the right to do it, Yes, was he ordained himself, Whence has he the right to instal a church council?[576] This naturally did not tend to the unification of the parish. And in six weeks more the poor peace preacher had reached the end of his policy. "As the disturbance continued to increase Büttner already on May 30 resigned, and left the same day."[577]

The Struggle for the Property. 1742.

The resignation of Büttner doubtless was chiefly due to his entire failure to unite the parish. Stoever's party, in fact, was actually gaining in size through the increasing number of new settlers. But the resignation was hastened by the commission of what appeared to many as a piece of legal manœuvering if not of actual trickery, on the side of Büttner's adherents. It will be remembered that both parties claimed the right to the church, although Squire Webb promised it to Büttner's people, who however were to allow pastor Stoever to preach there every fourth Sunday.

At this juncture it was Weiser himself, as the adviser of Büttner's people (having confidence in his new friend Zinzendorf), who counselled the Büttner party to quickly get possession of the deed for the church land which had been promised them. So they hastened to Squire Webb, and on the fifteenth of May Webb conveyed the land and made out the deed in the names of the Büttner party. It must be said that these men who now received the deed had

[576] *Hall. Nachrr.* I., 192.

[577] *Tulpehocken Lutheran Record*, in Bethlehem Archives.

some right to feel that they were actually entitled to the real possession of the property. For the Büttner party, including the Reiths and others, were, almost to a man, the ones who had originally organized and built the church in 1727.

However, there was another piece of sharp dealing which soon burst upon the little community as a great sensation. It was discovered that the men who had gone to Squire Webb as the friends of Büttner, and had thus stolen the march on the Stoever party by securing the deed, had had the deed made out to themselves as owners and not as trustees of the property. This so incensed the opposite side that when Zinzendorf visited the region in August or September of 1742, he was threatened with bodily violence. The men who secured the deed, in order to set themselves right, now explained in a formal way that when the deed was being made out for them, they bore witness that they were only to be looked on as trustees of the same. To prove this they showed this Declaration of Trust which was still in existence.[578] Unfortunately for them it proved

[578] We here reproduce in print for the first time, so far as we know, the Document "Species Facti," which testifies to this matter, and also to some very interesting later developments in the Moravian Tulpehocken church.

DOCUMENT MARKED "SPECIES FACTI DIE KIRCHE IN TULPEHOCKEN BETRE."

On the 15 day of May 1742 Michael Schaeffer, Friedrich Schaeffer, Leonhard Rieth, Michael Rieth, George Loesch and Hermanus Walborn purchased of Wm Allen, Wm. Webb and Samuel Powel jr. [Attornies of Mr John Page of Austin Fryars London Gentleman] a Tract of Land being part of the Manor of Plumton lying on Tulpehocken Creek in the County of Lancaster; whereon they had before built a Loghouse for a church by the permission of the same Wm Webb.

A Declaration was signed & sealed on the 15th day of April 1743, by the said Michael Schaeffer, Friedrick Schaeffer, Leonhard Rieth, Michael Rieth, Georg Loesch and Hermanus Walborn setting forth, that though the said Land was purchased in their own Names and tho their Heirs, according to the Custom of the Country, yet they were altogether before agreed that it should be for the Use of the Poor and for a burying Ground of that very church, whereof

just what they did not wish. It bears the date of the deed, May 15, 1742.[579] It says that they have bought the land with a clear understanding that it shall be for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of the Tulpehocken, namely, for that congregation of which J. Philip Mäurer is the present preacher. But as a matter

John Philip Meurer was then Minister and Hermanus Walborn and Caspar Rieth wardens, and that they purchased the said Lands as Trustees for the said Church and renounced any Right or Property therein each for themselves and their Heirs respectively. — This Declaration was executed by all the said Trustees excepted George Loesch in Presence of Conrad Weisser Esq. one of Majesties Justices of the Piece [Peace], and Loesch afterwards executed the same.

The Church aforesaid being in a ruinous Condition the Lutheran Congregation of Tulpehocken aforesaid unanimously agreed the 27th Febr. 1745 to build a new church on the Land above mentioned and the Summer following it was erected and finished at the charge of the whole Congregation and on the first Advent Sunday 'twas consecrated according to the Usage of the Lutheran Religion, several Lutheran Ministers being present.

Since the Time of the aforesaid Purchase there has not any Question been moved concerning the Right of Possession of the Premises until the Month of January 1747, when it happened that one of the Congregation suddenly died and Kurtz a strange Minister from Hall as it is said, who had never preached there before, offered himself to preach the deceased Funeral-Sermon ; whose Relations requested of the Church wardens the Key for that Purpose ; but they as well as the Minister incumbent, Johannes Brucker, suspecting some clandestine Design, both refused the Key and Admittance into the Church.

After this Fredrich Schaeffer (one of the Purchasers to the said Deed of Trust) and his son Johannes both being of the Lutheran congregation of Tulpehockin aforesaid and Contributors to the Building of the Church were discontented and formed a Party unto whom adhered certain others, who althou' they had not the least Interest or Connexion with the Congregation as of the same Parish pretend a Right to the Church or Land belonging to it asserting that the present Possessors thereof are not Lutherans.

And these Men with there [their] Adherents and the Aid or Council [Counsel] of M. Justice Weisser took the Opporty (when the aforesaid Minister and Schoolmaster Johannes Brucker had left his charge and before a Successor was appointed) to break into the Schoolhouse at Tulpehockin aforesaid and having so taken Possession they leased it to a Tenant (as 'tis said) for 5 shillings a year.—It's moreover said they have also appointed a new set of Trustees for the said Church and Schoolhouse. They have also got Possession of the Church by a forcible Entry, the Wardens of the said Congregation being present and protesting publicly against it.

[579] Note that *Species Facti* declares the date to be April 15, 1743.

of fact Mäurer was not yet in Pennsylvania in May, he having arrived only on the 21st of June, and having been appointed pastor by Zinzendorf in Tulpehocken in September!

John Casper Stoever Deposed, June, 1742.

Following hard upon this visit to Webb (May 15, 1742), Zinzendorf held a Religious Conference of the congregation of God in the Spirit in Philadelphia on June 3, at which Büttner of Tulpehocken was present. Here and

Now as an Act has been maid in this Province, which relates to the case beforementioned, it may be of Service to insert a Part thereof; 'tis entitled: An Act for the enabling Religious Societies of Protestants within this Province to purchase Lands for burying Ground, Churches, Houses for Worship, Schools etc.

"Whereas some Trustees or their Heirs having afterwards changed their Opinions and joined themselves to other Religious Societys of a different Persvasion from the People, by whom the said Persons were at first intrusted and upon Pretext of their having the Fee-simple of the Lands so purchased in their Names, vested in them, have contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of the first Grant or Gift, attempted (by granting away the said Lands, House of religious worship and burying Grounds) to deprive the Society of People in Possession of the same of the Right & Use of the said House of Worship, and Burying Grounds, to the great Disquiet and Uneasiness of many of the good People of this Province.—

"BE IT INACTED—That all Sales, Gifts or Grants made of any Lands or Tenements within the Province of Pennsylvania to any Person or Persons in Trust, for Scites of Churches, Houses of Religious Worship, Schools, Alms Houses and for Burying Grounds, or for any of them shall be and *are hereby ratified* and confirmed to the Person or Persons, to whom the same were sold, given or granted their Heirs and Assigns, in Trust nevertheless, and for the use of the respective Religious Societys for whose use the same were at first sold, given, granted or purchased according to the true Intent and Meaning of such Gifts or Grants—and no other.

"It is therefore asked

"1st. Whither the said Fredrich and Johannes Schaeffer and their Adherents Proceedings are not a Breach of the Peace and a riotous Trespass?

"2d. How the right Possessors of the said Lands etc may proceed in order to have their Property and to prevent such wicked Practices for the future?"

[This "Statement of Fact," is given just as found. It is evidently the lawyers brief drawn up in their suit to recover the Property. It has evidently escaped him and them that it is a two-edged sword, in that it also proves that it was Lutheran property and they were admittedly not Lutherans.—J. W. Early.]

now Zinzendorf and Büttner, with Pyrläus and Bryzelius formed themselves into a "Consistory of the Lutheran Church of Pennsylvania," and added another to the numerous Tulpehocken sensations by deposing John Casper Stoever from the office of the holy ministry.[580]

The Tulpehocken Church Recalls Büttner.

The sunny days of June and July passed away, and on the 11th of August, 1742, "The Deacons of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Tulpehocken" are able to record in their Church Book that their former pastor Büttner was back again in triumph, that Stoever was shut out from the church and was now preaching in a Reformed Church in the neighborhood. The following is what they say:[581]

"We, the deacons called the congregation together and it was unanimously resolved to recall Büttner and notice was served on Stiever and his party, that if they would keep the peace they might still use every fourth Sunday * * * and that sometime before we had secured right and title to the church, parsonage and land by purchase. If Stiever and his party did not accept our offer we would endeavor to put an end to these disturbances by an appeal to the civil authorities.

"A few days after we received word from our pastor, Büttner, that by the advice of other Evangelical ministers [*i. e.*, Zinzendorf, Pyrlaeus, and Bryzelius], he had again accepted the call and would come as soon as possible. We continued our services of singing, prayer and reading [of sermons] until after the lapse of five weeks our pastor again entered upon his duties. In the meanwhile we did not allow Stiever to preach. He preaches, as we hear, in a Reformed church, to which we have nothing to say.

"This then is the origin and progress of the unhappy Confusion here, continuing for years, through which indescribable sins have been brought about and committed. This is not done for the purpose of stirring up anew these ancient things, but because they have already been discussed in the publication spoken of, to make an additional statement of the facts of the case. All that is here stated can be substantiated, if necessary, as actual facts, partly by written proofs and partly by the testimony of living witnesses in town and country."

"The Deacons of the Evangelical Lutheran Cong. in Tulpehocken, *Aug. 11, 1742.*"

[580] We have the evidence of the *Tulpehocken Lutheran Church Record* at Bethlehem that this was done before and not after the arrival of Mäurer.

[581] *Tulpehocken Lutheran Church Record* in Bethlehem Archives. Translation by the Rev. J. W. Early.

The Church Record continues:

"July 12, 1742. The above named pastor Gottlob Büttner, whom we called as our regular pastor arrived safely from Bethlehem. He preached the first time July 4, and after the sermon he announced to the congregation that Casper Stiever had been deposed in the Religious Conference of the Congregation of God, held in the Spirit, in Philadelphia, June 3d, at which various Lutheran ministers were present; and that we desired to have nothing to do with him because people of that kind are a disgrace to the ministerial office. Our above-named pastor also brought a brother along from the congregation at Bethlehem, named John Philip Meurer, who is to take charge of the school for boys, instructing them in reading, writing, and in the Christian religion.

"The school was opened July 5th. * * *

"Aug. 9. The Deacons and several others of the congregation came to our pastor and desired that he should administer the Lord's Supper. He replied that whenever he found the [proper] persons in the congregation, he would most cheerfully administer it. But for the present he could see no solution." He also explained how he expected to proceed with regard to infant baptisms and marriages. It was also decided that there should be preaching on Sunday in the afternoon and on Wednesday in the forenoon. "Finally the deacons and the rest of the men wished to fix the salary for their pastor and their schoolmaster. But both replied that they would accept no salary, but that they would support themselves by the labor of their hands as did the apostle Paul, and that if men were converted by the labors of a servant of Christ, that would be sufficient reward.

"15th Aug. The first Sunday afternoon service was held by our pastor Gottlob Büttner and on the 18th of Aug. the first Wednesday afternoon service."

The Pastorate of Meurer, September, 15, 1742.

"But the split in the congregation was not healed," says Conrad Weiser.

"At last the Count demanded Büttner back and prescribed one of his people, Philip Meurer, who before that time had served as schoolmaster, as the Lutheran pastor here. * * * At that time I had been travelling among the Indians and knew nothing of this exchange, until it was told me on my return.

"This Philip had orders from the Count to leave all untouched in teaching and ceremonies, and continue as it had been in Leutbecker's time, among the same little flock who had followed Leutbecker. The majority ranged themselves with Caspar Stoever, until at last only several

families remained over. But these latter capitulated to the so-called Moravians as follows, that they would be Lutheran as before in all points, that on the other hand the congregation at Bethlehem should give them a preacher who would preach for nothing, and thus it remains to this day."

The Moravian Lutheran Tulpehocken Record at Bethlehem under date of September 13, 1742, tells us: "Our pastor [Büttner] was sent to the heathen for a time. Andrew Eschenbach was placed here as his substitute. But as, contrary to all expectation, the Indian work was very much enlarged and our pastor could not return to us again, * * * and the above named Andrew Eschenbach also could not remain with us, the above named John Phil. Meurer, who had charge of the school hitherto here, upon request of the Deacons and the congregation was made our pastor by written ordination of his Reverence Sept. 15, 1742, and afterwards by the laying on of hands publicly in the church Nov. 29, by John Christopher Pyrlaeus, *pastorem adjunctum*, in Philadelphia by direction of his Reverence, H. V. Thuernstein, hitherto the Inspector of the Ev. Lutheran Church (Religion) in Pennsylvania."

The Record continues:

"Nov. 12. The night school was held for the first time, three times a week, viz. Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

"Nov. 18. His Reverence, H. V. Thuernstein, demands of our pastor Phil. Jac. Meurer, a declaration as to the manner in which he expects to conduct his Lutheran pastorate. He explained himself in all points as being willing to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper, and in other matters to proceed according to the customs of the Ev. Luth. Church [Religion]. His Rev. as inspector of the Luth. Church [Religion] in Penn. declared himself fully satisfied.

"Nov. 24. His Rev. H. V. T. preached in our church on the words Matt. 25: 6, 'At Midnight,' etc. After the sermon the deacons were installed to remain in their office and not to be removed except for weighty reasons.

"Nov. 6. A schoolmaster, of the name of Joh. Geo. Harden, together with his wife, was sent to us by the congregation at Bethlehem through Rev. H. V. Th. They are to teach the boys' as well as the girls' school.

"Dec. 20. The Rev. H. V. Thuerstein, together with his companions, took his departure for Europe."

That this installation of Meurer was not an unimportant event we learn from Reichel, who says:[582]

"John Philip Meurer was nominated by Zinzendorf as minister of this congregation, and as such ordained December 9, at Tulpehocken.

"Thereupon both these Lutheran congregations acknowledged Zinzendorf not only as a Lutheran minister, but as the Superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, investing him for the time with the right of installing and recalling ministers according to his judgment.

"But though he wished to be considered a Lutheran minister only, he was a man of too liberal principles to suffer himself to be restrained in serving his Lord and Master in any way, and therefore he cheerfully proclaimed the Gospel of Christ, the crucified Redeemer of the world, whenever and wherever opportunity offered."

A New Sensation in November.

The valley of the Tulpehocken had seen a great deal of excitement for one year. A successor to Leutbecker had been installed. Though intending to breathe a spirit of peace, he had quickly closed in on his antagonist. He resigned. A few weeks later he had secured the deposition of Stoever by an authority which Stoever did not recognize. He then came back and was reinstated. Then he was removed, and Meurer was ordained. And, now before Zinzendorf's hand was laid on Meurer's head, there is a new stir in the Tulpehocken. On the fifth of November there appeared in that region an elderly and unknown clergyman, with smooth ways and an air of authority. His name was Valentine Kraft.[583] He had only arrived in Philadelphia from Germany in the month of August. Kraft's ostensible purpose was to secure harmony between all the parties and pastors. He came as the friend of Stoever, for Stoever's violent temperament had alienated a number of his adherents.[584]

[582] *Early History of the Moravians*, p. 115.

[583] For Biography of Kraft see Chapter XV.

[584] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 304.

It has been thought that Kraft's secret intention was to form a third party of his own. This may be put in a different way, by saying that he hoped to put an end to contention by uniting all parties around himself. Meurer has left us a report of this attempt, which he sent in "to the Consistory at Philadelphia." According to this report Stoever had again been employed by his congregation for one year. "Kraft had spoken good words for him, namely, that Stoever had promised to turn a new leaf, that he was sorry for much that he had done, etc., for severe complaints were made against Stoever. Both earlier charges and also those printed in the *Tulpehocken Confusion* testified against him. Stoever assented to some of the charges, but said that Leutbecker had never been ordained, but that he himself had not been ordained in a tavern, but in a barn. There was much said back and forth between Kraft, Stoever and Meurer, and some representatives of the parties. Stoever's friends also said that they would build a church as they had been shut out from the old one. The whole interview led to no result.[585]

It should be remembered that the Moravian-Lutherans no longer suffered Stoever's party to use the church. By securing the deed or certificate of purchase, they compelled Stoever's party, which was the most numerous, to retire.[586]

The Tenth Period, 1743. *The End of the Stoever-Rieth Struggle, and the Rise of Christ Church. The Moravian Lutherans under Meurer.*

On the fourteenth of January the whole Moravian Lutheran congregation assembled. The twenty-four male

[585] See Fresenius' *Bewährte Nachrr.*, III., 548. *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 193.

[586] See Kurtz's Diary, *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 201.

members held a love-feast all by themselves. The next day the women were together alone and held a love-feast. There were about thirty-eight of them. On the following day the unmarried men and women held a love-feast, each sex separately. The unmarried numbered thirteen males and sixteen females.

"Upon these occasions there was much edifying conversation. The three love-feasts were furnished by our brother Michael Schaeffer who resides here in Tulpehocken. On the sixteenth the single persons in the congregation were examined the first time on Luther's Catechism." [587]

But by April the love-feasts of the congregation could hardly be held with the same serenity. New clouds loomed up on the horizon. The shut out party of Stoever were not only becoming stronger every day, but they had determined to found an entirely new congregation.

"The assertion of the Moravian party, namely, that they were the true Lutherans, was believed less and less and so many of the Lutherans were not willing to place themselves under the Moravian government. Although the Moravians offered all their service without any pecuniary consideration, the opponents of Mäurer's party became so strong that as they were not able to bring the existing church within their power, they resolved to build a church for themselves." [588]

We have come across what seems to be a final effort on the part of the Moravian Lutheran party in possession of the Rieth's church to stem the rising tide against them. A meeting of the congregation was held, perhaps under the inspiration of Conrad Weiser and apparently an offer was thrown out for the last time, although too late, to open the church building to all parties. The record in the Tulpehocken Lutheran Church Book reads as follows:

"Apr. 5.—A congregational meeting with Conrad Weiser present as a Justice.—It was resolved, & reduced to writing that our church together with the land thereto belonging shall be for the use & benefit of all."

Offsetting the beginning of the new Lutheran Church on May 12, of which we shall speak a little later on, a

[587] *Tulpehocken Lutheran Church Records.* Translation by Rev. J. W. Early.

[588] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 304.

Moravian synod was held at Millbach on June 8, and at Michael Schaeffer's house on June 9. The wide spreading of the kingdom of Christ and the truth of the Gospel in Pennsylvania was the theme of the synod.

Things were quiet during the summer, but toward the end of September the schoolmaster, George Harden, and his wife, left Tulpehocken and returned to Bethlehem. Hereafter Pastor Meurer was to do the teaching himself. But on the first of October Meurer left for Cohensy and did not return until December 12, John Bernhart Rahner, the pastor at Philadelphia, meantime taking his place. Meurer's days were numbered. This, in fact, finished his career. He had failed in holding the Lutherans to the Rieth's church and in preventing the rise of another organization. He preached his farewell sermon from Acts 20:20 on January 29, 1744. Meantime schoolmaster George Nicke arrived from Bethlehem to take charge of the spiritual interests of the little congregation.

The Rise of Christ Church, 1743.

The year 1742 decided sharply that the old school Lutherans were cut off from the Rieth church. "One party shut the other out, until at last Stoever's people were compelled to look for a church plot of their own" (Kurtz's Diary). Meanwhile the country was swarming with them. Not only what is now Berks, but Lebanon and north Lancaster counties were filling up with immigrants. Stoever himself had removed to Lebanon County in 1740. His adherents were very numerous. Events developed rapidly. Three men, Sebastian Fischer, Christian Lauer and George Unrah each offered five acres of adjoining land voluntarily as a gift for a new church building. Lutherans throughout the surrounding country assumed the responsi-



THE TWO CHURCHES OF THE TULPEHOCKEN.

CHRIST LUTHERAN CHURCH: FIRST BUILDING 1743; SECOND BUILDING (SHOWN ABOVE) 1786.

KEITH LUTHERAN CHURCH: FIRST BUILDING 1727; SECOND BUILDING 1744; THIRD BUILDING (SHOWN ABOVE) 1837.

bility of the cost of erecting the building. Among those subscribing to the principles of the new congregation were such men as George Steitz, afterward the founder of Lebanon, and John Peter Kucher on the west; residents of Womelsdorf on the east, and members of Stoever's Brickerville congregation on the south. Weiser's name is absent.

The statement they made of their position is the following:

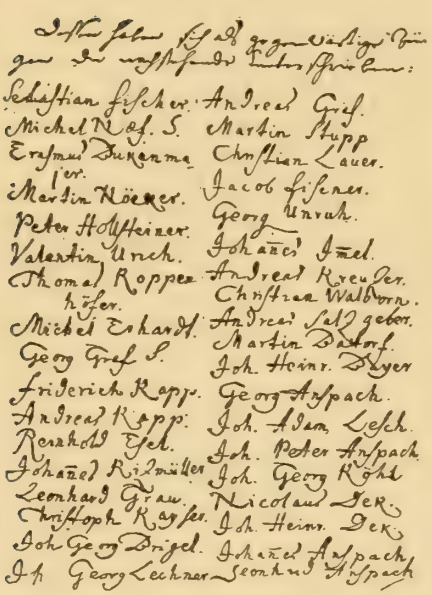
"After the Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Tulpehocken had by God's blessing grown considerably and had also, on land secured for Lutheran services near the mill where Mill Creek flows into the Tulpehocken, erected a church built of wood, and secured the vessels for Baptism and the Lord's Supper, etc., the land and Church Building passed unexpectedly into the hands of the Moravian brethren. The Evangelical Lutheran Congregation was thus obliged to look for another place for a new church, for which purpose Sebastian Fischer, Christian Lauer and George Unrah, each gave five acres of his own free land voluntarily and with Christian liberality as recorded in our Church Account Book. The members of the congregation in the surrounding country assumed the cost and commenced in the name of God the erection of the present stone building of Christ Church.[588]

The congregation promptly appointed a building committee of two members, Abraham Lauk and Michel Mueller, and work was begun in the spring of 1743, when the frost was out of the ground, on the foundations of what was to be a substantial stone structure. The outlines of these original foundations can still be traced in the road between the plot on which the present church is erected and the burial ground bordering the western edge of the road.

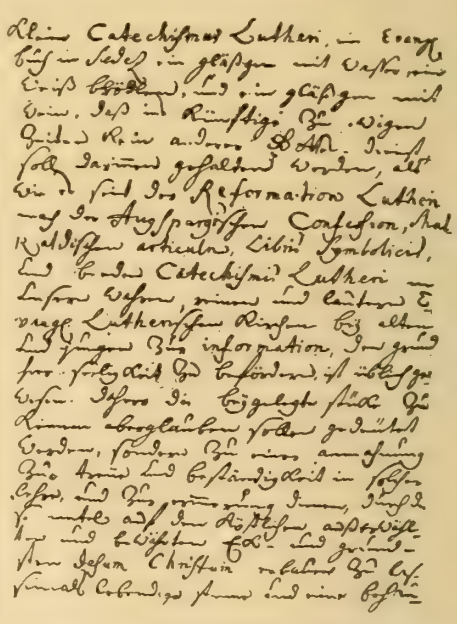
By the 12th of May the cornerstone was ready to be laid. It was Ascension Day. A large concourse gathered from far and near. The services were held "in the presence of our own as well as a great multitude of other

[588] This is found on the third page of the *Church Book of Christ Church* commenced in 1743, and given by Dr. Schantz on p. 7 of his *Historical Discourse at the Sesqui-Centennial of Christ Evangelical Church on the Tulpehocken, Lebanon, Pa., 1894.*

people."[589] A paper was there drawn up and signed by no less than 165 subscribers declaring in clearest terms the object for which this church, "on the south side of Tulpehocken, southeast by south, is to be built," was read, subscribed, and placed in the cornerstone for the knowledge of those present, "as well as our future descendants."[590]



FACSIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF SIGNATURES TO STATEMENT IN CHRIST TULPEHOCKEN RECORD AS TO FOUNDING THE CHURCH. (LIST OF ORIGINAL MEMBERS.)



FACSIMILE PAGE OF THE STATEMENT OF THE DOCTRINAL FOUNDATION IN RECORD OF CHRIST TULPEHOCKEN CHURCH. DUPLICATE IN CORNER-STONE. 1743.

From the document we learn that in this church the Scriptures shall be the only rule of faith and life:

[589] Cornerstone document.

[590] The paper, like so many similar documents in cornerstones, doubtless perished long ago, but the founders had the good sense to preserve a copy in the Church Record, which is translated and given in full, together with the names of the 165 signers, in Dr. Schantz's *Sesqui-Centennial Discourse.*

"The Word of God of both the Old and New Testament, but particularly on Sundays and Festival days the Gospels and Epistles, appointed in the Christian churches in ancient days, shall be purely read as God's Word and explained and presented to the congregation, according to the express command of Christ in the Gospel for this day, Mark 16: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' In like manner shall the holy sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper be administered according to the words of institution without adulteration."

This was the Scripture foundation. But in addition, the church was to stand on an indubitable confessional basis. The document declares:

"That at all times in the future no other service shall be held in the same, than it was customary to hold since the Reformation of Luther, according to the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, Symbolical Books and the two Catechisms of Luther, in our true and pure Evangelical Lutheran Church for the information of old and young for the preservation of the ground of their salvation."

Moreover, the preacher himself must be a sound and undoubted Lutheran. And no other, even if he be an angel from heaven, shall ever be permitted to occupy the pulpit:

"Therefore it is also our unanimous agreement and will, that no other teacher and preacher than one who with heart and confession adheres to the pure Evangelical Lutheran Doctrines, shall teach or perform any ministerial acts in the same according to Galatians I.: 'If any man preach any other Gospel than that which the apostles preached, let him be accursed, and even if it be an angel from heaven he shall not be permitted in our time nor in the time of our descendants to do so.'"

Finally, the members themselves must through all future generations remain sound and genuine Lutherans if they wish to escape the perils of exclusion:

"Should any one of our number or any of our descendants soon or later depart from this true and pure Evangelical Lutheran Religion based upon the word of God and in accord with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and not remain steadfast in the same to his end, he shall have no part whatever in the same, but shall have lost all his rights to the same without any further strife, dispute or process for rights. For all time to come, he shall be entirely excluded from all use of the same and shall never again seek and secure the least part of the same."

The document closes with an ascription of praise to the Triune God:

"May He remain among us and our descendants, and preserve the Word and Sacraments pure unto the end of the world, and save all of us through the same! Amen!"

To bear witness to the fact that this church was established on the pure Word and Sacraments, an octavo Bible containing the Gospels, bound in leather, a bottle containing some water, "*ein Weiss Broedlein*," and a bottle containing wine, were placed in a box of walnut wood and deposited in a cavity made in two stones, one laid upon another.

Who officiated at this cornerstone laying? Who was the leading spirit in the movement? Who was the pastor of the new flock? John Caspar Stoever was present. But it looks very much as though already here he had been obliged to take an inconspicuous position. His name is on the list, but not at the head, nor with its customary bold announcement of his pastorate. It is found in the last third of the list, and is seen simply among the laymen as "Johan Caspar Stever."[591] There is no statement that he or any other pastor held ceremonies in connection with the cornerstone laying. And yet we cannot help feeling that Stoever had to do with the framing of the document. There is much in the paper that sounds like his workmanship. Those who know the Hill-Church and other documents in Stoever's style, will recognize the ring of clear and determined orthodoxy. And he was a ready scribe for any public meeting. We should like to have seen the handwriting of the original.

Though this church was built by Stoever's party, Stoever himself never became its pastor. If not at this time, then shortly thereafter, he had been dropped by the major portion of the congregation. Weiser says: "Pastor Stoever had fallen out with his party." Kurtz in his Diary[592] says:

[591] It is barely possible that Wagner, in copying the list into the Record, altered the order of Stoever's name.

[592] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 201.

"But soon Stoever also had spoiled everything, as he did at all places, so also here, by his disorderly and ungodly life. The congregation dismissed him."

"*The State of the Case*," written some years later, says: "Casper Stoever, with his party, now quit this church [the Rieth's] and laid a foundation for a new church, about three miles higher up, but before they finished it Casper Stoever was discharged, and another minister called." Muhlenberg says: "Stoever conducted himself badly, so that in part he was obliged to resign of his own accord, in part was deposed by his deacons."[593]

THE ELEVENTH PERIOD, 1743–1746. *The Unexpected Coming of the Long Expected "Hallenser," 1743. The Tobias Wagner Pastorate, 1744–1746.*

The fact is that "Andreas Kraft" signed the Christ Church corner-stone document, the third one above "Stever." The language of the Halle Reports seems to indicate clearly that both the Kraft and the Stoever party were concerned in the erection of the building. Both parties may have been present in force at the corner-stone laying. And now unexpectedly after the corner-stone laying, one arrived in the region who spoiled the prospects of both, and took the rudder with firm hand. It was Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.[594]

What followed is best told in Muhlenberg's own language:

"Mr. St., and toward the last V. K., were the leaders. When I came into the country, V. K. hied himself to Lancaster and St. became so ugly that in part he was obliged to resign of himself, and in part he was deposed by his

[593] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 363.

[594] The annotators to the *Hall. Nachrr.* say, I., 304: "General dissatisfaction arose with Stoever and Kraft, and the congregation resolved unanimously to turn to Muhlenberg for a pastor from Halle who would be able to unite all Lutherans."

deacons. With affairs in this condition, I was called the first time, 1743, to the Tulpehocken, [595] and found there three parties. Ten or twelve families clung to the old Church and had Moravian brethren as pastors. Another little flock adhered to Mr. St. The third party adhered to the newly begun Church, but had no pastor.

"This latter party desired help from my superiors and me. But I could not yet promise them anything, since I was entirely alone and Tulpehocken was at too great a distance from my congregations."

Such lack of harmony in the young Christ Church was not improved by the arrival of its first shepherd.

This was Muhlenberg's first visit to the Tulpehocken. It bore consequences of which he himself little dreamed, *viz.*, the establishment of a life-friendship and a blood-relationship between Conrad Weiser and himself. "Muhlenberg became acquainted with Weiser when he visited the Tulpehocken in 1743, and two years later married his daughter." [596]

The Call of Rev. Tobias Wagner, 1743.

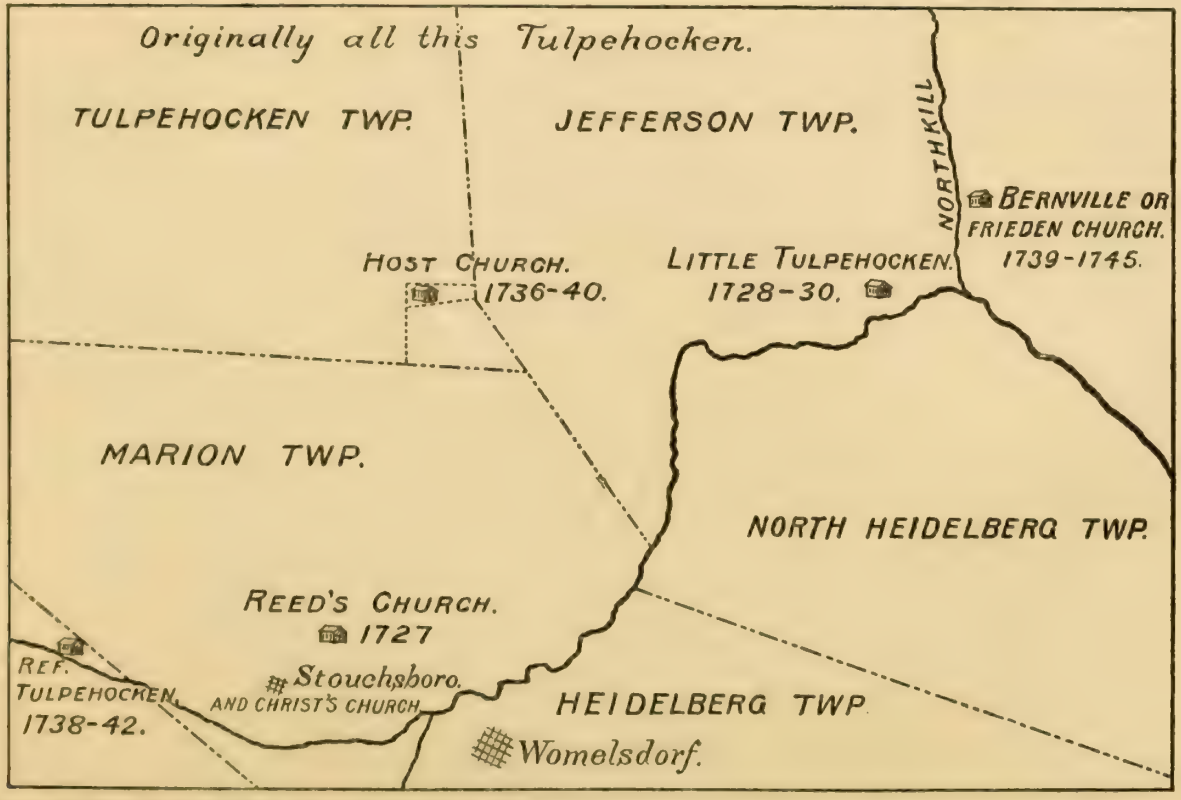
In July or August, 1743, a new personality of a very positive and disturbing character entered the Pennsylvania field. It was the Rev. Tobias Wagner who had come from New England to seek a congregation. Muhlenberg writes: "I received him as one should receive a stranger and promised to journey with him to several places and seek congregations, if he would labor with me to a common end. Wagner was a regularly ordained minister, of whose

[595] This is corroborated in full by Kurtz' Diary (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 201): "But soon Stoever also had spoiled everything, as he did at all places, so also here, by his disorderly and godless life. The congregation dismissed him, called Pastor Muhlenberg, who preached to them several times, until following this, Mr. Wagner arrived in the country from Wuertemberg and sought a charge. He accepted the congregation and was its preacher several years. But as he could not agree with the majority of the congregation, he resigned. The congregation again addressed itself to Messrs. Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz."

Weiser says that Stoever's party "had addressed itself to Pastor Muhlenberg to get a preacher in accordance with the original determination and call that had been sent to Court Preacher Ziegenhagen."

[596] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 181.

From a Drawing by Rev. J. W. Early.



MAP OF THE TULPEHOCKEN REGION, SHOWING RELATIVE LOCATION OF LUTHERAN AND OF REFORMED PAGES.

credentials and character there was no question. I travelled with him to Indianfield and Old Goshenhoppen. But no congregation wishes to receive him, since his 'gifts'—as the people say—do not please them. From thence Mr. Wagner[597] journeyed alone to Lancaster and sought an open door, but complained to me after his return, that he had had differences with Mr. Kraft and Mr. Stoever, which Mr. Stoever confirms in his letter. At last I consulted with Mr. Wagner, promising to write to him in New Eng-

[597] Ancestry, Early Life and Family of the Rev. Tobias Wagner.

The Rev. Tobias Wagner, who reached Pennsylvania, via New England, in the year 1743, was a descendant of a distinguished ancestry in Würtemberg. The founder of the Wagner family lived in the town of Hildenheim, in the second half of the sixteenth century. His name was H. G. Wagner. He was a coppersmith and justice. His son Tobias, who was born in 1598, on account of his extraordinary ability was sent to his grandfather, Tobias Wagner, the coppersmith at Nördlingen, in order to attend the Latin School. Rising steadily, he studied theology in the Stipend at Tübingen in 1621. In 1624 he was called as pastor to Esslingen, and in 1653 became the "*Dekan of the Tübingen Diocese.*" From there he became professor in the Faculty of the Tübingen University and was made a Doctor of Theology. He finally died as chancellor of the University of Tübingen on August 12, 1680, leaving sixteen children and forty-four grandchildren. Among his writings were polemics against Jacob Böhme and against the prevailing scepticism connected with the Carthusian Philosophy. One of his grandchildren wrote a Latin poem lamenting his death. This was the father of our American Tobias Wagner.

Our Wagner probably became pastor at Horkheim in 1733 and on the 16th of June, 1733, married a daughter of Franciscus de Georgiis, professor of French and Italian in the Fürstliches Collegium at Tübingen. In 1742 he emigrated with his wife and children, and with a band of colonists to New England, settling in Waldoboro, now in the state of Maine, but then in Massachusetts. (For information concerning this German colony in Maine see *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 433, and Dr. J. F. Sachse in *Lutheran Church Review.* See also for information on the history of the colony, *Deutsche Pioneer*, Cincinnati, 1882, Volume XIV., No. 1.)

Pastor Wagner had five children when he came to America. One of these subsequently married G. Heintzelmann of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and became the ancestor of Major General Heintzelman, who was born September 13, 1835, at Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and died at Washington, May 1, 1880, and was buried in Buffalo, New York. His youngest son, born June 26, 1738, in this country, whose daughter married John Stille, December 19, 1811, became the ancestor of Alfred J. Stille, M.D., and Provost Charles Stille, of the University of Pennsylvania (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 433, 434).

land, when and as soon as a door should open to him in Pennsylvania. He therefore returned again to his family in New England.[598]

The folks at Tulpehocken by this time had caught some wind of Wagner, partly from Lancaster and in part from Muhlenberg himself, who had spoken well of him. Meanwhile the impatient Mr. Wagner did not wait for the promised letter that should be sent to New England, but unexpectedly arrived once more in Philadelphia with his family. As moreover the notorious Andreä had come to Pennsylvania just at this time, and had gotten an inkling that there was a place open in the Tulpehocken, Muhlenberg warned the Tulpehocken folks against this dissolute Andreä and recommended Wagner highly. The latter shortly thereafter journeyed thither.[599]

On Muhlenberg's recommendation, the congregation at Tulpehocken elected Wagner, and he entered into his office on October 25, 1743.[600] The agreement was first that he was to serve for one year.[601]

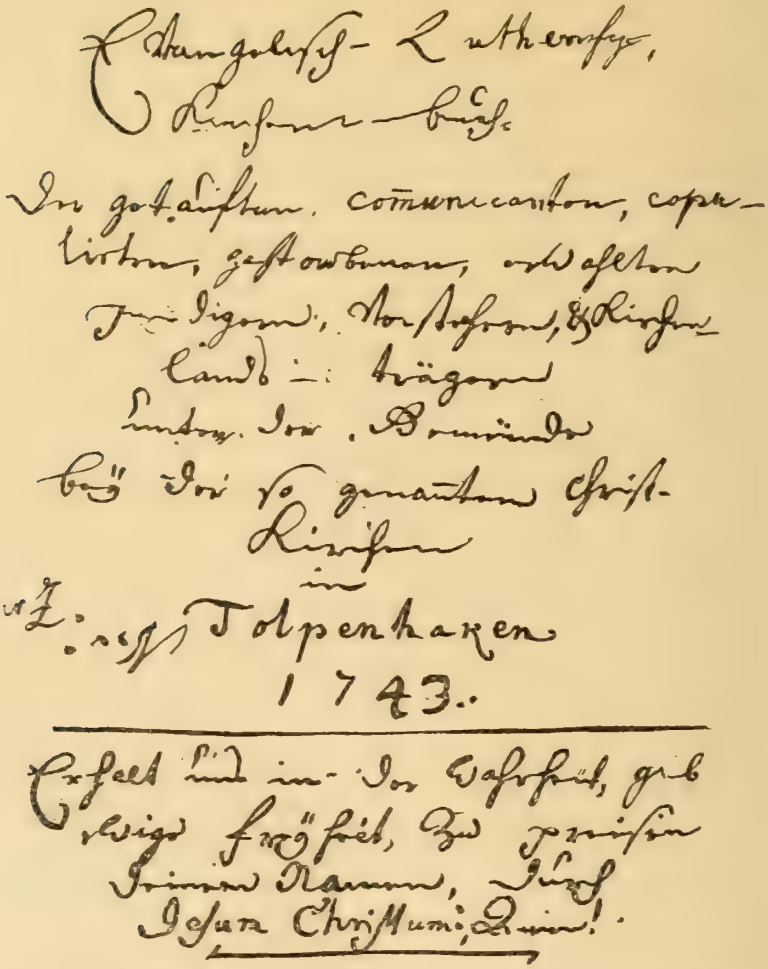
The records of Christ Church were begun by Pastor Wagner in 1743, and are contained in a stout, well-bound, small size, quarto volume. The title-page has already begun to fade, but most of the inscriptions in the volume are still quite legible. The book opens with a brief history of the old church and the rise of the new church. The copy of the document deposited in the corner-stone, to which we referred above, follows. Then comes Wagner's account of his call and of the consecration of the

[598] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 435.

[599] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 435.

[600] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 304.

[601] Wagner did not serve Northkill congregation during his stay in the Tulpehocken, nor the Muddy Creek congregation while he served New Holland. Both of these stood loyal to Stoever.



FACSIMILE OF TITLE PAGE OF CHRIST TULPEHOCKEN CHURCH RECORD BEGUN BY PASTOR WAGNER. 1743.

church. The baptisms, the marriages, the confirmations and the communicants are then recorded.

There is also a list of the deacons, and a final brief entry made by Pastor Wagner at the end of the volume.[602]

The records of Christ Church tell us that on the same day in October on which Wagner entered into his pastorate Andreas Wolf and John Nicolus Schwengel were made deacons. The records also show baptisms in the month of December, and that on the 25th of December George Graef and Adam Lasch were made deacons.

Five weeks later, on Christmas day, the building which had gone up so steadily during the summer months of 1743, under the direction of the building committee, was solemnly consecrated.

"After the above named Evangelical Lutheran Church was completed to such an extent by the Building Committee, Abraham Lauk and Michel Mueller, appointed by the Congregation, that the same could be occupied for the first time on the high festival of Christmas, 1743, the Congregation requested a pastor from the Most Reverend Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg, a Lutheran Minister of the Augsburg Confession. As M. Tobias Wagner had come as a Lutheran Minister from Wuertemburg, via New England, Mr. Muhlenberg promised the Congregation that he [Wagner] would move up and serve this church and Congregation. He followed in God's name and not only solemnly consecrated the Church on Holy Christmas Day, with the Word of God as the basis according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and set it apart for the holy service of God with the name of Christ Church, that many souls might be edified in the same and led to eternal life; but he also performed the following ministerial acts by preaching, catechetical instruction, baptizing, administering the Lord's Supper, marriages, and the burial of the dead. God Grant His Blessing on the same that we may find the fruits of the same with joy in eternal life."[603]

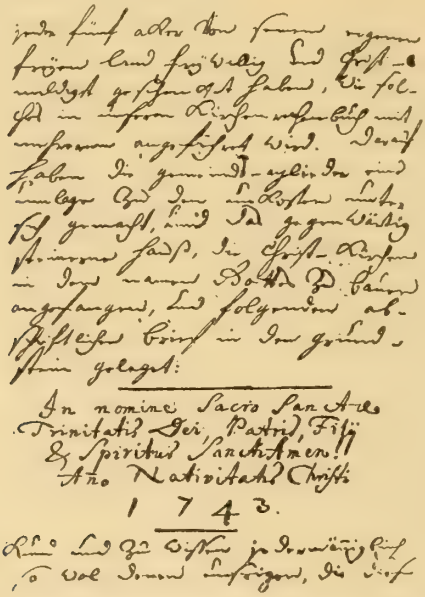
Thus pastor Wagner had the satisfaction on this most joyous day of all the year of beginning his work in the new field with the joyful act of setting apart a new church for

[602] An English translation of important parts of these records will be found n Dr. Schantz's *Sesqui-Centennial Discourse.*

[603] From *The Christ Church Record.*

the work of God in that region, of opening its Church Record, and of standing at the head of an organization which consisted of one hundred and sixty male supporters.

But this joy was external and short-lived. In addition to the difficulties in Wagner's nature and disposition, of



A PAGE FROM CHRIST TULPEHOCKEN RECORD. CHRISTMAS, 1743.

which we shall speak shortly, there was his large family, highly cultured, and accustomed to many comforts, now thrown upon this new flock in the wilderness, which was not prepared to support them as they desired. Moreover his call to them was only *ad interim*. But worst of all, the party spirit and confusion in the Tulpehocken had by no means subsided with the arrival of Wagner, and Wagner himself was not the man to conciliate the various elements of opposition. One large portion still clave to pastor

Stoever; the old Rieth Church was still connected with the Moravians, and Muhlenberg says that the party of the new stone Christ Church was "very weak."[604] Rev. Stoever and his party were bitter against Rev. Wagner. Muhlenberg begged Stoever to withdraw from his party and to turn his adherents over to Rev. Wagner, but received a rambling and contrary reply.

Wagner himself, who was of violent and irascible temperament, and who was obliged to see his party becoming too weak to support his strong family, plainly showed disappointment and appeared to vent it on whomsoever came across his path.

"He had no regular written call from our party, and the elders and deacons were continually lamenting the state of affairs, and after a little time persistently complained that too few services were held. I begged Rev. Wagner again and again to have patience with the poor conditions and not to desert the post, and also at his desire promised to write our patrons and the fathers in Europe and to see whether help could not be had there. The reply came, but I did not have the heart to show it to Rev. Wagner, because I pitied his wretched condition. He himself saw very well that in the long run he would not be able to subsist at Tulpehocken and that the little flock was becoming more and more involved in difficulty. The elders and deacons begged that I should remove pastor Wagner, and better his condition. But that was more than I could do. For one cannot here force any one upon free people. Yet I still hoped to find a better situation for Rev. Wagner but I could not force the thing. I wished to receive him into my congregations in Philadelphia, Germantown, New Providence and New Hanover but could not gain the consent of my elders. I proposed him to the congregations on the Raritan, but they did not want him."[605]

Meanwhile the Tulpehocken people were begging Muhlenberg to give them one of the newly arrived ministers, who had no family.[606]

The Rev. Wagner had gotten the idea into his head, and would not be persuaded otherwise, that Muhlenberg was salaried by the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the

[604] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 435.
[605] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 435.
[606] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 363.

Gospel in Foreign Parts. A number of times he gave Muhlenberg to understand that he should write to Halle and beg for a stipend, that he might be able to remain at Tulpehocken and to execute the duties of his office.

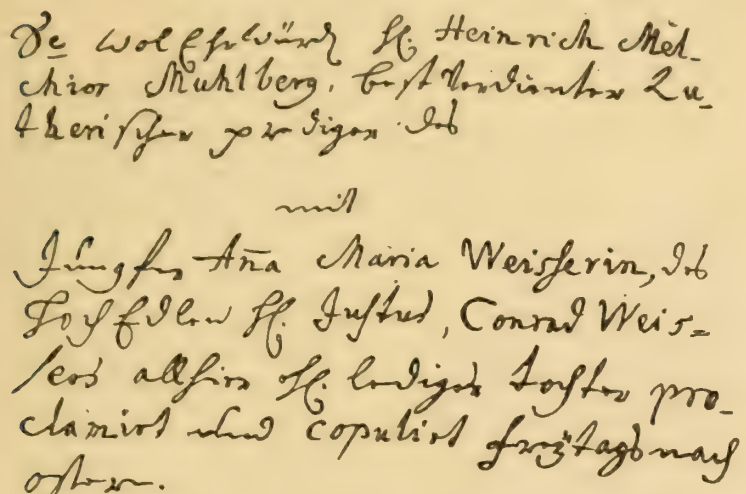
After the first year of wretchedness had passed, the congregation accepted him for the second year in the same temporary manner. This was in the fall of 1744 and the winter and spring of 1745. In 1744 he confirmed a class of ten catechumens. He celebrated the Holy Communion three times a year, and one hundred and ninety-five communicants participated.

In the summer of 1745 Muhlenberg himself arrived in the Tulpehocken with a new pastor sent him from Halle. Another very joyous event took place in this year 1745, namely, the marriage of Muhlenberg to the daughter of Conrad Weiser. Rev. Wagner performed the ceremony and entered it as follows upon the church record: "*Se Wol. Ehrwuerden Herr Heinrich Melchior Muehlenberg, best verdienter Lutherischer Prediger des-, mit Jungfer Anna Maria Weiserin, des Hoch Edlen H. Justus, Conrad Weiser's allhier H. ledige Tochter, proclamirt und copulirt Freitags nach Ostern.*"

In this year 1745, Pastor Wagner confirmed thirteen persons. The total number of baptisms during his pastorate was seventy-two.

But the arrival of Muhlenberg in this region, on the occasion of his marriage, now became the occasion of renewed supplication on the part of the Tulpehocken elders. They came and told him that if only he would send one of the newly arrived men from Halle to Tulpehocken, both the Stoever party and the Moravian congregation would again unite with Mr. Wagner's people. They were so strongly possessed of this idea that they could scarcely rest.

Therefore, says Muhlenberg: "One Sunday when Mr. Wagner was absent on a visit I made this experiment. I took our Order of call and the articles; and said, after the close of the service, that those present should sign their names to the same, that I might be able to see how many of the



FACSIMILE OF THE RECORD OF MUHLENBERG'S MARRIAGE MADE BY WAGNER IN CHRIST TULPEHOCKEN RECORD.

two other parties would join us, and would with those who were still remaining to us hold to our Order." Muhlenberg felt that he had the right to do this, since he had placed Wagner in the field, and since the congregation had not received him permanently, and still accorded to Muhlenberg a higher pastoral authority and supervision. Muhlenberg says:

"The congregation had agreed only temporarily with Wagner for another year, and I was told repeatedly that all three parties in the Tulpehocken would again unite if one from us would be their preacher." Therefore, "After the service, I laid a written call before the congregation and promised

to secure one of our preachers for them if all three parties would unite and would support the said pastor in a very economical and yet sufficient manner. They were to subscribe their names and indicate what each of them would contribute annually. But not a single one of the other two parties came near. They permitted the third party to subscribe the document alone. Then I said to them, 'You see that none of the others have come, and those who have signed, are pastor Wagner's parishioners. Therefore I cannot help you. You must retain pastor Wagner until he finds another opportunity which will place him in better circumstances ; and you must give us time to report to the Fathers at Halle [607] and to await the indications as to the ways and means which

[607] The following is the report that Muhlenberg made to the Fathers at Halle : "In connection with the circumstances surrounding my marriage I have been obliged to visit the Tulpehocken three times this year. The first time it was to visit the congregations there, where Mr. Wagner is. The second time it was to go with my colleague Mr. Brunnholtz to the wedding. The third time it was to visit the congregations again because they had to some extent gotten into a quarrel with Mr. Wagner, and also on this account, because I was to prepare my wife's brothers and sisters for confirmation and the Lord's Supper.

"Inasmuch as the congregations were not fully satisfied with Mr. Wagner and desired that I should write to our honorable Fathers and request a faithful preacher from them, I accordingly drew up an English petition in the form of a call and bound the congregation by signature that if Mr. Wagner left, I or my colleagues would help them in the interim until our honorable Fathers should send an efficient preacher.

"Inasmuch then as the congregation is bound to me and Mr. Brunnholtz we can give a call to such a faithful servant whom the Fathers elect containing the following articles : We, the Church-wardens and members of the Congregation, desire, call and denominate the Rev. H. M. Muehlenberg to be our lawfull and true Minister of the Gospel according to the Augsb. Confession as long as he pleaseth and continues to be a true Minister upon the following Articuls vid : 1) We will assist in every good direction the Rev. Muehlenberg or his successor or whom he sendeth to be our Minister etc. 2) Our lawfull Minister H. M. Muehlenberg shall have liberty to send another Minister of the College etc. 3) No other Minister shall be admitted to preach or to administer the ordinances in our new-built Church without the consent of Mr. M. 4) We promise to build a house upon that piece of ground, belonging to our Congregation for the use of our Minister, and leave the whole church land to him to improve etc. and to feed and furnish him with all necessaries — as our subscription witnesseth — etc. 5) For every funeral sermon shall be payed 5 shilling and for a coupel to join 6 shilling.

"Inasmuch as Mr. Wagner again came to an understanding with them I was quiet. But now they have given Mr. Wagner up again and he them so that he will remove to another place next spring. What shall we now do? The church now stands here forsaken. According to my contract we should now come to their help. If we do not the Moravians are here and offer inducements and on the other side the naughty Stoever is active.

God may show through them. I was obliged to proceed with such mechanical arguments, or else I would have had no rest." *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 364.

"But after Mr. Wagner had learned from others and from myself that I had made an experiment [608] of getting signatures in Tulpehocken, he became violently angry, supposing that I had done it with false and treacherous intent." [609] "He said I had wished to dispose of him secretly, though he should have remembered that the little congregation had appealed to me before he came into the country and had only accepted him *ad interim*, and had left the oversight in my hand up to this time, and had sought help through me of our authorities. In addition Mr. Wagner can show no regular call to come into this land, but came here from his own impulse, and offered himself. I have been necessitated both to examine into and unravel the intricate conditions of this land, until the Lord in His providence Himself makes matters less complicated and opens the door." [610]

"Some doubtless would do something toward the payment of passage as also my father-in-law, but the people would like to see the man first. Then, the good people have built a new beautiful large stone church of their own means and must exert themselves exceedingly if they now also must build a parsonage.

"If the good fathers could and would send an experienced talented person as soon as possible we would in the meantime do what we could.

"The Moravians are still continuing their affair in a half hearted way in the Tulpehocken and still claim to be Lutherans. They have also built a little stone church. If a faithful servant were to come here, he could get a large field, for the country is possessed far and wide by German people and my father-in-law who is justice of the peace here would lend a helping hand in every respect.

"But what shall we now do? The people desire that we shall give them Mr. Kurtz in the interim until the honorable Fathers send some one. They would gladly be pleased with a catechist or a substitute for this period of time. If the field is left open others will eat the grass that they have not sown. Will not the honorable Fathers do what they can for the congregation which is now drawing its last breaths.* * * The bad fish as well as the good ones are pressing the net and wish to tear it! Come ye brethren out of Europe and help to draw! Meanwhile we here will continue singing, *Befiehl du deine wege.*" (*Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 117, 118.)

[608] The reason for this procedure no one can really understand excepting God. 1, The little flock that adhered to us and Mr. Wagner had not yet subscribed to any Order and Call. 2, Mr. Wagner was not in a position to increase this little flock, and could not permanently subsist here. 3, There was no aid to hope for from Europe. 4, The Stoever party pretended to have a right to the new Church and wished to enter it with their Mr. Stoever. 5, My object was not to drive away Mr. Wagner, but to put him on a more solid footing, either to retain him in Tulpehocken or as opportunity offered to find a congregation in better circumstances for him.

[609] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 436.

[610] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 364.

At first Pastor Wagner was very violent.

"He spoke bitterly against the elders, and wrote also to me whether one of us would not accept the call to the Tulpehocken and consume his salary there. The elders were not willing to sign the new paper of Mr. Wagner, nor to become security for his salary."

But after a little the difficulties were compromised for the moment. Wagner actually made a visit to Muhlenberg at the Trappe on the occasion of the consecration of the Augustus Church there on the 6th of October, 1745, and assisted in the consecration service.[611] Wagner remained at his post until April 30, 1746.[612]

"Then he threw up the congregation, with great feeling against me because he thought I had highly insulted him. He retained the congregation in Heidelberg, and believed he had the right either to abandon or to force 'the little congregation above.' I wrote therefore to the elders and deacons of 'the little congregation above' and begged that they should not allow Mr. Wagner to depart, as the enclosure of January 13, 1746, witnesses. Mr. Wagner I believe read this letter and said I had cut his head off and now wished to put it on again."

"I found then that Mr. Wagner had no insight into the circumstances of Pennsylvania. He imagined that one could bend and force the people here in Pennsylvania as in Germany with the secular or consistorial arm of the law. But that is not the case. Experience proves something different."[613]

When finally the spring of 1746 arrived, Mr. Wagner left the Tulpehocken with his family on the last day of April, and the new Christ congregation was already without a shepherd.

The Subsequent Career of the Rev. Tobias Wagner, and his Relations to Muhlenberg and with Stoever. 1746–1759.

It was the spring of 1746 when Mr. Wagner left the Tulpehocken. He removed to Alsace perhaps near the present city of Reading, and built a new house "on the street on

[611] *New Providence Church Record.*
[612] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 304.
[613] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 436.

the Schuylkill in the hope that a new town would be laid out there."[614] His house was on the road to Easton. He probably resided here in Alsace until his return to Germany. Already at this time he had bought some land in the Tulpehocken, and six years later (1752) he bought an estate at his new place of residence.

In all he served thirteen Lutheran congregations then rising so rapidly in the Berks and Lancaster districts. It was his custom to preach to each congregation either once in two weeks, or once a month. In 1743, in addition to Tulpehocken, he had "Richmond," and kept it for sixteen years. In 1744 he went from Tulpehocken to "Freunds" and "Northkill," holding these two churches for two years.

In 1745 he became pastor at "Bern," holding it for five years. In 1746 he removed to Alsace, and according to the *Hall. Nachrr.*, became pastor there in June, 1747,[615] and somewhat later he took charge of the Schwarzwald congregation. These congregations really were under the supervision of Muhlenberg, and it is possible that Muhlenberg held a service at Schwarzwald on April 13, while Wagner was serving the congregation regularly. In 1753 and 1754 Wagner was no longer pastor there. He did not know how to get on with the people.

In 1748 the departure of Rev. Wagner from the Tulpehocken came up at the first Convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Minutes report it under the startling head:

"Mr. Wagner Accuses Mr. Mühlenberg of Having Driven Him from Tulpehocken."

"The Tulpehocken elders were asked, according to their best knowledge and conscience, to inform the meeting as to this matter.

[614] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 364.

[615] His "*Abschieds-Rede*" places his Alsace pastorate from 1748 to 1752.

"The Church Council of Tulpehocken answered: (1) Mr. Muhlenberg did not force himself upon them; (2) The congregation and its elders have since 1742 urgently requested Mr. Muhlenberg to take charge of them; (3) Mr. Wagner himself resigned in Tulpehocken, as he never succeeded in Tulpehocken, and the divisions in the congregation continually increased. They proposed to wait to see how matters would go this year. The elders are exhorted to prayer."

Meantime Rev. Wagner made affiliations in a strange direction. Although he and John Caspar Stoever had been rivals in the Tulpehocken, and Stoever had refused, on Wagner's entrance there, to abandon his party and his claim to church rights in favor of Wagner, yet after Wagner left the Tulpehocken they became very good friends. It may have been their mutual antipathy to Muhlenberg and the Hallensians, which perhaps was brought to its highest climax by the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania without them in 1748, that drew them much more closely together. A year or two later Muhlenberg reports that the two were great friends,[616] and that Conrad Weiser thought it would be more prudent "if we could keep up a distant connection with Messrs. Wagner and Stoever, since they both still live in Pennsylvania and must be tolerated, so that they may according to their measure gather with us, and not destroy."

Both of them had been busy in circulating evil rumors and suspicions among the common people reflecting at the least on the orthodoxy and on the wrong liturgical practices of the Hallensians, and we are told they actually intended establishing a sort of Synod of their own as a rival to the newly begun Ministerium of 1748.[617]

The Synod met in spring, and by fall Wagner was carrying on the rivalry in a very practical style. He was working his way toward the acceptancy of a doubtful call

[616] "He [Stoever] was a great friend of Rev. Mr. Wagner."

[617] V. p. 265 *supra*.

to Earltown, though Rev. Handschuh of Lancaster still was pastor there.

Our readers will recall that just before the First of Advent in 1748, pastor Handschuh at Lancaster, notified Earltown that the exposure to winter weather and his own weakness would oblige him to postpone his service there for the three worst winter months, and to appoint a lay reader. A few weeks later (December 28) after the service at Lancaster, Handschuh heard from a deacon of Earltown how "the low-minded" at Earltown had asked Pastor Wagner to preach in their church on Epiphany. This man desired advice as to the giving over of the church key.

"As I observed that he did not wish to hand it over, I said that might should give place to right, that all strife should be avoided, and that the necessary presentation should be made to Pastor Wagner on his arrival, how the congregation still had their regular minister, who had simply omitted the service for three months and that these two men with their self-made adherents could not make themselves out a congregation nor call him as pastor. All this the deacon promised to observe in the most faithful manner." *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 678.

Nevertheless Wagner became pastor (September, 1748, says another account) at Earltown, remaining such until January, 1755.

The next spring a totally unexpected occurrence gave a new turn to the general state of affairs. It was in May, 1750. Muhlenberg had come to Lancaster. While there he happened to meet Pastor Stoever in the house of one of the elders of the church, and as he had recently come to have a better opinion of Stoever (partly through conciliatory efforts of Weiser), having learned that Stoever was still highly respected in his congregations, and that Stoever himself had passed through an illness, to his spiritual benefit, and in view of the fact also that Kurtz had recently interfered in one of Stoever's parishes; Muhlenberg told him that if he (Muhlenberg) knew it would be for the com-

mon good, he would like to invite him to Synod, provided his colleagues agreed. [618]

Turning to Stoever he said: "Would you perhaps come?" Stoever replied that he could not yet say, but would have to confer concerning the matter with Mr. Wagner. Muhlenberg replied: "If it should occur, it could not at first be more than a neighborly friendliness, and for that we would also invite Mr. Wagner, and would put an end to the affairs that up to this time have been agitated to the detriment of both sides."

When the day arrived, June 19, 1750, Stoever did not come but Wagner was present. Stoever had forgotten that Muhlenberg's invitation was conditional, and had spread the news of the reconciliation among his congregations. On the other hand Muhlenberg's colleagues would not give consent to Stoever and Wagner's presence, until the last minute when they invited both to be there *on the day after Synod!* This was done with the idea of resolving their misunderstandings in a private conference as between clergymen. But Mr. Stoever was furious at the idea that he was to come *post festum*, and staid away. [619]

Nevertheless Mr. Wagner was present, with the following result, reported by Muhlenberg, in the manuscript of his diary:

"The clergy still remained in session and awaited Mr. Wagner, who appeared on the 19th of June, poured out his complaints and established a neighborly amnesty with us. God grant that it may be profitable to us and to him."

The "amnesty" appears to have endured but for a short time, and Pastor Wagner was not present at the following annual meetings of the Synod. The fact is that before long he had the satisfaction of succeeding the Hallensian Handschuh in Lancaster itself, having been sent there as supply by Muhlenberg, and becoming pastor there in 1751. [620]

[618] V. p. 267, *supra.*
[619] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 587.
[620] V. p. 320 *supra.*

But here, as elsewhere, his term was short. He resigned in November, 1752.

All this time he had continued to reside in Alsace. From his home here he probably had five miles to Schwarzwald, fifteen miles to Moselem, twenty-five miles to New Holland and thirty-six miles to Lancaster. Reading had been formally organized in 1748. Wagner held service for the Lutherans in a private house and organized a congregation. When Muhlenberg visited Reading in March, 1751, Wagner had already been in office there for a time. In the spring of 1752 the building of the church began, but there was now dissatisfaction with Wagner. When the church building was ready to be used in October, 1753, the congregation turned to the Ministerium for a pastor, and the church was dedicated by Muhlenberg.[621]

Earlier in the year, in March, Muhlenberg had trouble with a disorderly "Wagner party in Germantown." To meet it, Muhlenberg preached in the meeting house in Germantown and declared how they were to act under present circumstances and that the services hereafter as heretofore would be conducted on the foundation of the apostles and prophets and our brethren in the faith.

"The 'large party' had called Mr. Wagner and had gathered to the church from great distances. They also at the same time caused a written call to be read in the church, to call a clergyman from Wuertemberg, about which they could not become entirely unanimous. The whole proceeding was published in the German paper and not with favorable intent toward us. The leaders of the whole party threatened that soon a revolt would arise in Philadelphia and then in all our united congregations, and that the Halle pietists would be driven out of the land. In the midst of this disturbance Rev. Gerock arrived from Wuertemberg, who spoke in a very devout manner and visited us. Though it had been announced in the German paper that he would preach the following Sunday in Germantown, he did not take any part in the disturbance but proceeded on his way to Lancaster." [622]

[621] *Hall. Nachrr.*, p. 571.

[622] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 705. (We have condensed Muhlenberg's account.)

The Character of Rev. Tobias Wagner.

What a wonderful aid to Lutheranism in Pennsylvania Wagner might have been if he had been a man of the type of Muhlenberg! Between the two, the whole field between Philadelphia and the Susquehanna might have been reduced to some sort of order, and many a later local trouble and outbreak would have been avoided. But, though Muhlenberg made great efforts in this direction, the two men could not be mutually helpful to each other. Wagner came to America seeking a place for himself and family, rather than as a missionary to a scattered and distracted flock. His family required comforts not to be found in the Pennsylvania wilderness, and a sustenance which weaker congregations could not give. Wagner himself quickly got out of touch not only with Muhlenberg, but with his own congregations and with Stoever, with whom he was in greater doctrinal sympathy than with Muhlenberg. Cares and disappointment, together with a suspicious and violent temperament caused him to be unreliable as a fellow-laborer in this large vineyard. The facts that he was not successful in his own parishes, that he was so ready to blame others for his own lack of success, and that he did not attract through his preaching, speak against him. That he never joined the Ministerium of Pennsylvania as even Stoever was glad to do, is also against him. "The Hallensians" were the subject of his prejudice, and in his companionship with Stoever he laid obstacles in their path and attempted to awaken mistrust toward them. It is probable that the Hallensians also made several mistakes in dealing with Wagner, but we see clearly that Muhlenberg was not at all unwilling to labor in harmony with him. Both journeyed together in the year 1745 to Raritan, New Jersey, and were arbitrators

in the Wolf controversy.[623] We have referred in a previous chapter to the effort made by the Halle pastors in 1748 to adopt a common liturgy, and to the objections urged by Pastor Wagner and Stoever against it. Muhlenberg says in his diary:[624] "Pastors Wagner, Stoever and other men of low intent took occasion to incite some simple-minded people and made them believe that we wished to depart from the Lutheran doctrine and church order." To conciliate these objectors Muhlenberg changed the liturgy.

On the 13th of August, 1748, Muhlenberg writes that Wagner had raised all sorts of prejudices and fears in the minds of the elders and deacons at Tulpehocken. After Muhlenberg had held his meeting of these Christ Church elders and deacons in the absence of Wagner, the latter conceived an uncontrollable hatred toward Muhlenberg, and criticised all of Muhlenberg's teachings, doings and omissions. If any service was not according to Wagner's own model, he made out Muhlenberg to be heterodox. In 1750 Wagner appeared, as we have seen, on invitation, at the Ministerium, "poured out his complaints and established a neighborly amnesty with us. God grant that it may be a benefit to us and to him." On the first of September, 1753, when Muhlenberg dedicated the church at Reading he reports that the Rev. Mr. Wagner felt himself very much injured. [We cannot entirely blame Wagner for this feeling. He very naturally would regard himself cut out at Reading by the same powerful combination (Weiser and Muhlenberg) that in his view had interfered with him at Tulpehocken.] Wagner made great threats in a letter to Justice Weiser, and in an open publication declared Muhlenberg and his brethren as heterodox, and as having

[623] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 434.
[624] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 434.

fallen away from the Lutheran Doctrine. A few days later when, on the 6th of September, Muhlenberg wrote to the senior of the church in Germany (probably S. Urlsperger in Augsburg) Muhlenberg says: "Wagner left his hundred sheep in the wilderness (in New England) and came unasked to Pennsylvania and here sought the ninety and nine. Circumstances compelled me to receive him. But as he was unable to make his fortune and I could not help him as he thought should be the case, he became angry and declared me and my brethren as heterodox to the poor ignorant people in a public writing."[625] In the Germantown church trouble, when the mob drove Handschuh out of the church, Wagner preached for the latter after the death of the wretched Andreä. He also sought a flock in Philadelphia and to establish a rival congregation to Muhlenberg. Even pastor Gerock, who was called to Lancaster through Wagner's instrumentality, termed Wagner unreasonable.

Wagner did not remain in Pennsylvania. His experience of less than a score of years had been bitter and varied. His congregations gradually dropped from him. In Moselem he remained pastor until his return to Europe, which, in Dr. Helmuth's "Denkmal der Liebe," page 12, is put in the year 1759. We are able to present a facsimile title page of his Farewell Address to his Lutheran Congregations, on the occasion of his departure, printed at Ephrata in 1759. It is stated in the "Denkmal" that he preached again in Germany and died in 1775.[626]

For contradictory information as to his life in Germany, see *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 438.

[625] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 436.

[626] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 437–438.

M. Tobias Wagners
Abſchieds-Rede
an ſeine Lutheriſche
Gemeinden in Penn-
ſylvanien
Welche er zu unterſchiedlichen Zeiten
als Prediger alle 14. Tag oder 4.
Wochen bedienet; vornehmlich in
1. Richmond von 1743. bis 1759.
2. Ruetemkener von 1749. bis 1759.
3. Windſor von 1758 bis 1759.
4. Earltown von 1749. bis 1755.
5. Lancaſter von 1751. bis 1753.
6. Bern von 1745. bis 1750.
7. Dulvehakin von 1743. bis 1746.
8. Allemängel von 1749. bis 1754.
9. Der Mckan. Kirche von 1744. bis 1746.
10 Freunds Kirche von 1744. bis 1746.
11. North-Kill von 1744. bis 1746.
12. Eſſaq von 1748. bis 1752.
13. Reading etliche mal angenommen, etliche mal abgedanckt.

EPHRATÆ Typis Societatis.
MDCCLIX.

THE TWELFTH PERIOD. *The Moravian Congregation, 1744–1755. Builds a Church, 1745. Loses it, 1747. Close of its History, 1755.*

We have seen that Rev. Meurer left in the early days of 1744, and that schoolmaster Nicke arrived from Bethlehem to take his place. A month later Nicke was accepted as regular pastor and was ordained on March 1, "by two other Evangelical Lutheran Ministers, John Christoph Pyrlaeus and John Phil. Meurer."[627] The ordination evidently took place at a Synod which was held at Oley.

[627] *Moravian Lutheran Tulpehocken Record.*

Two deacons and other members of the Tulpehocken congregation were present. "Conrad Weiser, representing the civil authorities, was also present."[628]

School Affairs, 1744.

On the 26th of February Peter Boehler had come on from Bethlehem "as Inspector of the Lutheran Church and school in Pennsylvania, to examine into the affairs of church and school." In the words of the Bethlehem Record "Much was said and done and it was finally arranged to meet at Michael Rith's house to-morrow at 2 P. M." At this meeting Boehler made an address and presented rules for the government of the school. These rules are given in full in the Moravian Lutheran Records and are signed by the following:

Peter Boehler,
Inspector.

Hermanus Walborn,	Michael Schaeffer,
Caspar Rieth,	Geo. Loesch,
Michael Rieth,	Johannes Zerbe,
Johannes Schaeffer,	Ludwig Kelopp,
Jacob Schaeffer,	Peter Schaeffer.

It was at this meeting in 1744 that Boehler asked the congregation whether they would accept Nicke as regular pastor. On May 17 Meurer and Nicke were both sent to Tulpehocken to preach and to teach school.

Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Moravians in the Tulpehocken were the ones who most of all appreciated the importance of educating the rising generation of young people, whose tendency toward wildness was cropping out at every point, and that it was these same Brethren who gave themselves to the solution of the task in a practical, systematic and persevering way.

[628] *Moravian Lutheran Tulpehocken Record.*

A letter written from the Tulpehocken in November, 1744, to the authorities at Bethlehem throws much light on this subject. It reads as follows:

TOLBEHACKEN, NOV. 4, 1744.

"Beloved and Esteemed Brethren in Christ at Bethlehem: Whilst we were in attendance upon the Conference at Heidelberg, we were referred to the congregation at Bethlehem concerning affairs of our school by Henry Antes, because no final action could be taken at the conference, since everything depends entirely upon having the school open every day both for boys & girls. The fault was not so much a lack of willingness on the part of the brethren, as a lack of opportunity. So we, the Deacons, called the congregation together & presented the matter to them, (suggesting) that they should write to Bethlehem and present their objections to the manner of conducting the school. But no one offered to write. Thereupon we soon touched upon the manner of conducting the school which Henry Antes had presented to us. All were at once willing to help to build. We then reminded them that they had not been satisfied with Nicke in teaching the school. Then it was explained by the deacons, that he had done everything in his power for the children, for the time being. However he could not see how he could satisfy them in their school, and they also were not willing to adapt themselves to the rules & regulations of their school. He also stated that impressing instruction by blows was not his way of doing. To a moderate discipline, in accordance with the transgression, which was not against conscience, he would not be opposed. We then told them that he was not willing to remain with us as matters now are. They thereupon said that they could not put the blame upon Nicke. But since the children attend school every day it was plainly evident that they learned more. And then some of them said that they could not put the blame on Nicke, but upon themselves, because they had not observed the rules & regulations of the school. But as far as we, as the deacons, as well as some others, have visited the school, if we are to testify concerning Nicke, we can not say otherwise than that we are perfectly satisfied with him, even more so than with any one else who has been with us. It is our opinion & request, & that of others, that *Nicke* should be allowed to remain for some time longer. They acknowledge that they have gone too far and that they did not comply with the rules & regulations of the school. They have now promised that they will abide by them. We therefore again present our united request for your sympathy & cooperation. Yet we are anxious to comply with the wishes of the congregation. Nevertheless we regard it advisable, since the children are already accustomed to Nicke to retain him. Should that however be impossible, we beg you Esteemed Brethren to send us a brother to take charge of the boys' school & a sister for the girls' school, regularly every day, as some of us believe it would be better to have them continually under the control of the same person. Some have stated that if Nicke were taken from us, and we should secure no regular teacher from the congregation, they would put a schoolmaster into the house for themselves, since they have done the work at it, & everything is pretty nearly completed

& will soon be entirely finished, & arrangements have been made to have the boys' school & the girls' school open every day. Still not all of the congregation desire this. Although some are dissatisfied, there are others who have said they wish to build, and that they believe that the congregation [at Bethlehem] will care for them. We are grateful for all that your Esteemed congregation has done for us, although we are not worthy of it. Hearty greetings to the congregation, with all the Elders & Deacons.

CASPAR RITH,
HERMANUS WALBORN,
Deacons.

This letter is addressed to Peter Boehler, as the Inspector & to the congregation at Bethlehem.[629]

A NEW CHURCH. 1745.

For months we hear nothing further of this little flock. In fact the Record is silent until February 27, 1745, when we are told that "The old Church being dilapidated, a proposition was made to build a new one. This was approved and Peter Krieger, a member of the congregation, was appointed master mason (Maurer meister) to put it up."

Dr. Brownmiller, in his *Memorial Discourse*, says: "After the withdrawal of the members who formed Christ Church in 1743, those members still remaining in the old church, decided to build a new church, and in 1744 they erected a stone edifice about 24 feet square which stood near the northeast corner of the graveyard. The spot can yet be designated. It stood for ninety-three years, until, in 1836, it was damaged by a storm, and in 1837 the congregation decided to build" the present edifice. A stone in the west wall bears the inscription: "*Die Zion's Kirche Erbaut im Jahr 1837.*" In 1846 a charter was obtained by the congregation through the courts of Berks county under the name of "Zion's Lutheran Church."

In about four weeks the walls were up and all was ready for the corner-stone laying. The congregation sent to

[629] Furnished from the archives at Bethlehem by the kindness of Mr. Robert Rau.

Bethlehem and requested Bishop Spangenberg to lay the cornerstone.[630]

Spangenberg came in the fifth Sunday in Lent and preached in the afternoon. On the following day, Monday, April 1, the cornerstone was laid with elaborate ceremonies.[631] The members of the congregation entered the church in order and the general public followed. The sermon was preached by Bishop Spangenberg.[632] The Record informs us that Lutherans, Reformeds, Swedes and Indians were present and participated in the services. The cornerstone was carried into its place by two ministers and two laymen, and the following documents were deposited therein:

[630] "In place of sending V. Thiern, as Spangenberg has been sent hither to this country and has received authority from several Bishops in Europe to aid in directing religious affairs in America;" and as he is "known all over the world as Professor of the Theological Faculty at Halle in Saxony, who was driven from Halle because of the truth and of his piety, whereupon he joined the despised congregation of the Lord Jesus at Harren Huth, by which he was sent to this part of the world to preach the Gospel of the shedding of the blood of Christ." He was beloved "because he preached the funeral sermon of our above-described pastor, Caspar Leibbecker, A. D., 1738." — Bethlehem *Record*.

[631] The building committee of the new church was Michael Rieth and Michael Schaeffer.

[632] The following was the

ORDER OF SERVICE:

1. O Christ, Thou Lamb of God.
2. Hymn, composed by Spangenberg. Sung to the melody, "*Nun bitten wir den Heil. Geist.*" Nine of the twelve verses were sung.
3. Sermon by Spangenberg on 1. Cor. 3: 11.
4. Hymn, (Durch Adam's Fall. The 5th, 7th, 8th and 9th verses were sung).
5. The congregation, headed by Spangenberg, then proceeded to the cornerstone.
6. Singing.
7. The stone carried to its place and laid on its bed by the two preachers Meurer and Nicke and the two deacons Caspar Rieth and Hermanus Walborn.
8. A prayer by Spangenberg, standing on top of the stone.
9. *Liebesmal.* This dinner was furnished by the two deacons, and about seventy were present. John G. Harden of Bethlehem waited on the men, and his sister Regina on the women. [Gathered from Bethlehem *Record*.]

1. The pamphlet, "The Tulpehocken Confusion."
2. The following list of the names of members together with their children:

Hermanus Walborn, Deacon,	his wife and	7	children.	
Caspar Rieth, Deacon,	" " "	7	"	
George Loesch	" " "	11	"	
Michael Rieth	" " "	10	"	
Conrad Rieth	" " "	6	"	
Peter Krieger	" " "	1	child.	
Michael Schaeffer	" " "	8	children.	
Frederick Schaeffer	" " "	1	child.	
Johannes Schaeffer	" " "	5	children.	
Jacob Schaeffer	" " "	5	"	
Nicholaus Schaeffer	" " "	3	"	
Peter Schaeffer	" " "	6	"	
Adam Helwig	" " "	7	"	

3. A general document narrating the times and circumstances of the Cornerstone laying. [633]
4. Spangenberg's hymn.

The cornerstone laying took place in April. During the summer the building was erected, but it was a very unhappy period. The members quarrelled with each other and there were "much fault finding, foolishness and difficulties during the work." In the middle of June Bethlehem recalled Pastor Nicke.

In October of this year Pastor Meurer, then at Donegal,

[633] The following is a copy of this document:

"In the name of the Father of Jesus Christ, Who is God of the Church.

"In the name of Jesus Christ, who is the creator of all things, the Redeemer, Lord and God of all men and the Husband of the church.

"In the name of the Holy Ghost, who is the mother of the Church and the great God of all spirits.

"During the reign of His Majesty George II., King of Great Britain, our gracious sovereign — Under the most gracious proprietaries of Penna., the grandsons of the great Wm. Penn — under the wise government of George Thomas, Esq. — while John. Phil. Meurer & George Nicke were the pastors of the Lutheran Church in Tulpehocken — Caspar Rieth and Hermanus Walborn, being the Deacons of the aforesaid church — in the presence of Joseph Spangenberg, commissioner of the Bishops of the Churches of the Brethren in the year 1745, the cornerstone of the church edifice has been laid. May God graciously grant that it may be employed for the promotion of his divine honor, and for the salvation of men, till the eternal reign of Christ, from whose wounds comes our salvation & through whose blood we shall reign when the world shall have been consumed by fire!"—Bethlehem *Record*.

chronicled in his diary an event of far-reaching interest to the whole Lutheran Church, as follows:[634]

1745. Oct. 6, "Today Muehlenberg dedicated his church at the Trapp. First there was music. Then Muehlenberg sketched the origin & progress (erzaehte die Gelegenheit) of the church building. Then Braunholtz [Brunnholtz] preached German & Muehlenberg English afterwards. He also baptized three negroes — Nyberg, Wagner and Brannholtz were the sponsors. The church also received a name. It was called the Augustus church."

By November the new church was finished. One of the two deacons wrote to Bethlehem in regard to the dedication. The Bethlehem congregation sent back a letter of admonition to the effect that they better seek forgiveness for all their shortcomings before undertaking the dedication. "This letter was well received at a love-feast which the deacon Hermanus Walborn provided on the 25th of November; the members of this congregation made up and forgave one another."[635]

Two days later at the Conference at Lancaster it was decided to dedicate the new church on the following Sunday, and to administer the Lord's Supper. "When Sunday the first of Advent came, a preparatory service was held at ten o'clock in the parsonage. In the midst of the sermon, the brethren from Bethlehem who in the early morning had dedicated the school-house built by Michael Brecht and Wendel Lautermilch at Muehlbach, arrived with prayers and benedictions."[636]

Meantime great crowds of people were gathering. The *Abendmahles Geschwister* were the first to enter the new building. It was then filled by the general public, many of whom stood, remaining on the outside. It is stated that over two hundred persons were present. The sermon was preached by Bishop Spangenberg with great unction. The

[634] Furnished through the kindness of Mr. Robert Rau, of Bethlehem.
[635] Bethlehem *Record*.
[636] Bethlehem *Record*.

communion was distributed to twenty-two communicants from this congregation, ten brethren and one sister from Bethlehem.[637]

"In the evening a love-feast was held in which all the members of this congregation and the brethren from Bethlehem about fifteen persons participated. It was provided by Friedrich Schaeffer and John Schaeffer. It was an occasion of great blessing and joy."[638]

But things did not run smoothly in this newly dedicated church. In less than two months (January 24, 1746) Bethlehem determined to recall Meurer "because of the bad conduct of some of our members."[639] Accordingly Pastor Meurer preached his farewell sermon on February 2, and departed for Donegal on February 6.

What the bad conduct was appears very clearly from the following letter written February 22, 1746, to Spangenberg by the deacons Walborn and Rieth. The title or label of the letter shows that a dispute had at last arisen in the little congregation on the question of an educated ministry. The following is the title and letter.

[637] The following was the ORDER OF SERVICE:

10. A. M. Preparatory Sermon (in the parsonage). (The *Abendmahles Geschwister* enter the church first of all, and are followed by the general public, of whom there were over 200).

1. Singing. — "Allein Gott in der Höh'sei Ehr."

2. Short addresses on Rev. 1. 13 at altar by Abrm. Reinke (a Swedish minister, then pastor at Nazareth).

3. Spangenberg's Hymn. Seven verses were sung.

4. Reading of Epistle from the altar, by Meurer.

5. Spangenberg's Hymn. The remaining verses.

6. Prayer from the pulpit. (Spangenberg prayed earnestly that our loving Saviour would bless everything that should be transacted in this house.)

7. Sermon on Gospel for 1st Advent by Spangenberg.

8. Words of Institution of Lord's Supper. (Read from before the altar by Meurer).

9. Short address by Meurer.

10. The bread passed by Meurer, and the cup by Reinke.

[638] Bethlehem *Record*.

[639] Bethlehem *Record*.

Her. Wal. und Casp. R. Feby. 22, 1746 wegen einiger ihres Zankes um unstudirt Prediger in ihrer Kirche.

"To Joseph Spangenberg in Bethlehem

"Tulbehacken Feby 22. 1746.

"*Dear Brethren:* We received your letter through bro. Seydel, and from it learned your views. We called the congregation together today and I read your letter to them. Then Michael Schaeffer attacked me fiercely, calling me a liar, [saying] that I had belied the congregation at Bethlehem, as well as this one. And if he came to Bethlehem he would soon know what we had written. He said, I am not satisfied with you, Caspar and Philip, and wanted to quarrel with me. But we returned to the subject and I asked them what their opinion was. Then John Schaeffer said to me that he had never been satisfied with the Brethren who had been here, for bro. Ludwig had said that we are to be a really Lutheran congregation, and all the brethren (pastors) whom we have had here could not maintain that they are Lutherans because they were uneducated. For whoever is Lutheran will have educated men. This also is his father's opinion. And if this be not so they would have nothing more to do with the matter. Peter Schaeffer even spoke against the teachings of the Brethren [in such a way] that I was surprised to hear it. Jacob Schaeffer did not go so far. I am compelled to write this with great sadness of heart. Michael Rieth & Leonard Rieth & George Loesch said they would be satisfied if they only had a brother to serve them again. They did not wish to prescribe whom they shall place here. They said it was not their purpose to leave the congregation. They also request that the neighboring pastors might preach for us occasionally. Beloved and Esteemed Brethren! if it be not contrary to the Saviour's will, I would once again heartily intercede for my Tulbehacken people for a brother who might be with us. Perhaps there might be one or another who might make up his mind to it and whose heart might be touched. Beloved Brethren! Consider the matter for things have come to a dangerous pass among our Tulpehocken people. At this time we know of nothing further that we can do, except to commit the whole matter to the Lord & to the congregation most earnestly, to be remembered by them — your poor, unworthy fellow members.

"Hermanus Walborn[1] & Caspar Rieth.

"We are afraid that if we do not secure a brother, we shall lose our Church or our house, for Peter Schaeffer said, that if he had two or three of the same mind with himself, he would manage to bring it about that some one willing to teach for their pay should occupy the house. We therefore beg the brethren to consider how this may be prevented by putting a brother into the house. For his bro. in law Weiser, encouraged him and desires to attach them to himself."

This letter reveals clearly the rise of a faction headed by the brothers John and Peter Schaeffer which was in revolt against the uneducated ministers which had been

sent them from Bethlehem. It shows also that Conrad Weiser was the brother-in-law of Peter Schaeffer and apparently conveys the impression that Weiser himself was back of the Schaeffer revolt.

The fact is, Cammerhof himself tells us[640] that John and Frederick Schaeffer were at the bottom of the whole trouble, that they disagreed with the other four church officers, and got Weiser to back them. Says Cammerhof:

"Weiser and his party began the trouble in this way: John and Fred. Schaeffer rented the school-house, which stands on the church lot, to a vagabond. He went and forcibly opened the doors and took possession of the church. The Weisers and five of the deacons of the Tulpehocken of the upper church came to the house and declared that the man should have the house for one year at five shillings rent. Weiser said if any one objected they should come to him."[641]

The letter to Bethlehem was sent early in 1746. It was an earnest appeal for a pastor who should come and save the little organization and its church from its foes within and without. Full a half year passed and nothing could be done. Then one day in August,[642] "an Evangelical Minister, who for three years had preached the Gospel amongst the negroes in the island of St. Thomas, and who spent nearly a year at Bethlehem,"[643] arrived for the especial purpose of taking charge of the children in the school; and, "if it should be earnestly desired, to conduct the public services and preach — and he is willing gladly to serve them according to the grace given him."[644] The man was Rev. Johannes Brücker.

[640] In a letter dated June 29, 1747, in which he describes an interview which he held on the previous May 26 with Weiser about the late trouble at Tulpehocken.

[641] Letter of June 29, 1747, referred to above.

[642] August 22, 1746.

[643] Bethlehem *Record*.

[644] *Moravian Tulpehocken Record*, in Archives at Bethlehem. From this point on the Record is conducted *in a new handwriting*, evidently that of Brücker.

The grace given Brücker was not sufficient to restore harmony. On Reformation Day, October 30–31, 1746, the Moravian Conference at Kreitz Creek considered the problem as to what was to be done in the future in regard to the Tulpehocken congregation and concluded that Brücker was to continue to preach the gospel to them.[645]

The Conference held a few months later, in the middle of January, at Bethlehem, came to the same conclusion.[646]

But such deliberation was useless. For now the blows of a strange Providence fell thick and fast on the helpless little flock. Of the six original trustees who had had the deed made out to themselves, and who were the mainstays of this congregation, two were struck down within a month of each other. The one, Hermanus Walborn, who appears to have been the young and more active leader (he was aged 37 years), and whose signature is always attached first, together with that of Caspar Reith, to the letters to Bethlehem, died and was buried on January 10.[647] On the second of February an event occurred which shook the whole community to its foundation, and which caused an ecclesiastical revolution in the little congregation.

The Tulpehocken Tragedy.

Less than six weeks after Christmas the valley of the Tulpehocken was startled by a dark and mysterious dispensation of Providence. It was the sudden death of one of the leaders of the community, a man who had been a pillar in the original church, and who was one of the six trustees, who as followers of Leutbecker and the line of

[645] Bethlehem *Record*.

[646] Bethlehem *Record*.

[647] The following is the record in Bethlehem: "A. D. 1747 Jan 10 old style, Hermanus Walborn who had been a deacon died and was buried Jan. 10-aged 37 years."

Moravian pastors, had the deed of the church property made out to secure and perpetuate the Moravian influence.

There were some sad circumstances in connection with the death of this man, but neither these nor the sudden and startling character of the death stirred the community most deeply. It was the man's burial that created the most widespread commotion, and brought about the most serious consequences to the Rieth church. This burial in fact gave the death blow to the languishing organization of Leutbecker and the Moravian Brethren.[648]

On February 2, 1747, terrible tidings flew from mouth to mouth, through the whole Tulpehocken settlement: "Leonhard Rieth had fallen under his mill-wheel, was caught in the cog-wheels, and was mangled to death!"

Our readers will remember Leonard Rieth as one of the original founders of the settlement, and a man of great power and influence. He had settled at Millbach and erected a mill for himself on the north side of the Tulpehocken near the Mill Creek. Though he was one of the six trustees of the Moravian Rieth Church, the Moravian preacher, Johannes Brücker,[649] viewing this death as an act of condemnatory judgment of God upon the man, or feeling that he was restrained by his church discipline, or be-

[648] It was a blow not immediate in its effects, but one from which the congregation never recovered. To be assured that the case is not thus too strongly put, compare the History of the Tulpehocken in Sauer's newspaper, 1747, facsimile of which is reproduced earlier in this volume. Sauer says: "Die Zinzendorffische Prediger thäten was sie konten die Trustees an sich zu bringen, doch sind zwey von den Trustees darüber gestorben: Dem am letzten Verstorbenen wolten die Zinzendörfer keine Leicht-Predigt thun, auch nicht erlauben dass ein nahe bey wohnender Lutherischer Prediger eine Leichte Predigt in der Kirche halten solte, dorffte auch nicht geschehen; worüber die Zinzendorffische Parthey schier verloschen wäre." (Sauer's newspaper, October 10, 1747.)

[649] Not Mäurer, as stated somewhere in the *Hall. Nachrr.*, comp. *Species Facti.*

cause Rieth had lately been attending the Christ Church — refused to bury the man;[650] and refused to allow the Lutheran preacher to enter the Rieth Church to preach his funeral sermon.

For now there was a Lutheran preacher in the Tulpehocken. He was a young man, only a catechist, but a speaker of fine education, extraordinary earnestness and fervent piety, who, when the people heard him for the first time, pleased them so well that they begged Muhlenberg to send him to them. He had come on December 16, lodging at the home of Conrad Weiser, and was received with great love and esteemed by all three church parties in the region.[651]

When young Nicolas Kurtz, for that was his name, began to hold services just before the Christmas holidays, a number of the disaffected in the Moravian Church attended his services in the Christ Church. Among them, in particular, was Leonhard Rieth, who came regularly.

Kurtz was still a newcomer when the mill-wheel on the Tulpehocken put an end to Mr. Rieth's life. The news soon reached him at Weiser's, some miles away. "The tragedy affected young Kurtz greatly, as there were some sad circumstances connected with the man's life. He had been on the Moravian side. But since Kurtz began to preach there, he had come regularly to Kurtz's service."

"His grown sons were not as yet entirely Moravian, but clung to Mr. Kurtz, and already before indeed had adhered to Mr. Wagner, and they wished to have him buried on the Moravian [Rieth Church] graveyard. The Moravian Teacher, however, was not willing to bury him, although the dead man during his life had given much toward the building of the new church. When then this Teacher refused, the sons requested Mr. Kurtz to bury their father in the Zinzendorfian Cemetery and to preach a sermon in that church. The sons sent for the keys of the church."[652]

[650] So Muhlenberg in *Hall. Nachrr.* and Sauer.

[651] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 354.

[652] *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 364. Then follows a brief narration, substantially the same as that of Kurtz below.

So far Muhlenberg has been telling the story. Let us now hear Kurtz:[653]

"*Feb. 2.* Toward evening tidings came concerning a man who had reached the end of his life under the mill-wheel. This touched me very deeply, because he was said to be one who did not stand in good repute; for he had lived very unhappily in his marital relations, etc. He was also one of those who had gone to the Moravian side, yet as long as I have been here he had diligently come to my preaching. Whether now anything had taken root in his soul and he had reached some degree of inner knowledge and repentance is known to Him who understands the heart. God is not unrighteous. O God, let every one closely examine his sins here on earth, that it must not be done hereafter!

"Feb. 3. To-day two of the friends of the unfortunate man came and desired me to bury him. May God permit this stroke of judgment to be an arrow and javelin flying into the conscience and heart of all willing sinners. O God, awaken us, that we may be prepared when Thy dear Son cometh to receive him with joy.

"I replied to these men that he was in truth a Moravian Brother and that their preacher indeed could bury him. They replied that he was a Moravian Brother no longer and that the preacher also was not here.

"Feb. 4. This morning a man came and told me, if I wished to hold a funeral-sermon for the dead man in the church, I should come in advance to the Moravian preacher; that he himself was sending me this word. I replied, that I was letting the children and friends of the deceased see to this; if they wished that it should take place in the church, they may perfect the arrangements; but if they wished to have it under the open sky, it would be all the same to me. I sent him (the Moravian preacher) word, that if he would come to the house of mourning, there would be opportunity to speak over the matter; I had not yet made a request for the church: and so the man departed.

"I followed shortly thereafter to the house of mourning. When I arrived there was no Brother there. He had left word that if I wished to preach in the church, I should come first to him, that he was preacher in the church. I said, 'No, this would not be proper.'

"Then I asked the mourners whether I should bury the man, or whether he should do it, because he was here now. They said I should do it, since they had engaged me. All the Moravian brethren that were present there were willing to let me go into the church, except one Brother and the Preacher. The latter had no permission from Bethlehem to allow this.

"I made preparation to have the body placed before the door and began to sing a hymn. Then we came to the grave. But no door was open. After the body had been buried, I said openly that the widow of the deceased and the children, and the remaining friends request the pastor and deacons of this church whether they would show this their dead father the kindness of opening the church that a funeral sermon may be preached for him.

"Hereupon the members of the church called for the key, but the preacher would not give it. I began without loss of time to read my text out Luke 13-1 ff. compared with Amos 6. . . This happened in the midst of snow, and cold, and wind. That afternoon I rode to Lancaster, where I arrived about eight o'clock."

[653] Kurtz's Diary, *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 200.

Muhlenberg's account of the event (in his Report of 1747, *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 364–5) is as follows:

"When then they had buried the body, Mr. Kurtz was obliged to make his address in the snow alongside of the grave. Such a procedure vexed not only the sons of the dead one, but also some others, and the whole of the little Zinzendorfian flock got into a bitter controversy and split among themselves. The Bethlehem congregation quickly recalled their Brother, the Teacher, from Tulpehocken; and Mr. Spangenberg, and Kammerhof came themselves and tried to extinguish the flames."

Kurtz's account continues:

"On account of the refusal of the Moravian preacher a number of his members became stubborn, because he and his brethren had given themselves out as Lutherans and yet would not tolerate a Lutheran preacher in the church. They asked Mr. Weiser for advice. He already for a long time had noticed and experienced the Zinzendorfian deceitfulness, slyness, malice and unrighteous dealing. As a magistrate, Mr. Weiser advised that the keys be demanded. This was done, but they were not handed over. Then things were quiet for awhile."[654] (Compare Sauer.)

The Moravian Lutheran Record in reference to this sad affair runs as follows:

"A. D., 1747, Feb. 12, old style. The pastor and school teacher who had hitherto served us took his departure, but took formal leave only from the deacon still in office, Caspar Rieth & from Geo. Loesch, because of certain circumstances which had transpired concerning Mr. Kurtz, who held the funeral services of Leonard Rieth deceased.—These are known to everyone."[655]

This event, and the building of the avowedly Moravian Church in Heidelberg in 1745, had reduced the organization to almost nothing.

The little congregation was entirely demoralized. The final entry in the Moravian Tulpehocken Record is dated July 19, "old style" 1747, and tells us that Geo. Loesch was elected deacon in the place of Hermanus Walborn, deceased, by a majority of votes. The witnesses present

[654] From Kurtz's dairy at the time when he entered his office in the Tulpehocken, *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 199–203.

[655] The following is the record in Bethlehem of the death of Leonard Rieth: "1747, Feb. 2, Leonhard Rieth died and was buried Feb. 4th, aged some 60 years. He was crushed by the cog wheel in the mill."

were Christian Rau and Nathaniel Seidel from Bethlehem, and John Geo. Schaeffer of Tulpehocken.

After the funeral of Rieth in February, and the withdrawal of the Moravian preacher because of the dissatisfaction of the people, there was no one to occupy the parsonage or to hold service in the church. Only five or six, including the two still steadfast trustees, remained attached to the Moravian cause.

Young Kurtz was living with Weiser, and naturally Weiser, who for nearly twenty years had been most deeply interested in the old church at intervals, again gave attention to the whole subject, from his present point of view. He had left the old church when Leutbecker took charge of it, but had made out a call for it to be sent to Halle through Zinzendorf a few years later on. He had become dissatisfied with the uneducated followers of Zinzendorf who were sent there, and when Christ Church was begun, he had attempted to harmonize all the ecclesiastical parties in a single organization.

Shortly after this Muhlenberg arrived and ultimately became Weiser's son-in-law. Then young Kurtz came as the Lutheran pastor, and attracted all the parties to himself.

Weiser now hoped to put an end to the whole "Confusion" by restoring everything to Lutheran control. From a legal and moral point of view, in his opinion, the church belonged to the Lutherans, and moreover the Moravians were dwindling to nothing, and even with the powerful help from Bethlehem, were doomed to collapse.

Acting under Weiser's advice, the Lutherans demanded the keys from the two Moravian trustees who held them. The latter would not act without consent from Bethlehem. By the end of March the news of Weiser's activity had

reached Bethlehem, and the diaries there give us the following record:

"*1747, March 23.* Weiser has become a zealot for the Lutheran church and its uniformity. He dislikes us because of our success with the Indians, fearing he may be the loser thereby. This is *causa occulta* of his attitude."[656]

The course of events at this point is best and quaintly narrated by the author of *Species Facti* as follows:

"Kurtz, a strange minister from Halle, as it is said, who had never preached there before, offered himself to preach the deceased Funeral-Sermon; whose Relations requested of the church wardens, the Key for that Purpose; but they as well as the minister incumbent, Johannes Brucker, suspecting some clandestine design, both refused the Key and Admittance into the church.

"After this Fredrick Schaeffer (one of the Purchasers to the said Deed of Trust) and his son Johannes both being of the Lutheran Congregation of Tulpehockin aforesaid and Contributors to the Building of the Church were discontented and formed a Party unto whom adhered certain others, who, althou' they had not the least Interest or connexion with the congregation as of the same Parish pretend a Right to the Church or Land belonging to it asserting that the present Possessors thereof are not Lutherans.

"And these Men with there Adherents and the Aid or Council of M. Justice Weisser took the Opporty (when the aforesaid Minister and Schoolmaster Johannes Brucker had left his charge and before a Successor was appointed) to break into the Schoolhouse at Tulpehockin aforesaid, and having so taken Possession they leased it to a Tenant (as 'tis said) for 5 shillings a year.—Its moreover said they have also appointed a new set of Trustees for the said Church and Schoolhouse."[657]

A number of stormy interviews were held between the Lutherans and the Moravians, but the keys were always refused by the latter. The Lutherans gave notice that on a certain day, in accordance with their rights under the common law, they would break the church open. When the day arrived some of the Moravians were on the scene as spectators.

[656] As to the Moravian "success with the Indians," and of Weiser's dislike of them on that account, there are two points of view. Weiser's own presentation of the subject is very full and should be examined in connection with this statement. The glowing picture of Zinzendorf, given by Leonard Woolsey Bacon, at the expense of other churches in his *History of American Christianity*, will have to be modified, when Weiser's account becomes known, and is taken into consideration.

[657] Sauer's very picturesque description of these times is as follows:

"Dann den Leuten giengen die Augen auf, die Bethlehemiter forderten ihren Stümpler geschwind ab, und missbilligten seine Unbesonnenheit als

THE INTERVIEW OF WEISER AND CAMMERHOF. 1747.

To these events and the struggle for possession of the church we now turn somewhat more in detail. Going back to the Rieth funeral, let us hear Mr. Kurtz in his dairy:

"In order to blind the eyes of the adherents of the Moravian association, Mr. Spangenberg came to Tulpehocken and rebuked the brother for not leaving me into the church. Thereupon it was also resolved in writing that if I desired to preach in the church, they should open it for me, but not deliver the keys, until finally Bishop Cammerhof one day came to Tulpehocken and visited Weiser in order to speak of this matter, after Weiser had written to Bethlehem and warned or rather desired that they should help the Lutheran church at Tulpehocken again to be placed in possession of their church and property. At this time the conversation in Fresenius *Amerikanische Nachrichten* was held 3 Stück, No. 63."

The interview took place in the middle of May. Both the principals of this interview deemed it of sufficiently great importance to make a memorandum of the same, and an unusually good fortune has preserved no less than *five* accounts of the interview, two by Bishop Cammerhof, one by Weiser, one by Kurtz and one by Muhlenberg. Several of these we are able to present now for the first time side by side with each other; the diary of Cammer-

ungeschickt; dann sie haben vernommen dass die Leute sagten, wann die Bethlehemiter das gut hielten, so wolten sie nichts mehr mit ihnen zu thun haben, so haben sie müssen die Segel nach dem Winde richten, biss etwau die Leute wieder schlaffen gewieget würden: Es gingen aber wieder etliche von ihnen ab, und hielten sie vor keine Lutheraner, sondern Betrüger. Also blieben noch fünff oder Sechs ubrig, die ehemals unter; die obgemeldte Gemeine gehöreten-Weil nun das Pfarr-Hauss und die Kirche leer stund, hat die Lutherische Gemeine von Dolpehacken gut gedeucht, so wohl das Pfarr-Hauss, als Kirche in Besitz zu nehmen, haben die Schlüssel etliche mahl vergeblich gefordert, musstens dahero aufbrechen; doch haben sie den Zinzendörffern den Tag gesagt, wenn sie es thun wolten: Ein Theil von der Zinzendörffer haben zugesehen. Sie hatten ein schwätzig Weib da, das hat mit dem 9ten Gebot um sich geworffen; aber niemand nahm sich ihrer an: die Lutheraner sagen das Land dass wir wieder erobert haben, ist unser Väterlich Erbe, und gehöret sonst niemand; unsere Feinde aber habens eine zeitlang mit Gewald und Unrecht innen gehabt, darum haben wir jetzt das Unsere wieder an uns gebracht, und niemand das Seine genommen. 1 Maccab. 15. 33, 34.

"(Sonst sind gemeiniglich zwey streitige Partheyen einerley Religion.)" — Sauer's Newspaper.

hof's visit having been furnished through the kindness of Mr. Robert Rau, archivarius at Bethlehem.

A letter of Cammerhof's, written June 29, 1747, furnishes an account of the same interview in still more graphic style, and this we also present, with Cammerhof's Diary and Weiser's Memorandum.

FROM CAMMERHOF'S DIARY OF HIS VISIT TO THE VARIOUS CONGREGATIONS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1747.[658]

"May 14 bro. Camerhof journeyed from Bethlehem and arrived at Heidelberg[659] early on the 15/8 where he found the small congregation and our brethren Brocksches and Neisser in a devout frame, & since their last communion growing in grace. He rejoiced with them

He immediately proceeded further on his journey to Conrad Weiser to have a talk with him concerning the affairs of the Tulpehocken Church. But in a conversation of three hours' duration he found that Conrad Weiser had already made up his mind in regard to the matter and that he could not be induced to change his mind, as he believes that the church land together with the building in the Tulpehocken legally does not belong to those people who bought it, received a Deed therefor, and have hitherto had possession of it, but to those other Lutherans in Tulpehocken who resided in the vicinity of the church, and that it would be adjudged to these latter by legal process, if the former did not voluntarily give it up.

He also demands that the congregation at Bethlehem should make this known to the people of Tulpehocken, for whom we have hitherto preached, and thus persuade them to hand over their church and the land to the other Lutherans in Tulpehocken.

LETTER OF CONRAD WEISER IN SEPTEMBER, 1747.

Memorandum of the main points which Mr. Kammerhof and I discussed with each other on account of the Tulpehocken Lutheran Church and community on the 15 of May, 1747, set up the following day, on May 16th.

After several friendly speeches on both sides, I proposed to make a beginning of the things on account of which Mr. Kammerhof came to me. Kammerhof said, You did not understand my letter rightly which I wrote to Brother Spangenberg, and would I be so good and tell him what I actually wanted with it?

I answered: I expressed myself clearly (as much as I knew), yet as he (Kammerhof) did not clearly understand me, therefore I would tell him what I wanted with it. Namely I demand that Caspar Ried should deliver the church key to the Lutheran congregation of Tulpehocken, without further ado; for he has not a right to keep the same.

Kammerhof answered: Caspar Ried is the oldest in the community, and they gave him the church key, together with other church property to take care of; and besides he is again put in over the new. Here see the written resolution of the congregation. He showed me then a paper written in German in which the church property, as church key, church books, etc., were committed to Caspar Reid and he should

[658] This is *all* in the Diary, which relates to the Tulpehocken. Although written in the third person, it is in Cammerhof's own handwriting.—RAU.

[659] Evidently the North Heidelberg Church, near the center of North Heidelberg—about three miles northeast or east by north of the Corner Church in Heidelberg township.—J. W. EARLY.

CAMMERHOF'S ACCOUNT.

Bro. Camerhof, on the other hand, told him that we never can and never will take any part in such an unjust proceeding in conflict with the clearest evidence [clear light of the sun]—But that in other respects we would not meddle in any manner with the affairs of the Tulpehocken Church and that we left them perfectly free to manage their affairs to suit themselves.

Afterwards Bro. Camerhof also had a conversation with Caspar Rieth, at present the only deacon of the Tulpehocken Church in regard to the views of Conrad Weiser, as well as those of the congregation at Bethlehem, in reference to their church affairs.

In company with bro. Neisser, he immediately went to Muehlbach, the same afternoon.[660]

CAMMERHOF'S LETTER.

1747, June 29. May 26, went to C. Weiser and talked with him about the late trouble at Tulpehocken. He began his story with what had occurred in Leibecker's and Stover's times—that he had always sought to cement the unity of all Lutherans. For this purpose he had asked Zinzendorf for one preacher for all. Hereupon several, such as Caspar Reith, Michael Schaeffer, Michael Reith, etc., went and got a deed for the land on which the old church stood, demolished it and built a new one, and these were the only people we had given a pastor. The other Lutherans had borne this long in quiet, but would bear it no longer, but would institute suit for possession of the church, and said he, with right, for it belonged to them, as they had built and worshipped in the old church, before the land had all been bought or taken up. Reith's *et al* were pirates, robbers, etc. He told me to tell them to give up the church, that if we did, they would at once give it up, etc. The holders of the deed were Michael Schaeffer, John Schaeffer, Fred. Schaeffer, C. Reith, George Loesch, Michael Reith and others. After these having bought the land, it was not theirs individually but held

WEISER'S ACCOUNT.

keep all in hand. When Leonhard Ried is buried and the man desires to preach in the church, then shall Caspar Ried on request unlock the door; but he must not give the key out of his hand. It was signed by Joseph Spangenberg, Michael Shaefer, Michael Ried, Peter Shaefer, Jacob Shaefer, George Lesch, John Schifler. I desired a copy of the writing, but he did not want to give me one.

I asked, if then the above mentioned people of the Lutheran Community of Tulpehocken decided, and they say and indeed not without cause, that they left the Lutherans and went over to the Moravian Brethren; and consequently they have no more right to the Lutheran church, land, and parsonage?

Kammerhof answered: They are better Lutherans than the others in every way, and they have bought with their money this land and built this church.

I said: Yes, they have either bought the land or received it a present for a Lutheran church, which was built on it for twenty years, and also on which a parsonage of the whole Lutheran community has been built already for twelve years. The landowners had so many acres measured off for a Lutheran church long before Count Zinzendorf, who passed himself as a Lutheran preacher, came to this land; also this one, who promised to provide a true Lutheran pastor for the Lutheran community at Tulpehocken, whereupon they then purchased the church land, not only that account deceived the Lutheran community, but kept Caspar Stoever away, as you must acknowledge at this time. Not only did the Count not keep his word, but till now burdened these people with several incapable men as pastors, with which only very few were satisfied, and also in thus far led the people in darkness, or, as they say in German, deceived.

Kammerhof answered: The people of Tulpehocken shall have no learned minister from us; for they came to us for carnal reasons.

[660] Was this the vicinity of the present Muehlbach Church, or was it Newmanstown? From Weiser's house to the former would be six—eight miles—to the latter about three—four. J. W. EARLY.

CAMERHOF'S ACCOUNT.

forever for the Lutheran congregation of Philip Meurer's at Tulpehocken.

He went on and said that the old church had been built in 1727 by all the settlers — then the six seceded and thus got illegal possession of the premises.

(Cammerhoff remarks that John and Fred. Schaeffer seceded from the other four and were at the bottom of the trouble and got Weiser to back them.) Said I, You see the other four are legal owners. Next he said, They are not Lutherans but Moravians. Weiser was stubborn—Cammerhoff sharp—Weiser angry at times — then appealed to us for the sake of our reputation — said he had consulted William Allen and Richard Peters and they thought he was right. Next talked discoursingly, said he would not belong to any sect, as he was a Justice of the peace, etc. Finally asked him, how it was, that for five years everything had been harmonious — no trouble about the church? Weiser and his party began the trouble in this way: John and Fred. Schaeffer rented the school-house, which stands on the church lot, to a vagabond. He went and forcibly opened the doors and took possession of the church. The Weisers and five of the Deacons of the Tulpehocken of the upper church came to the house and declared that the man should have the house for one year at five shillings rent. Weiser said if any one objected they should come to him." — *German Sectarians*, Vol. II., p. 288.

WEISER'S ACCOUNT.

I answered: Now did they come over to you? You have just said they were good Lutherans. How does that agree? You are indeed Moravian Brethren or members of the Moravian church!

Kammerhof: No! That we are not; there are only several Moravian brethren among us. We are a community without name, consisting of Moravians, Lutherans, Reformed, etc.

I answered: I for my part have not looked upon you other than Moravian Brethren, as you became known under that name, and they called you thus to distinguish you from other sects.

Kammerhof: They wrong us, we protest against it.

I answered: Your brethren called themselves thus on their arrival, verbally as well as written. Do you now deny this, what shall one expect of a Man or Community whose consent is not yes, and whose no is not no?

Kammerhof: What is to be done about the church strife, if we continue with these things?

I answered: Deliver what does not belong to you, and do it without ado, thus it can be adjusted, so that now and then a Moravian brother still may preach in the church, if all goes on in peace. This no one would oppose.

Kammerhof: We do not wish to lose the good-will of the Lutherans.

I answered: Then the authorities will know means to restore to the people what is theirs, and put you out entirely.

WEISER'S ACCOUNT.

Kammerhof: That wrongs us.

I answered: But examine our common law page 423, etc., which he read, but made such dishonest explanations of the same as were not becoming to one versed in the science of divinity, but as a one-sided advocate. I chastised his wrong. He answered: Dear Conrad! We have nothing to do with the church; it is only the people who are quarreling, believe me, we are innocent.

I answered: Did you not just show me a writing, which Spangenberg with another from Bethlehem signed, wherein it ordered Caspar Ried not to give out the church key. Beloved see, how false your speeches are.

Kammerhof: They may give the key if they want to, they may not ask us anything: we want nothing to do with it.

I answered: Well, do you say so, or write it: here is paper. Then the strife will soon be over.

Kammerhof: We cannot advise you that they will do it, but they may do it; this would be as much as sending them back to the Lutherans again; How does Christ sound with Belial? What intercourse has light with darkness? What has righteousness to do with unrighteousness? What part has the believer with unbeliever? What likeness has the temple of God with the idols, etc., etc.

I answered: After that they went over to you for carnal reasons, thus, you may send them back again, and you will have more to deal with therein after the Count's Conference. See the first Conference.[661]

Kammerhof: Dear Conrad! You are prejudiced against us. We love you very much, remain our friend, as you always have been.

I answered: I have never yet been your enemy; I have served the brethren in Bethlehem where I could, will also do it still; but your falseness, your ambiguous speeches, and your encroachment on other people's privileges, these I hate: A Christian must be an honest man, or he will have no influence or authority!

Kammerhof: Where have we encroached and dealt falsely?

I answered: First here at Tulpehocken. The Count promised me to write for an upright Lutheran minister from Halle for Tulpehocken. Afterwards he repeatedly promised these people an upright Lutheran minister, but kept none.

You have sought to deceive the Swedish Lutherans on account of a church. Likewise the Lutherans in Lancaster; likewise here in Tulpehocken. Do you not recollect the trick which the Count played in Philadelphia when he took the church book of the Lutherans and wished to deceive them about it, and it had to be taken from him again by means of a Court decision? All these things displease me with the Moravian brethren. They have lately done the same thing with the Lutheran Church book at Lebanon: but finally will lose their credit with the government, and bring themselves into trouble.

Many other statements were made. Kammerhof pretended to be a good Lutheran; but yet he said he did not belong to the Lutheran Church. Here in Pennsylvania there is no Lutheran consistory, therefore people cannot judge them; the Bishop at London was the judge here: but they had their own ecclesiastical court which the Saviour guided. At this he asked me whether I could believe that the congregation at Bethlehem was innocent in the matter of this present church controversy? I replied: no, I regard it as the originator of the strife and that I shall regard the Bethlehemites as persons who hold fast to unjust property until they return it again, for, said I, it is an open church robbery and added:

Sie sind von ihnen nicht gestift.
Die Schätz der Kirchen sind ihr Gift,

Among other things in this conversation I said to him: I was not at all pleased with the Brethren because they pass once as Lutheran, again as Reformed and again as Moravians.

He asked: Which of them did it?

I replied: Lischi represents himself as a true Reformed minister. He answered: You are right in this, we have told him about it. I especially said to him: You are no Reformed Minister but our brother, you deceive the people. We shall tell the people that you are our brother and no Reformed Minister.

This I have sketched in great haste only briefly: but still according to pure truth. In future I shall clear up the circumstances connected with it.

CONRAD WEISER.

(From Fresenius' *Bewährte Nachrichten*, Dritter Band, p. 822, ff.)

THE RIETH CHURCH TAKEN BY THE LUTHERANS.

SUMMER AND FALL OF 1747.

Following this fruitless interview of Weiser with Cammerhof in the early summer of 1747 there was much ill-

[661] The Count had promised them that they should be preached to without pay.

feeling between the Bethlehem remnant and the Lutheran contingent in the old Rieth Church. The few men who had become incensed at the Bethlehemites paid another visit to Mr. Weiser. He told them a second time that they should demand the keys. It was perhaps at this time, that, as a result of Weiser's advice a meeting of both parties was called and held in the Rieth church itself. The meeting took place on the[662] 23d of June. We still have the graphic record of an eye witness. It is G. Neisser, the Moravian brother who mayhap was present at the interview between Cammerhof and Weiser a month earlier,

[662] *i. e.*, if it occurred at all. Our authority for the meeting is derived from certain facts and expressions in the accounts given of the situation by Weiser and by Kurtz in connection with G. Neisser's letter to Bro. Joseph at Bethlehem, and which we consider to be an account of this meeting. The objection to our interpretation is the fact that Neisser's letter is clearly dated "1755." But would the situation described in the letter be possible in June, 1755? The Statement of the Case between the Lutherans and Moravians in Tulpehocken, with the Opinion thereon of Tench Francis, Esq., was made on April 13, 1755, and the Opinion apparently put a final end to the Moravian claims and to the whole controversy. The "Statement" also shows that the Rieth church was "idle" in 1755, and that the Lutherans did not desire it for purposes of worship, whereas Neisser's letter seems to exhibit an earlier condition of affairs, viz., such as obtained in 1747. For instance, Neisser tells us that the deed is still in Bethlehem in June; but the "State of the Case" (in April) tells us that the papers are in the hands of Caspar Rieth. Therefore the latter document is later than the Neisser letter. Neisser further speaks of a joint meeting of both parties, occurring two months later than the "Statement," June 24, at which nothing is settled, each party is to have equal right to the church, and to use it half the time, and the deed is still secretly kept at Bethlehem. Plainly this state of affairs, with its efforts at compromise, which fit in exactly with the remarks of Weiser to Cammerhof at one stage of their interview in May, 1747, apparently appertains to June, 1747, and not to June, 1755, when the whole matter was finally at rest. Should the Neisser letter, however, turn out to be correctly dated, the reader can readily make the necessary deductions. Either the opinion of Francis was still unknown (which is not probable), on June 24, 1755, or it was not accepted, and had awakened the whole subject anew. (This also is improbable, for in that case, Neisser's letter would almost certainly have shown some trace of the "Opinion," and, besides the meeting itself was not of a character to result from the Opinion.)

or, at least, was Cammerhof's fellow-traveler from Weiser's house to Millbach the day after the interview.

At this meeting, as reported by Neisser, lively scenes took place. It leaked out that the deed to the property had been sent to Bethlehem secretly by George Loesch and Caspar Rieth, "for safe keeping." The failure of the effort to get it back in the Tulpehocken, and the storms of anger at the report of this failure, are chronicled. The suggestion of a new agreement by which the church shall hereafter belong to both parties equally, the journey which Bro. Loesch was about to undertake to Bethlehem, at the desire of Caspar Rieth, in order to get the deed in person and bring it back; the desire that judicious advice be given in Bethlehem to the two remaining Moravian trustees, Rieth and Loesch, so that they might be prepared to act properly in future contingencies, are all set forth in this letter. It reads as follows:

"To Dear Brother Joseph or Matthew at Bethlehem."

Tulpehocken June 24, 1755

My Dear Bro. *Joseph:* I have now become an actual eye-witness of the opinions & the doings of the opposing party who met with our Brethren [Moravians] in the church yesterday. According to all that I saw, heard and perceived, the Schaeffers and the Rieths are very strongly prejudiced against the Brethren and are determined by all means, to have the *Original Deed* brought back from Bethlehem, because it does not belong there. They spoke very roughly to the two brethren, Loesch & Caspar Rieth, because they had sent it to Bethlehem for safekeeping without their knowledge & consent. To bro. O. Keely's written notice that if it is to be returned to them, a request from those who belonged to the congregation in 1743 must be presented in writing, setting forth that it is to be returned & that after its delivery the Brethren shall be free from any responsibility, they declared that they would not furnish such a document, for they had not sent the Deed to the Brethren at Bethlehem for safe keeping, therefore they would not demand it from them, but from those to whom they themselves had entrusted it. These should see that it be secured again. There was great anger & harsh speeches. They are an unbelieving and perverse generation — very much wrought up and distrustful of the Brethren. They will not give a bond before the Deed is here again. Whether they will in future leave it in bro. Loesch's or Caspar Rieth's

hands will be seen after it is here again. But taking everything into consideration & according to their expressions, they will hardly leave it in the hands of the two brethren. This makes the whole thing look suspicious and almost suggests the idea, that it is his premeditated plan politely to secure the Deed — etc. —

Nothing was therefore accomplished yesterday further than that the opposing party expressed themselves to this effect and agreed that each party is to have equal right to the church to use the same half the time for their services. But they would not agree to any formal contract under their own signature, as long as the Deed is not on hand.

It is therefore not to be expected that these people will desire one of the Brethren, having expressly declared themselves opposed to it. Although they did not say that if one of them should preach, they would not be willing to hear him, yet they said, that for their part they desired to be at liberty to secure some one after their own mind & heart to preach occasionally. A regular pastor they could and would not maintain. Further details I will not touch upon. Bro Loesch himself is now coming for the *Deed*. It is also the desire of Caspar Rieth (who is here present and desires me to give his views in writing) that the Deed be again handed back to bro Loesch. If judicious advice could be given to those two brethren as Trustees how to conduct themselves in future contingencies, it would be a desirable thing, & even necessary under these critical conditions. I now greet & kiss you in the spirit together with your helpmeet, & your fellow laborers, especially Matthew most heartily — Your most humble bro.

G. Neisser—

P. S. Would it not be possible to give some advice to bro Peter who will be at Heidelberg about Sunday, something which might be of service & of advantage to the Brethren.

This was in the end of June. Either at this meeting or later in the summer, the Lutherans again demanded the keys of the church, and received as a reply "*ein rundes Nein.*"[663] Kurtz in his diary tells us what followed:

"Thereupon Mr. Weiser bade give notice to my congregation that they (*i. e.*, our people) could again take possession of the church as their own. I did this and certain men were elected who should be present when the two men elected for the purpose would break open the church and put a new lock on it. This happened to-day. But I was not present. Now there is no Moravian preacher here any more and the adherents are all scattered with the exception of one or two. Excepting a few they all belong to this congregation again, and I now preached in a regular and orderly way in this church every three weeks, for the two churches are only two miles apart."

So it happened that on September 13, 1747, the Lutherans took possession of the new old Rieth Church, and there-

[663] Kurtz's Diary, Sept. 13, 1747, v. *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 201, 202.

after Kurtz preached in it regularly every three weeks.

Muhlenberg sums up the whole history of the situation in brief as follows:

"But the two parties [*i. e.*, the Moravian and the Lutheran party in the Rieth church] could not become united, and the one party sought Mr. Weiser for advice and support. He advised that the Church Council of Mr. Kurtz' congregation should again take possession of the school-house and should put a lock on the new Zinzendorfian church; since the land from the beginning had been taken up for a Lutheran church and school-house and up to this time had been illegally in possession of the Zinzendorfians. This happened, as he advised, and our congregation took possession. Many letters and embassies passed between the heads at Bethlehem, and Mr. Weiser concerning this affair until at last they entirely broke off their friendship with Weiser.

"In the following fall of this year 1747 my valued collegue Brunnholtz * * * undertook a common visitation to Lancaster, York and Tulpehocken, and as the former Zinzendorfian Church was open to him he dedicated the same, with a glorious sermon, to an Evangelical Lutheran Church on the foundation of Apostles and Prophets and our symbolical books. Since that time Mr. Kurtz preaches in it occasionally in the afternoon, as a number of the members live round about. What further outcome there will be is not known. Three or four families hold about half to Mr. Kurtz's congregation and the remaining five or six families still cling to the Zinzendorfians, as they in part have their children still living in Bethlehem and in part are married to the brethren." [664]

The tidings sent to London of this dedication sermon by Brunnholtz did not extol it in such glowing terms. Through the kindness of Mr. Robert Rau, of Bethlehem, we reproduce the following:

To Bishop Boehler, London,

Bethlehem, Nov. 22. 1747.

At Tulpehocken Kurtz' Party has *de facto* taken possession of the church which our Brethren [Moravians] have built. Braunholtz [Brunnholtz] preached in it the first time, and he was not ashamed to say, that that was the first time that a servant of Christ preached in it.

We submit and continue to attend and hold our meetings there likewise with blessed results.

The statement is made that with the year 1748 the Moravians retired from the Tulpehocken. In 1745 Spangenberg had organized the Heidelberg Moravian Church, south of the Tulpehocken creek, and seven miles from the

[664] Muhlenberg's Report of 1747. *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 364, 365.

old Rieth Church, with a membership of twelve families and individuals, and this was the Moravian center until 1795. Since that time the church has been used by the Lutheran and Reformed.[665]

However, in 1754–1755, a last attempt, through the instrumentality of the courts, was made by the Moravians to secure legal possession of the Rieth Church, and it is probably at this time that there was drawn up, as a brief, or statement of the case on behalf of the plaintiff, the historically useful document, *Species Facti*, which we have already reproduced, and quoted at intervals. This document, after reciting the history from the beginning, on the Moravian behalf, and telling of the deed in possession of the trustees, comes finally to the breaking open of the church by the Lutherans under the advice of Weiser in 1747. It says:

"They have also got Possession of the Church by a forcible Entry, the Wardens of the said Congregation being present and protesting publicly against it. * * *"

The document in conclusion propounds these two legal inquiries:

1. "Whether the said Fredrich and Johannes Schaeffer and their Adherents Proceedings are not a Breach of the Peace and a riotous Trespass?
2. "How the right Possessors of the said lands, etc., may proceed in order to have their Property and to prevent such wicked Practices for the future?"

But the argument did not hold before the court. Among the papers of Hon. Peter Spyker, at that time Judge of the Courts of Berks County, was found "The State of the Case between the Lutherans and Moravians in Tulpehocken, with the Opinion thereon of Tench Francis, Esq., dated April 26, 1755."

This "*State of the Case*" is doubtless the brief or argument on the Lutheran side, just as "*Species Facti*" is the

[665] The land for this Moravian church was presented by Tobias Beckel.

same on the Moravian side and we are glad to be able to present these two publications for comparison.[666]

In our judgment the "*State of the Case*," while clear and convincing as a line of argument, assumes some facts and conditions that could not be granted from a Moravian point of view. This document is new testimony, independent of anything we have produced up to this point to the following facts:

1. That the Tulpehocken was settled in 1725 by fifty families.
2. That the church was built a few years after 1725.
3. That it was a Lutheran church.
4. That the Lutherans built a house for a minister and a school-master.
5. That the great increase of population in the Tulpehocken came about 1735.
6. That the Rieth church was "idle" in 1755.
7. In the document the relation between the Deed and the Declaration of Trust is clearly set forth; and the whereabouts of the latter stated.
8. The reasons are given why the Lutherans desired the Rieth property at this time.
9. The document presents the clearest statement we have of the personnel of the Moravian party and its trustees. Allowance, however, must be made for some prejudice.

The document was published in Reading in 1872, as follows:

An Old Document.

"The following narrative was found among the papers of the Hon. Peter Spyker, President Judge of the several courts of Berks County during the Revolution. Judge Spyker's papers are now in possession of his great-granddaughter, Miss Mary Spyker, of Lewisburg, Pa. We are indebted to John B. Linn, Esq., of Bellefonte, Pa., for a copy of the document, who says that he is uncertain whether Judge Spyker or Conrad Weiser was the author." *Berks and Schuylkill Journal*, March 23, 1872.

TULPEHOCKEN CHURCH.

"*The state of the case between the Lutherans and Moravians at Tulpenhocken, in the County of Berks, with the opinion thereon of Tench Francis, Esq., dated 26th April, 1755.*"

"In the year 1725, Tulpenhocken was first settled by about fifty families who came from the County of Albany, in the Province of New York, chiefly Lutheran and (so-called) Reformed or Calvinists. A few years after the Lutherans built a church (the Reformed assisting them,) in the heart of Tulpen-

[666] For *Species Facti* see pp. 507 and 508.

hocken, on a piece of ground which happened to fall in the manor of Plumpton, then belonging to John Page of Austin Friars in London, gentleman, who by his attorneys, (viz:) Messrs. Wm. Allen, Wm. Webb, and Samuel Powel, Jr., laid out about seven acres for the use of said church.

"The Lutherans built a house for a minister and school-master to live in and to teach their children, which one Casper Leitbecker, a pretended minister, undertook to do; who also preached in the church about this time.

"About the year 1735 Tulpenhocken was thickly settled, and some of the settlers grew wealthy; when one Casper Stover, another pretended Lutheran minister, encroached and made a party against Leitbecker. Here strife and contention began at Tulpenhocken; both parties pretending a right to the church. The former having the key of the church, locked Stover's party out, with their minister. Stover's party increased and became the strongest; they cut a door through the logs of the said church and plagued one another very much till Leitbecker died. The latter's party would not join Casper Stover's, who began to lose ground among his people.

"Towards the end of the year 1741, Count Zinsondorff came to the country, styled himself a Lutheran minister and inspector of the Lutheran congregations of Pennsylvania, preached in several congregations, and came to Tulpenhocken in February, 1742, preached there in the Lutheran church and promised to write to Germany for a Lutheran minister for that congregation, in hopes that both parties would unite again.

"The people accepted of his kind offer and received an adherent of the Count's as a Lutheran minister without any suspicion. He made use of the Lutheran ceremonies and offered to preach for nothing. This party now obtained a deed from the gentlemen above named; and Casper Stover, with his party, now quit this church and laid a foundation for a new church, about three miles higher up, but before they finished it Casper Stover was discharged, and another minister called, who serves them still [1755].

"Within a short time it was discovered that Count Z. had ensnared the people, and that the candidate he had sent to Tulpenhocken was an imposter. Then that party rent in pieces, a declaration of trust was demanded from the Trustees to whom Messrs. Allen & Co. made the deed, which they accordingly gave, and acknowledged thereby that they had no right to the said lands, but that they had bought it for the Lutheran church at Tulpenhocken, &c.

"Now the Moravians appeared openly, secured the trustees and elders of the congregation in their interest, and by that means got the declaration of trust in their hands and perhaps destroyed it.

"The Moravians, whilst they were strong, pulled down the old church and built a new one; but now (1755) there are but three Moravians in all Tulpenhocken, and they claim a right to the church and school-house, and are supported by five or six disturbers of the peace. This church stands idle. The Lutherans have no great use for it, because they built a new church three miles off, as before said, and the Moravians must not come again.

"The people of Tulpenhocken and Heidleburg would turn it into a free school-house and have offered (for peace sake) fifty pounds to the Moravian party, but all in vain. They mock and laugh at them. Their deed is not re-

corded, and the declaration of trust is in their hands. Query: what had the people best do to obtain their object: turning the building into a free school, or to get possession of the school-house now standing on the said ground?

"The names of the six trustees, to whom the deed is made, are as follows: 1, Michael Shaffer, now a separatist and goes to no place of worship; 2, Frederick Shaffer, his uncle, the same; 3, Leonard Read, who died some years ago. His sons lay claim to the land and buildings, and are Lutherans and obstinate and ignorant people. 4, Michael Read, since dead. His children claim the same as above. 5, George Lesh, strict Moravian; 6, Hermanus Walborn, since dead; his heirs are easy.

"One Casper Read, a strict Moravian, has the writings belonging to the said church in dispute; also the other things and vessels that were made use of in the church long before the Moravians were heard of in the county. Query: — As the grounds were given to the Lutherans and Calvinists long before the Moravians were heard of, whether it is not clear that the latter can have no title or right to them, even suppose the original writings should not be found; since the subjection inalienable by those who held them in trust for the religious purposes of the said Lutherans and Calvinists?

"*Opinion by Tench Francis, Esq., 26 April, 1755:*

"By the laws of Pennsylvania, when any persons take a legal estate in lands and trust for the use of any religious society, the trustees have a right to the possession of the lands by virtue of the trust estate only. If they have any such right, it must be derived from the declared use, and enjoyed in joint tenancy with the other members of the society.

"Hence it appears that the title of the trustees, called Moravian, to possess the land in question, turns upon their now being members or not of the religious society to whose use it was conveyed; a fact that I cannot determine. But I am clearly of the opinion that, neither as trustees nor as members of the religious society, have they any right to enjoy the land inexclusive of the other members.

"Therefore I advise these members, especially as they compose a great majority of the whole body, to enter into the land and edifice, and to apply thereto such use as they think best and most agreeable to the prime institution."

This is the marvelously intricate history of the Tulpehocken, the earliest church and congregation in the backwoods of Pennsylvania, set forth with greater fulness than has ever been attempted. We have followed the immigrants from the Schoharie to the new lands in the Indian settlement, looking, by the way, into the lives of Henkel and van Dieren[667] and have seen the first little church and

[667] In the *Acta Hist. Eccles.*, Vol., IV. of the year 1740, a remark shows that the notoriety of van Dieren had penetrated to Germany, and states that an ac-

school-house going up, and be held struggle after struggle in connection with movements from within and from without, all taking place within the short period of a quarter of a century. We have brought down the tale of the religious history of this settlement through its most confusing development, and now stand at the dawn of a new era of peace and prosperity, which begins with the advent of Kurtz, under Muhlenberg's direction. It is a fitting point, here where the guiding and ordering hand of Muhlenberg first is felt, to come to a close in this volume.

We make one request of the reader. It is that he exercise, we will not say a charitable, but a sound and a just judgment in regard to all the pioneer characters that figure on these pages. The fathers, in their primeval simplicity, have laid bare to our eye the whole workings of the human heart. They are not to be judged the more severely for their frankness. In our day civilization manages to cover over the more rude side of ecclesiastical and personal life. But the same ambitions, the same passions, the same sinfulness is as operative to-day in the church and the world, in public and private life. It is not so open, but perhaps on that account all the more reprehensible. If we consider the difference in opportunity, in power, in training and culture, and in advantage of every kind, including the lessons of experience, between our own age, and that of these early path-finders in the wilderness, we shall perhaps realize that we ourselves are not better than they, but worse.

count of him is given in *Fortg. Samml. v. A. U. N.*, 1731, p. 72f., and 1732, p. 318f., "from which source Weislinger in the second part of his *Marktaschreiereien* made so much noise," *Hall. Nachrr.*, I., 453. Dr. Sachse has just discovered manuscript reports in Hamburg covering over a thousand pages, much of which relates to van Dieren, Knoll and Wolf.

The self-denial and self-repression at Ephrata have been extolled by others. The patience, the spirituality, the sufferings of the Moravian Lutherans are appreciated by us. But it is the dealings of Providence with the Lutheran Church, and in preserving the faith and the fathers of that great communion, which the records of the Tulpehocken term "the church of the unaltered Augsburg Confession" that it has been our desire and our duty to unfold.

In the words of Dr. Beale M. Schmucker:[668] "Of the early history, no other of the older Lutheran Congregations in America have such full accounts by persons so eminent who were themselves actors on the scene. There are many features of interest united in its history. The first settlers came unitedly from the Palatine emigrants to New York and have part in the very interesting history of the exiles from the Palatinate. They were exposed to all the trials and longings of our oldest congregations in the total want of worthy Pastors for many years. They were subjected to the most crafty and persistent efforts of Zinzendorf and the Moravians to get control of the Church and Congregation. They were finally favored with a long succession of eminent and faithful Pastors, and for one hundred and fifty years peace and the divine favor have rested on them."

We now have traced the earliest tiny streamlets of Lutheranism in the New World. We discovered one in Venezuela as early as 1532, another off the coast of Hudson Bay in 1619, another in New York in 1623, another in New Sweden in 1638, another in St. Thomas in 1656,

[668] *Lutheran Church Review.* Vol. I., pp. 292–302. A brief but excellent article which was omitted from the bibliography of the present volume by oversight.

another in Germantown and Philadelphia in 1684, another at Molatton in 1697, and another in the hollow meadow guarded by the *Schwammer Thor* in 1703.

We have examined the first fountains along the Delaware prior to the days of William Penn; and up the Schuylkill to the Manatawny Tract, and given particular attention to the one perennial Lutheran spring in Falckner's Swamp.

In Pennsylvania we have pointed out the first German Lutheran preacher, what he accomplished and failed to accomplish; the first German Lutheran services; and the first ordination of a Lutheran minister in America.

All these little streams were preliminary; and were swallowed up by the larger tides of immigration which came over in the eighteenth century. In the study of this voluminous Lutheran immigration, we have gone back to Halle and to London, from whence came guidance and aid in spiritual matters; and we have gazed forward at the faint and helpless beginnings which for more than a generation often seemed doomed to extinction, but which were organized into congregational activity in large part by John Casper Stoever, whose earliest sphere of labor was Earl Town and the Conestoga Valley, and whose beginnings at Lancaster, York and Hanover soon developed into stately and powerful growth.

We have followed the advancing stream of German pioneers to their extreme settlements on the western and southern frontier and have beheld the rise of the earliest churches east and west of the Susquehanna. Finally, we have put together the wonderful tale of the Tulpehocken from its earliest beginning through its periods of confusion and struggle, down to the time when it was rescued from its ills by Muhlenberg.

From these tales and studies of the backwoods of Pennsylvania, from the Cocalico and the Conestoga, from the Codorus and the Conewago, from the Susquehanna and the Tulpehocken, we shall turn in the second volume of this history of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, to the interior or middle and eastern region, viz., that of Oley, Maxatawny, Salisbury, Saucon, Milford, Forks of Delaware and the Perkiomen.

The third and last volume of this work on the early Church in Pennsylvania, if, in the Providence of God, it ever appear, will concentrate itself on the territory that formed the parish proper of Muhlenberg. It will begin with The United Churches and The Church at Germantown; will proceed to the long and wonderful history of the church in Philadelphia, and will culminate in the history of the organization of the mother Lutheran Synod in America, and a study of the various religious and educational developments of which this Synod or Ministerium has been the original source and center.



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